UNIVERSITY
OF FLORIDA
LIBRARIES

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2015

https://archive.org/details/chroniclesofokla4619okla

The CHRONICLES of OKLAHOMA

Spring, 1968

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA LIBRARIES
AUG 28 1968

OF FLORIDA LIBRARIES
AUG 28 1968

KAW-SHE-PAW-HO'S CAMP, SAC AND FOX
1890

Volume XLVI Number 1

Published Quarterly by the
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Organized by Oklahoma Press Association, May 27, 1893

.6
-57

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OFFICERS

GEORGE H. SHIRK, President
H. MILT PHILLIPS, 1st Vice President
FISHER MULDROW, 2nd Vice President
MRS. GEORGE L. BOWMAN, Treasurer
ELMER L. FRAKER, Administrative Secretary
Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

DIRECTORS
GOVERNOR DEWEY BARTLETT

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1969

JOE W. MCBRIDE, Oklahoma City — E. E. DALE, Norman
HENRY B. BASS, Enid — R. M. MOUNTCASTLE, Muskogee
NOLAN FUQUA, Duncan

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1970

FISHER MULDROW, Norman — LOU ALLARD, Drumright
ROBERT A. HEFNER, Oklahoma City — LEROY H. FISCHER, Stillwater
BOB FORESMAN, Tulsa

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1971

MISS GENEVIEVE SEGER, Geary — H. MERLE WOODS, El Reno
H. MILT PHILLIPS, Seminole — GEORGE H. SHIRK, Oklahoma City
A. M. GIBSON, Norman

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1972

JOE W. CURTIS, Pauls Valley — R. G. MILLER, Oklahoma City
MRS. GEORGE L. BOWMAN, Kingfisher — W. E. MCINTOSH, Tulsa
EARL BOYD PIERCE, MUSKOGEE

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1973

W. D. FINNEY, Fort Cobb — JAMES D. MORRISON, Durant
MORTON HARRISON, Tulsa — JOHN E. KIRKPATRICK, Oklahoma City
Q. B. BOYDSTUN, Fort Gibson

CHANGE OF ADDRESS—Send notice of change of address to Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma—73105.

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be addressed to the Editor, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* is published quarterly in spring, summer, autumn, and winter by the Oklahoma Historical Society with its editorial office located in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City.

The Oklahoma Historical Society distributes *The Chronicles* free to members. Annual membership dues are five dollars; Life membership, one hundred dollars. Membership applications and dues should be sent to the Administrative Secretary.

Second-class postage paid at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

The Oklahoma Historical Society assumes no responsibility for statements of facts or opinion made by contributors, in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.*

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

ELMER L. FRAKER, *Business Manager*

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE
JOE W. MCBRIDE, CHAIRMAN
EDWARD EVERETT DALE — H. MILT PHILLIPS
JOE W. CURTIS — LOU ALLARD
R. G. MILLER

Spring, 1968

Volume XLVI — Number 1

CONTENTS

Journal of Creek Enrollment Party, 1905 2
By Alexander Posey

Este Cate Emunkv—"Red Man Always" 20
By Leona Barnett

Protestant Missionary Work Among the Comanches & Kiowas 41
By Hugh D. Corwin

Colonel Samuel Lee Patrick 58
By Harry B. Gilstrap, Jr.

Scenes in the Indian Territory: Kowetah Mission 64
By Augustus W. Loomis

The White Threat in the Chickasaw Nation 73
By Parthena Louise James

Notes and Documents 86
Index to *The Chronicles*, 1967
The Governor's Mace

Book Reviews 95

Necrology 98
Kelly Brown
By R. M. Mountcastle

Minutes 100

COVER: View of Paw-she-paw-ho's Camp on the Sac and Fox Reservation, in 1890. This is from an original photograph by Prettyman & Cornish, photographers of Arkansas City, Kansas, contributed to *The Chronicles* by Mr. Harry B. Gilstrap, Jr., along with his article appearing on pages 58-63 in this number of the magazine.

JOURNAL OF CREEK ENROLLMENT FIELD PARTY 1905

By ALEXANDER POSEY [1]

FOREWARD

Drennan C. Skaggs and myself constitute what is officially known as the "Creek Enrollment Field Party of the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes." I am clerk in charge and Creek interpreter with Skaggs acting as notary public and stenographer. Our business is to secure additional evidence in applications for enrollment, search for "lost Creeks" and conciliate the "Snakes". We were detailed for this work in October of last year; and though we have labored steadily and strenuously ever since, the end is not yet. There is more evidence to be secured, more "lost Creeks" to be found and more "Snakes" to be conciliated. This work can not be accomplished in the office of the Commission at Muskogee—"lost Creeks" do not turn up there to be identified—the "Snakes" will not be coaxed in to establish better relations with the Government—important witnesses in citizenship cases pending before the Commission can not go to Muskogee at their own expense for the purpose of testifying—the work must be done on the roadside, at the hearthside and in the cotton patch. Hence the "Creek Enrollment Field Party."

The so-called "Lost Creeks" are persons whose names appear upon the tribal rolls, but none of whom the Commission has been able to identify. These people, of course, can not be allowed to participate in the distribution of tribal property until their identity has been established and their rights as citizens determined according to law.

The "Snakes," so called because of their leader, Crazy Snake, are a faction of the Creeks who are opposed to the allotment of lands in severalty and the relinquishment of tribal

---

[1] This Journal covers notes taken during Alexander Posey's service with the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, out of Muskogee, followed by "Notes Afield" made in 1902. These two journals are from the author's collection of unpublished manuscripts given by Mrs. Alexander Posey to Dr. Edward Everett Dale who has contributed them to *The Chronicles*. The first Journal titled "The Journal of Alexander Posey, January 1 to September 4, 1897" was published in *The Chronicles*, Vol. XLV, (Winter 1967-1968) with introduction and annotations by Dr. Dale, George Lynn Cross Research Professor of History Emeritus, the University of Oklahoma. The Posey Journals are a real contribution to *The Chronicles*, published here for the first time. They give social history of the Creek people just before the close of their tribal government, as well as notes on the life of Alexander Posey.

(Oklahoma Historical Society)

HOME OF ALEXANDER POSEY IN MUSKOGEE, 1905
The Posey children, Yohola and Wynema in the front yard

authority. They number several hundred and were arbitrarily allotted lands by the Commission. They have persistently ignored the work of the Commission and refused to be governed by its decrees. They wish to live in undisturbed enjoyment of their old customs and usages and rights guaranteed to them by former treaties with the Government.

—*Alex Posey*

Journal, 1905

Aug. 28 In the field again. Arrived in Checotah today from Muskogee on the noon "flyer" and established headquarters at the Gentry hotel.[2] Drove out to Soda Springs in the afternoon and examined one witness, a Creek freedman whom we found at work in the hay field. The livery team was "pokey" and the dust disagreeable. Skaggs jumped over a farm fence and stole a stalk of sugar cane and extracted the juice thereof with great relish. I never before saw such an abundance of ragweeds. Wherever the sod on the prairie has been broken they have taken possession. The prettiest object I saw was a flaring red flower, uncommon in the woods at this season. Blue and yellow flowers were plentiful.

Aug. 29 Drive to Pumpkin Hill, about six miles from Checotah as the crow flies and fully twelve miles as the road runs. Examine two witnesses—a white man and a negro woman. The white man's memory is not good as to dates, but on the contrary the negro woman remembers clearly every event that has happened in her neighborhood for a dozen years back. She refreshens her memory, she states, "wid de almynic". If a child is born to any of her neighbors she draws a line through the date of its birth in her almanac—if anything else happens she does the same thing. We find no pumpkins at Pumpkin Hill but bargain for a water melon.

Aug. 30 Go to Hitchita, a country postoffice twelve miles west of Checotah.[3] The wind is in our favor and we suffer little from the dust. Have a better team than we had yesterday—also a better buggy. Read the story of the "Guinea Pigs" in the American Illustrated Magazine for September aloud to Skaggs. It is the funniest short story I have read for some time. Get the testimony of one Freeman. He tells a pathetic story of family trouble. A bright and promising son named

---

2 The "flyer" mentioned here was the noted "Katy-Flyer," the fast passenger train on the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railway between St. Louis and points in South Texas.

3 Present Hitchita named for the ancient Hitchiti tribal division of the Creek Nation, is on the Kansas, Oklahoma and Gulf Railway, in McIntosh County. Hitchiti Square Ground was located about six miles east.

Benjamin was accidentally killed by an elder brother while the family was en route to Indian territory from Louisiana. The elder brother has since become insane on account of the accident and is under confinement. Get the testimony of an Indian named Loby on our return. The testimony relates to one of the "lost Creeks" whose names appear on the tribal roll as "Lije Grayson". Loby swears he knew him simply as "Lije," and soldiered with him during the War—that he lost track of him at the close of the war and never saw him again until some time in 1895—a short time before his death. Lije for 30 years had lived among the Cherokees.

Aug. 31 From Checotah we go to Eufaula, where we had about 30 cases to investigate. Our headquarters are at the Foley Hotel. Captain Elsey is "mine host." The Captain has had his boots made by one cobbler for 30 years and never had his foot in a machine-made shoe. Eufaula is rather a dull place just now, and the big credit merchants are off on their summer vacation. Eufaula's large "recording district"[4] is being whittled up into counties by the Constitution Convention now in session at Muskogee and that is cause for such street talk.[5] According to the new map being prepared, Eufaula and Checotah are in the same county, and there isn't room in one county for two rival towns.[6]

Sept. 1 Do office work most of the day and interview a few Indians—lay plans for next week.

Sept. 2 Raining and weather too inclement to go afield — the usual crowd from the country absent from the streets —

---

[4] In 1901, the Indian Territory was divided into recording districts preparatory for statehood. Until statehood all deeds, mortgages, and legal papers were recorded at the towns in which the U. S. Courts were held. At this same time all legal papers were recorded at the regular county seats in Oklahoma Territory.

[5] The "Constitution Convention" mentioned refers to the Sequoyah Convention that met at Muskogee in the summer of 1905 to frame a constitution for a new state and to secure "separate statehood" for Indian Territory. Out of the 182 delegates elected for this Indian Territory Convention, Pleasant Porter, Principal Chief of the Creek Nation, was elected President. Alexander Posey, the Creek Poet was chosen Secretary. He is credited with the simple, terse, clear English of the Constitution framed for the proposed State of Sequoyah. An election for the ratification or rejection of this new state was held on November 7, 1905 throughout the Indian Territory. The apathy on part of the voters in the Indian Territory caused a light vote which led to the final abandonment by Congress of the Sequoyah statehood movement. Ref., Joseph B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma* (American Historical Society, Chicago and New York, 1916), Vol. II, pp. 824-830.

[6] This statement is prophetic of the County Seat War between Eufaula and Checotah, McIntosh County that occurred in 1910.—"County Seat War in McIntosh County," by W. R. Withington, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVIII (Autumn, 1960).

Take Captain Grayson's [7] testimony in the matter of the application for enrollment of William Chotky, a new-born Creek, whose father is dead and whose mother is a "Snake", opposed to any proposition that smacks of allotment of land and loss of tribal authority. Her father, John Kelly, is high in the "Snake" councils and proposes to stand by the "old treaties" at all hazards. I approached him once while he was at work in his "sofky patch" and tried to explain to him the utter uselessness of the holding out against the inevitable — how the tribal governments had fallen into decay — how the country had been over-run by white people, outnumbering the Indian ten to one — how it was impossible for the United States to arrest progress in order that the Indian might enjoy undisturbed possession of their country "as long as grass grows and water flows" — and so forth and so forth.[8] But he would have none of it, saying, "The real Indian was not consulted as to allotment of lands; if he had been consulted he would have never consented to depart from the customs and traditions of his fathers. Our tribal government was upset by a stroke of the pen, because a few cried 'Change' and because we were helpless. I call myself a real Indian; you see me here today tilling my ground, tomorrow you will find me here. The real Indian does not change and is steadfast in the truth. He will not be reconciled to wrong. The government of the United States has made us solemn pledges and without our consent has no right to break them. As for us we will keep good faith". So spoke John Kelly and so he speaks today.

The growth of towns, the building of railroads, the

[7] This was Captain George W. Grayson, prominent citizen of Eufaula, Creek Nation. He served in the Second Regiment of Creek Volunteers, under Colonel Chilly McIntosh, in the Confederate Army during the Civil War. Captain Grayson was active on the field of several engagements, including the capture of the steamer *J. R. Williams*, at Pleasant Bluff (Tamaha) on June 15, 1864, and the Second Battle of Cabin Creek, September 19, 1864. Captain Grayson established his home seven miles west of Eufaula soon after the War. He married Miss Anna Stidham, a descendant of notable families in the Creek Nation, and later married her sister, Georgiana. Captain Grayson held many responsible positions in the Creek Nation at different times, including that of national treasurer, representative to the International Council at Okmulgee, member of the House of Warriors for many terms and Creek delegate to Washington.— H. S. & H. E. O'beirne, *The Indian Territory: Its Chiefs and Leading Men* (St. Louis, 1892); and *Civil War Sites in Oklahoma* by Muriel H. Wright and LeRoy H. Fischer (Oklahoma Historical Society, 1967).

[8] The phrase "as long as grass grows and water flows" does not appear in the U. S. Indian Treaties. This phrase was used by President Andrew Jackson in a speech at the making of the Chickasaw Treaty at Franklin, Tennessee in 1830.

leasing and selling of land, the clearing of forests and opening of farms, the disappearance of game and hunting grounds and all the marvelous progress of the country cannot disturb his opinion. He will not vary. He stands pat.

Sept. 3 Spent the day at home with my family.

Sept. 4 Labor Day. Muskogee is gala attire. Parades—floats and speeches at Hyde Park. Return to Eufaula at noon accompanied by my wife and children. Mrs. P. and children go on out to Bald Hill.[9]

Sept. 5 Witness the ball game between the Eufaula and Arbekas at the southern limits of Tulledega. It was the bloodiest conflict I ever witnessed. Not one player escaped unhurt. Only one ball was thrown and then the fight began. The Arbekas were driven to their goal by the Eufaulas disputing every inch of ground. The officers vainly tried to stop the fight by firing pistols in the air. Dove Coker, of the Eufaula side, was stabbed or shot above the right hip and badly injured. Before the game commenced men and women of both sides staked their hats, handkerchiefs, coats, skirts, stockings, and what not upon the issue. The game, or rather battle was witnessed by about 2500 people.

Sept. 6 Fill an appointment at Coweta.

Sept. 7 Take testimony in the vicinity of Lenna.

Sept. 8 Investigate cases around Burney. Eat our lunch at an Indian cabin on Deep Fork where there is no one at home. Share our lunch with the chickens, cats and dogs.

Sept. 9 Go back to Eufaula and thence home with my family to spend Sunday.

Sept. 10 Return to Eufaula on night train.

Sept. 11 Drive to vicinity of West Eufaula church—wrestle with Tom Pologu, a blind Snake Indian, on the enrollment of his daughter's children and fail of my purpose. The blind will not be led. Other Snakes I find "come across", as the saying goes.

Sept. 12 Go to Artussee—take dinner with my uncle, Johnson Phillips—Indian dishes galore—chase Isaac Manley down and secure his evidence—drive to Bald Hill.

Sept. 13 Return to Artussee and thence to Mellette — come across Tom my boyhood companion and recall a few youth-

---

[9] "Bald Hill" was the ranch home of Mr. Lewis Posey, the father of Alex Posey.

ful pranks — Buy some "apusky" from Bob Bender's wife — Examined Tuckabatche church record for dates—Return to Bald Hill.[10]

Sept. 14 Visit Brush Hill and vicinity — Eat dinner with Sam Logan, town king of Arbeka Deep Fork — Skaggs and my brother John say nice things to Susie Island, a pretty Indian girl[11]—Ask a negro to direct us to Thorn Ridge and receive following directions: "Jes take dat mainest road an' go till you see a clump o' trees with glitterin' leaves — dates de place". We discover that the trees "wid glitterin' leaves" are silver maples. Get testimony at Thorn Ridge and return to Bald Hill by way of Burney.

Sept. 15 Visit Burney, New Burney and Brush Hill — Get March Thompson's testimony — find him barbecuing beef to feed to his renters. March is a prosperous Creek, but he never has much to eat and his hospitality is of the mustard seed variety. Once he hired some men to work in the hay field. When he called them to dinner his wife informed him that he had provided nothing to eat. Whereupon March picked up a stick and killed a hen and throwing the dead hen at his wife's feet said, "Aint this something to eat?" His wife cast the dead hen to the hogs saying it could not be cooked without lard. March then took the workmen to the orchard and told them to help themselves to the apples. At supper time there was still nothing to eat and the workmen adjourned to a neighbor's house to satisfy the inner man. While they were eating someone down the road was heard whistling and presently March came in sight. Riding up he dismounted and soon joined his hungry hay makers in their good fortune.

Sept. 16 Return to Eufaula and from there go home to spend Sunday.

Sept. 17 At home — Read Thoureau's "Journal" in the At-

---

10 "Apusky" here is the name of "cold flour," parched corn pounded to a flour or fine meal, by mortar and pestle—an old time food among the Creek people. Artussee was a Creek community southwest of Eufaula. The site of "Mellette" (Mellete) is now an old ghost town about eight miles southwest of Eufaula (Sec. 27, T 19 N, R 15 E). About one mile southwest of Mellete north of the Canadian River is the site of Takabatchee square ground (NE¼, Sec. 33, T 9 N, R 15 E), one of the oldest square grounds in the Creek Nation.

11 The "Pretty Indian Girl — Susie Island" was a member of the noted Islands family of the Creek Nation. Joseph Islands was the Creek who led in the first Baptist Missionary efforts among the Creeks (1840's). His Creek name was "Cho-so-gee." He died at "North Fork Town", near Eufaula on March 8, 1848. — Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "North Fork Town," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIX, (Spring, 1951).

lantic Monthly — Am amused at an entry made in February saying, "I have gone this far into the winter without putting on drawers" or words to that amount. Some days after he writes of being confined to his cabin by bronchitis!

Sept. 18 Return to Eufaula—Skaggs and I do office work, Skaggs transcribing his notes and I making reports in our cases investigated.

Sept. 19 Not yet done with office work — Take Charley Gibson's testimony about his uncle John Leacher — Charley talks like he writes his "Rifle Shots".[12]

Sept. 20 More office work.

Sept. 21 Go to Mellette and Flat Rock — Take a "Snap shot" at some farmers making sorghum — they promise me a jug full of sorghum in return for the picture when it is finished — Turn in for the night at Bald Hill, my mother's place.[13]

Sept. 22 Go to Lenna, Stidham and Brush Hill and thence back to Eufaula — Take dinner with Roley McIntosh, who is in truth a noble red man—welcome and hospitality under his roof — the most intelligent fullblood Indian I have ever known — lives like the old southern gentleman — has held nearly every office within the gift of the Creek people and gives good account of himself.[14]

Sept. 23 Remain in town — Saturday is market day and the whole countryside flocks to town — Investigate several cases.

Sept. 24 Spend a quiet Sunday at home — Read more of Thoreau's Journal — Mrs. Hall, of Henryetta, is our guest.

Sept. 25 Return to Eufaula and take up my work — stay in — Charley Gibson testifies again — After supper Dr. Buford and I visit old Man Seorcy and listen to his talking machine — Dr. Buford always did remind me of Doctor

---

12 Charlie Gibson was the Creek who wrote the column "Rifle Shots," in the *Indian Journal*, Alex Posey, Editor.

13 Alex Posey's father (Lewis Posey) had died and his mother had continued to live at the Bald Hill Ranch.—Dr. Edward Everett Dale, "The Journal of Alexander Lawrence Posey" (1897), *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLV (Winter 1967-1968).

14 The names of the old Creek community mentioned here indicates a wide mileage driven by Alex Posey in his field service. From Eufaula, Lenna is some twelve miles or more northwest, in McIntosh County (Sec. 31, T 11 N, R. 15 E) ; Stidham, four miles east of Lenna (Sec. 4, T 10 N, R 15 E) ; Brush Hill, six miles southwest of Checotah and north of North Canadian River (Sec. 18, T 11 N, R 16 E).

Goldsmith — is just such another character except he is not a poet — He looks like Goldsmith, acts like him and is no better off in the goods of this world.

Sept. 26 Do office work.

Sept. 27 Go to Brush Hill and Burney by way of Fame — Beautiful weather — Autumn leaves falling — Get off the main highway at Ewing's place and while seeking our bearings discover a fine spring of water — the whole neighborhood uses it — Cross the North Canadian at the Rock Ford — I prefer the Creek name Oktahutche to North Canadian — The river falls over a strong bottom at Rock Ford and its roar can be heard afar off — In the olden days the Indians used to poison fish here, and on such occasions the people gathered in great numbers from the country round about to participate in the sports. Brush Hill is a country postoffice, consisting of one store building and school house which is also used as a place of worship and other public gatherings — The school house is packed with pupils, mostly white with a sprinkling of Indian children — A big, overgrown fullblood boy sitting by an open window gives us the "high-ball" as we place, displaying a fine set of teeth like Roosevelt — A little farther on we pass a negro school swarming with young Africa. Secure some testimony in the hay field. Drive to Widow Lerblance's place for dinner but find no one about the house.[15]

Then we go on to Chitto Harjo's place — The famous leader of the Snake Faction welcomes us rather coldly and says he has not been in good health for sometime — The only two chairs on the place are placed at our disposal — Chitto sits down in the doorway of his 10 x 12 log cabin and learning the purpose of my visit — to get his testimony — proceeds to express himself fully and forcibly upon the whole Indian question. Among other things he says, "I shall never hold up my right arm and swear that I take my allotment of land in good faith — not while the water flows and grass grows. God in yon bright firmament is my

---

15 Mrs. Lerblance was the widow of Elijah Hermigine Lerblance, part Catawba Indian who had attended the Asbury Mission near North Fork Town, Creek Nation. (The site of Asbury Mission is now inundated by Eufaula Lake. The Mission was located about two miles northeast of Eufaula, in McIntosh County.) Mrs. Lerblance was Miss Nellie Fife before her marriage in 1878. The couple made their home at Cusseta Town, in the vicinity of the Creek Orphan Asylum, east of Okmulgee.—O'Beirne, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-84.

witness."[16] Meantime the women are busy setting the table out in the yard under a tree; but Chitto does not ask us to break bread with him, and we drive away hungry. In Deep Fork bottom we meet an Indian woman who gives us the information we sought to obtain from Chitto — On our way to Bald Hill, just as we are driving down to the Canadian, Skaggs recklessly strikes a stump and breaks one of the brace rods on the tongue of the buggy. After considerable hammering and wrapping we repair the injured vehicle and proceed on our journey.

Sept. 28 Drive to Uncle Joe Hutton's away up in the blue folds of Tulledega — Uncle Joe is quite an old character — Got our lunch near the Hermit's Cave on the head of Shell Creek — return to Eufaula by way of Kialipee.[17]

Sept. 29 Our work at Eufaula is finished — except two cases — do office work.

Sept. 30 Drive out to Okfusky—Skaggs discovers a curious ear of corn at Jackson Lewis' place — unlike the ordinary ear of corn each grain on this one is covered with shuck, reminding one of lemon drops wrapped with tissue paper — Lewis explains that it is a freak flint corn.[18]

Oct. 1 Spend Sunday with family at Muskogee.

Oct. 2 Return to Eufaula — a rainy day — do office work.

Oct. 3 Leave Eufaula for Dustin — Miss connection at Crowder City, a very dead town with very beautiful scenery.

Oct. 4 Arrive in Dustin — make out our expense accounts.

Oct. 5 & 6 Go to Cumming: — thence to Artussee — back to Dustin by way of Hanna.

---

16 Chitto Harjo was a leader in the ancient Hichiti tribal group of the Creek Nation. Hichiti Square Ground was in the valley of the Deep Fork River, south of Council Hill in present McIntosh County, and southeast of Okmulgee. One of Posey's poems was dedicated to Chitto Harjo as the leader of the Snake faction in the Creek Nation (see p.40 in this issue of *The Chronicles*). The account of Chitto Harjo's part in the so-called "Crazy Snake Uprising" is given in "The Smoked Meat Rebellion" by Mel H. Bolster, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI (Spring, 1953).

17 Posey's poetic description here—"the blue folds of Tulledega" — refers to the hills southeast of Henryetta, bordering the North Canadian River. The old Tulledega Square Ground was in this region.

18 Jerlena King, "Jackson Lewis of the Confederate Creek Regiment," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLI (Spring, 1963).

Oct. 7 Take testimony in Weogufla — Eat dinner at Barney Green's.[19]

Oct. 8 Spend Sunday in Dustin — read.

Oct. 9 Drive out to the old Watson place — return to town for dinner — then drive to Barney Green's — Mr. Simmons accompanies us — Get G's testimony about Charles Jones who died on the road side while returning from Council — G. keeps a record of the deaths of his townsmen —

Oct. 10 Go to Hickory Ground — investigate eight cases.[20] The day very cool — eat lunch in the woods — Skaggs bombards a covey of quail without results — Visit Yadeka Harjo, who is blind and very old — thinks he may be a hundred years old — come here from the "Old country" — an advocate of the Simple life — doesn't care for U. S. citizenship.

Oct. 11 Back in Hickory Ground — Tom Thompson testifies. Tom a fine specimen of Creek manhood — looks like the Indian you see in pictures — Pass a mixed school of white and Indian children — Cuxom Bland teacher —

Oct. 12 Office work.

Oct. 13 Ditto.

Oct. 14 Go home—miss connection at Crowder City—Vivacious Indian girl—stuffed rattlers—Missouri hotel—see monkey circus—reach Muskogee too (late) for Ringling Bros.

Oct. 15 Spend day at home—rested. Martin and May Della our guests—also brother John. Skaggs and John take girls driving and Mrs. P. and children and myself go to Hyde Park.

Oct. 17 Return to Dustin — Uncle Ned returns to bald Hill — May Della returned home last night.

Oct. 16 Spend day at home and office.

Oct. 18 Go to Okemah — guest of Col. Davis — the Col. a prince of good fellow.

Oct. 19 Establish headquarters at Broadway Hotel — have the finest room in the house — Drive out to Nocus Halahtas —

---

19 The name here—"Weogufla"—refers to the Wiogufki square ground —a Creek "town" or community located four miles west of Hanna, in McIntosh County.—Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman [1951], p. 144).

20 The Hickory Ground location is about six miles southeast of Henryetta, on Wolf Creek in McIntosh County.—*Ibid.*, p. 144.

Oct. 20 Stay in town.

Oct. 21 Ditto.

Oct. 22 Skaggs and Col. Dew go to Durant ranch horseback. I stay and take dinner with my cousin John Phillips — read and write — go driving.

Oct. 23 Drive to Okfusky with Col. Dew — Eat dinner at Mann Warren's — The grave houses at Cinda's big as box shacks —[21]

Oct. 24 Go to Morse — sloppery, slippery roads.

Oct. 25 Drive to Greenleaf and Castle.

Oct. 26 Drive to Okfusky — a long hard drive and marshy roads — Visit Chofolop Harjo, whom the white people call "Joe Phillip", being unable to pronounce his Christian name — Thus Indian names are corrupted — Chattanooga, for instance, is a corruption of the Creek word Chubo-nookkee, meaning "sick rock" — Chofolop Harjo is much interested in statehood but is ignorant of the plans of politicians — thinks the Chief ought to enlighten his people on the subject in order that they might act intelligently when the matter of statehood is left to a vote of the people — What a pity that there is no newspaper published in the Creek language for the benefit of the fullbloods! The lack of such a paper has been the cause of all the misunderstandings between government and ward.

Oct. 27 Investigate a land contest case near Morse — Visit Cindy, the thriftiest Indian woman known hereabouts — She is about 50 and was never married and is as chaste as a Vestal virgin — Many a doughty warrior has sought her hand in vain — She has been beautiful and is still good looking — A sound, sensible and business-like woman — has plenty and her credit in Okemah is as good as gold — Her home, which is on Buckeye Creek, is of many rooms she has built some half a dozen hewed log cabins of varying architectural designs — The kitchen and dinning room are under one roof, but separated by a wide hall or "entry" — The roof sweeps down over the long porch, which is fenced in from the pigs, chickens and sofky dogs by pickets — Her own house is a trim log structure with a stone chimney —

---

21 The "Okfusky" (Okfuskee) mentioned is the Creek "Town" with its square ground located about five miles northwest of Castle in Okfuskee County. "Grave houses" are usually small, low roofed houses seen over the graves in old Indian cemeteries in Eastern Oklahoma (particularly within the former areas of the Creek, Chickasaw and Choctaw nations).—*Ibid.*, p. 144.

A duplicate of this house standing near is her servants' quarter — then there is the smoke house, chicken house, plunder house, barn, hay shed, wagon shed, carriage shed (for Cindy rides in a carriage), well house, and what not. There is a fine orchard and garden, and up and down Buckeye lies a twenty acre farm white with cotton and yellow with corn — "I made this place myself", she says, "with a man's help" [*sic*]. There is a grave yard near by where a number of her relatives are buried. Over their graves she has had erected veritable houses, besides which the common Indian grave house would pale into insignificance. The house over her mother's (Kinta) grave is big enough to live comfortably in — Cindy began making her own way in the world at 15 and is certainly a notable example of what a perservering woman can do — Everywhere about her home there are signs of thrift and evidence of prosperity.

1906

March 7 Bob White and his wife have gone to housekeeping — saw them busy about their domestic affairs in the woods along Cusseta Creek, south of Okmulgee —

March 8 Visit New Church — a meeting in progress — only fullbloods in attendance — sit in buggy and listen to Creek songs — some good voices — a beautiful spring day — farmers busy plowing.

March 12 In Henryetta.

March 13 Drive out to Kate Watson's, thence to Jacksie's (Osa Harjo) Jacksie has many dogs —

March 15 Go to Hickory Ground — eat one lunch at home of Jinalee and share it with children — how the little fullbloods enjoy the cake and pie! Do a good work at Yadeka's—

March 16 Visit Tom Thompson in his box house on black prairie.

March 18 Visit John Freeman in his box house in the woods.

March 20 Drive to Africa — Sunny boy has store and several wives — Africa a secluded place.

March 22 Visit George Tiger and Humsey West.

March 24 Drive out to Thomas'. (Butter cups in bloom)

March 27 Visit Amos McIntosh at Piney Hollow — good dinner — relics — the Texas Creek tells of his people in Texas,

still make jars and baskets—[22] Amos talks about his missionary work — bones of Dove Kelly dug up and two nickle bound springs — scenery — game — wild life —

March 28 Secure testimony of Katie Watson relative to death of her grandmother Tegomhoke — Remove headquarters to Wetumka —

March 29 Visit Saheche — get her testimony relative to death of Doche or Toche who was reputed to be the best dancer and the handsomest woman ever known among the Alabamas — John Baker testifying about her once said "she was a magnificient woman!"[23]

The deserted cabin of Joe Larney — the new grave a bundle of clothes in grave house.

March 30 Visit Sarty Come, council member — Sarty's cabin is perched upon a high hill overlooking valley of Oktahutake — Jon Veuna gives testimony about his deceased sister Lillie —[24] Drive back to town for dinner — Then visit Hagie Green and secure his wife's testimony about her child Barney — Nancy, a three year old girl playing in chimney corner outside falls asleep — the picture touches my heart, as she lies there thinly dressed and bare footed — She cried when awakened — no doubt she is sick. I give her four pennies —

Go to Iatkis Harjo's — my heart touched again — Tomoche, a young fullblood lies dying of consumption in a tent in the yard — no room in cabin which is not more than 8 x 10 — calls me to his bedside and inquires if his child will be enrolled — he cannot live many days.

---

[22] The "Texas Creek" refers to a member of the Koasati, a tribal group in the Creek Nation when the Creeks moved west to the Indian Territory (1836). Some of the Koasati still live in Polk County, Texas. —Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-80.

[23] The "Alabamas" referred to were members of Alabama Town (or community) in the Creek Nation, located in the vicinity of Weleetka in Hughes County. The State of Alabama is named for the Alabama tribe that lived within the borders of the state as a part of the old Creek Confederacy, before the removal of the Indians to the Indian Territory, in 1836.—*Ibid.*, pp. 29-31.

[24] The name "Oktahutake" refers to the white sand-bars in the river bed of the *Oktahutchee*, the Creek name for the North Canadian River. Oktahutchee is from the name in the tribal language, *Oktahvtce*, meaning "sand creek." Posey's well known poem, "Song of the Oktahutchee," is appended editorially at the end of this Journal.

SONG OF THE OKTAHUTCHEE*

Far, far, far are my silver waters drawn;
The hills embrace me, loth to let me go;
The maidens think me fair to look upon,
And trees lean over, glad to hear me flow.
Thro' field and valley, green because of me,
I wander, wander to the distant sea.
Thro' lonely places and thro' crowded ways,
Thro' noise of strife and thro' the solitude,
And on thro' cloudy days and sunny days,
I journey till I meet, in sisterhood,
The broad Canadian, red with the sunset,
Now calm, now raging in a mighty fret!
On either hand, in a grand colonnade,
The cottonwoods rise in the azure sky,
And purple mountains cast a purple shade
As I, now grave, now laughing, pass them by;
The birds of air dip bright wings in my tide,
In sunny reaches where I noiseless glide.
O'er sandy reaches with rocks and mussel-shells,
Blue over spacious beds of amber sand,
By hanging cliffs, by glens where echo dwells—
Elusive spirit of the shadow-land —
Forever blest and blessing do I go,
A-wid'ning in the morning's roseate glow.
Tho' I sing my song in a minor key,
Broad lands and fair attest the good I do;
Tho' I carry no white sails to the sea,
Towns nestle in the vales I wander thro';
And quails are whistling in the waving grain,
And herds are scattered o'er the verdant plain.

—Alexander Posey

---

* *The Poems of Alexander Lawrence Posey*, Mrs. Minnie H. Posey, Compiler, with a Memoir by William Elsey Connelly (Topeka, Kansas, 1910), pp. 69-70.

JOURNAL

*Posey's Notes Afield**

March 7 The wind very high; cloudy smoky sky; dust penetrating every crevice; plowed fields having the appearance of sandbars; few birds astir in the upland woods and none singing except, now and then, the cardinal and black-capped (chickadee) titmouse in the deep woods sheltered from the wind. The glades along the river sprinkled with bluets of the softest and tenderest blue imaginable — The strawberry well on the way but a few dead leaves at the bottom indicate that it has been on the way too early — Find a moth mullein getting the start of all other plants in the race for the favors of Spring; but, like the strawberry, only at a great cost; for I find dead leaf after dead leaf beneath the green ones on the rising stalk. The sheltered nook in which it stands has been too favorable for its growth, and, time and again, as cold and sunny days alternated, it has put out its hairy palms only to have them bitten by the frost. Truly, hath it risen on the stepping stone of its dead self —

March 10 Hear the piping of little frogs. Elms becoming green in sheltered places. See a small white butterfly — anemonea — crocus in full bloom — also plum trees —

March 17 Wood violets abundant. Peace trees in bloom on the 8th.

April 5 While Mr. Atkins and myself were rowing on Wewoka today we witnessed what we never before saw or heard of — a swamp rabbit sitting shoulder-deep in water among the knarled roots of a beech tree as if that was his home. He never moved until we jammed the prow of our boat against the roots of the beech — when he hopped thru' the water to the bank and disappeared in the woods. Perhaps he was hiding from dogs or feeding on the tender bark of the beech roots.

April 6 The wind changes to the north during the night and day dawns blustering — The wind higher than any day during March. Cold — a little rain — fear for the fruit — but the wind abates a little toward noon and the sun shines out —

April 6 The most summer like day we have had. The air full of summer sounds. The sky blue and cloudless. The woods

---

*These "Notes Afield" were written by Alex Posey when he was living on his farm west of Checotah, in 1902.

full of new songs. The hillsides greening. A tinge of greenness over all the woods. The high wind of yesterday has spent itself a calm serene quiet prevails. The cows break into the rose garden to crop the tender green leaves. My buggy horses — Joaquin and Shelly — fight over the tufts of green grass I offer them. A sparrow is building a nest in the barn.

No spring rains as yet — quiet dry and dusty.

April 15 The dogwood in blossom. Red buds crimsoning all the woods. The cherry tree has pitched its snowy tent.

April 19 The workhand captures a ruby breasted Humming bird which flies into his room. I take into the apple orchard and set it at liberty when it begins to suck the sweet of the apple blossoms.

April 20 A fine morning. The birds in full song — especially the Cardinal, singing as I never before heard him sing — mocking many the other singers. At first I believe I hear the Mocking Bird.

April 21 A profusing of violets — white and blue. Nuthaches conspicuous. The wasps are building their nests. The largest nest yet is about the size of a half dollar. The one I saw today had three wasps on it.

I was much amused by a downy woodpecker this afternoon. It flew out of a sound blackjack to the trunk of a dead one standing nearby and proceeded to make a thorough investigation of its cavaties. Coming to a hole near the top it stopped suddenly as if a voice had warned it to look sharp out. After a moment's deliberation it decided to have a peep. It approached the hole very cautiously, thrust its head in it a number of times to make sure that there were no boogers in there, and then went in, but it did not stay there any longer than it had time to turn around and look out to see that no one was approaching to slam the door on it. Then it flew down the hillside to hold a confab with another downy exploring a dead redoak.

April 23 For some reason — probably on account of the late frosts — the dogwood blossoms are not as beautiful as they are usually. Instead of being creamy white they have a dull dusty appearance. The apple and cherry trees, however, are pleasant to look upon.

April 24 Two new voices have joined the bird choir — The robin redbreasts' and another birds' whose name I have

not learned. The heat is quite oppressive. Woods, hills and valleys green.

May 1st Up to April 30 quail had not mated. Today I saw Bob White and his wife by the roadside, at the same place where I saw a large covey the day before yesterday.

June 26 I have just witnessed a tragedy — a struggle to the death between a black wasp and a leaf worm three times as large as the wasp — a great burly fellow. I was lying in my hammock reading when all of a sudden something fell on me out of the thick foliage above. On investigation I found a black wasp and a leaf worm struggling fiercely in the hammock. I shook them out and so separated them: but in a moment the wasp flew at the worm and fastened itself to its neck. The worm flounced, squirmed, wriggled and coiled around his antagonist heroically but to no purpose. The wasp ate into its head rapidly and soon overcame it. When the worm ceased its struggle somewhat, the wasp fastened to it about midway of its body and knawed out a pellet of hide and flesh. Then it flew up, circled several times around the hammock and disappeared. I wondered if it would return. Sure enough in about five minutes it came back and cut out another pellet and bore it away as the same as the first. It had made the third trip when I went to dinner. The flies, ants, nats, etc. were industriously making way with the worm's carcass in the wasps absence. I supposed the wasp deposited the pellets in the cells of its nest. The wasp never used its sting during the combat.

Oct. Find a tarrapen devouring a locust.

Activity of ants — repairing damage — find one carrying away bodily another ant — either a bad citizen or conquered in a fight —

Dec. 22 1901 Doc, Con, Horace and myself find a winchester cartridge in a rat nest under a ledge of rocks on Bald Hill with the bullet nearly eaten out & rim of shell knawed sharp — Have always noticed that scorpions & centipede crawl about most during a warm cloudy day when there is plenty of moisture in the air.

July 13, 1902

The mocking bird sings now only late at night.

ESTE CATE EMUNKV

RED MAN ALWAYS

*By Leona G. Barnett**

The Creek Nation

People throughout the United States consider Oklahoma the land of the Indian. Unfortunately, Indian tepee, buffaloes, war dances, and even scalping parties are often the sole images entering their refined, 'adept" psyches. In Oklahoma, such thought is not the case. Citizens of this state live with the Indian, are friends with him, and are frequently taught by him. They accept him for what he is: A civilized, intelligent human being who is, more often than not, highly respected. It is the Red Man's land "so long as grass grows and water flows."[1] It always has been and so shall it always be, if not in reality at least in spirit. Most Oklahomans are proud of this, and certainly not without just cause.

A part of the state's Indian population is composed of the Creek Indians who, forced to evacuate Georgia and Alabama, first arrived in Indian Territory in 1828, settling in the east central part of the state. The word "Creek" is derived from "Ochese Creek Indians, the title given the first group of the tribe in Carolina government relations as reported by the British agents for the Indian tribes in 1720."[2] Ochese Creek was the old name of the Ocmulgee River in Georgia. Another name accepted by the Creeks themselves after 1700 is *Musko'ke* (in English, "Muskogee").[3] The first party to arrive in the Indian Territory

---

* This paper has been adapted editorially for *The Chronicles* from the manuscript prepared by Leona G. Barnett, a senior in The University of Oklahoma (1968). Miss Barnett has grown up at Eufaula and counts among her family friends, descendants of the old Creek families living in the vicinity. Mrs. Ella Mitchell, sister of Alexander Posey, who lives at Stidham, is among these. Also, others of the old time Creeks who were gracious and helpful to Miss Barnett in the preparation of her paper are Mrs. Mildred McIntosh Franklin and Mrs. G. J. Fuller of Eufaula, the latter a daughter of the late George W. Grayson; and Mr. A. H. Pratt who once worked on the Posey farm and was a student of Alexander Posey when he taught at Stidham.—Ed.

1 Robert D. Lomax, "Oklahoma's Grand Old Paper" (ref., President Jackson's Message to Congress, 1829), report in 1954, Journalism 311, University of Oklahoma. Also, see John Bartlett Meserve, "The Indian Removal Message of President Jackson," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIII (March, 1935).

2 Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1951), p. 12.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 128.

was the McIntosh party in 1828. They settled ". . . in the northern part of the new country, north of the Arkansas River and west of the Verdigris."[4]

The plight of the Indian at this time is well described as follows:[5]

> The removal of the Creek Indians from their home in Alabama to the Indian Territory was attended by hardship and grief. After they found themselves in their new home impoverished and suffering from the rapacity and cruelty of the white man, they recoiled from his touch and influence. For a time in some parts of the tribe the lash was applied to persons found guilty of attending a "preaching" or wearing the clothing of the white man. And it was long before they could be induced to look with tolerance on his churches and schools.

From the history that has come down through the years, the Creek seems to have had just cause for his feeling of antipathy for the white man. "The tragic migration of the Creek Indian brought more than ten thousand cold, suffering and destitute members of that tribe to Fort Gibson in December, 1836."[6] These Indians found themselves in a strange land with no implements for farming or raising crops, no money, no clothes, and no ammunition for hunting.

An issue on February 1, 1839, was finally made to ". . . 2,000 half-starved Creeks gathered at the depot on North Fork of the Canadian River, and later another to a large number nearer to Fort Gibson."[7]

The Creek is one of the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma, its people known for "their conservatism and for dramatic color in their ceremonials."[8] A Creek is usually proud and stoical. It is recorded that even in the early days of the Territory, "the Creeks were a peace-loving people and had a shrewd appreciation of the blessings of quiet and tranquillity and both by precept and example they came to exercise a wholesome influence on their indigenous neighbors—more than did any of the other immigrants."[9]

After the Civil War, the Creek people met in 1867 and united under a written constitution. Okmulgee was designated as the capital of the Creek nation at this time. Also meeting at Okmulgee was ". . . the General Council of the Indian Territory beginning

---

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 129.

[5] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints*, (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1936), p. 174.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 152.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 155.

[8] Muriel H. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

[9] Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1934), p. 203.

in 1870, with delegations representing the nations and tribes of the Territory in attendance."[10] The Council made plans for the creation of an Indian state within the boundaries of the Indian Territory.

The Dawes Commission meeting in Washington on March 8, 1900, prepared a new treaty that was signed by Creek leaders that was to become effective June 25, 1901. The terms of the treaty provided that ". . . every man, woman, and child, including Negro freedmen, should select 160 acres as an allotment from the Creek domain (3,072,813 total acres surveyed) and that the tribal government should be dissolved on or before March 4, 1906."[11]

Only after much toil, hardship, and suffering at the hands of the white man did the Indian become again a human being established in his new land. The Five Civilized Tribes were forced to conquer infinite difficulties, but "their progress year after year and their achievements in the field of culture and government have no parallel in the history of our Indians."[12]

One of the most celebrated Creek Indians of all times, Alexander Posey, was born August 3, 1873, eight miles west of Eufaula, Oklahoma, in McIntosh County.

His father was Lewis Posey, a Scotch-Irish of about one-sixteenth Creek blood. He was born in 1841, and reared by a Creek woman near Fort Gibson. The elder Posey attended Lewis Robertson School and served as a Deputy U.S. Marshal at Fort Smith before his marriage at which time he moved to Bald Hill (or Ball) eight miles west of Eufaula. He is said to have been the only white man of his time who could speak the Creek language perfectly.[13]

His daughter remembers him as ". . . a big man with blue eyes. He never spanked me, but all of us knew when he looked at us we had better obey. When he would have men friends over, they would sit on the porch and talk. If any of the kids came around, he would look at them and they knew to get gone."[14]

Pohos Harjo (Nancy Phillips) was the mother of Alex. The Harjo family was famous as warriors. She was of the Wind Clan of the Creeks and a member of Tuskegee Town, or Band, of the

---

10 Muriel H. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 138.
11 *Ibid.*, p. 140.
12 Grant Foreman, *op. cit.*, preface.
13 Minnie H. Posey (ed), *The Poems of Alexander Lawrence Posey*, (Crane & Co., Printers, Topeka, Kan., 1910), p. 7.
14 Personal interview with Mrs. Ella Mitchell, Stidham, Oklahoma, July 1, 1967

Muscogee Nation as well as being a member of the Baptist Church. She and Lewis were married in October, 1872, when she was fifteen years old.[15] Her daughter recalled that "She liked all her children, but she was especially fond of Alex, because he was the oldest and was always very, very attentive to her. He was much closer to her than he was to his father."[16]

Alex was a lover of nature from the beginning, very sensitive and very intelligent. Tom Sulphur, a Creek boy raised by Alex's parents, was his constant companion. Alex spoke only Creek until he was twelve years old and began speaking English then only at the command of his father. In 1890, when he was seventeen, Alex went to Bacone University, an Indian school founded near Muskogee in 1880. While there he set type on Sundays for a small paper, the *BIU Instructor*. It was in this that his first literary contributions appeared.

In 1895, Alex was elected to a seat in the House of Warriors —the House of Representatives or lower branch of the Creek Legislature. The following year, in 1896, he was made superintendent of the Creek Orphan Asylum at Okmulgee. On May 9, of that year, Posey was married to a teacher, Minnie Harris of Fayetteville, Arkansas. They were introduced by J. N. Thornton, editor of the *Indian Journal,* at breakfast one morning in a hotel at Eufaula. A son, Yahola (Creek for Echo) was born a year later.[17]

Lewis Posey always referred to his son's wife as "the Madam," this white woman who had suddenly become a part of the family. Alex's mother, however, seemed to get along all right with her daughter-in-law.[18]

Posey was appointed Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Creek Nation but after a short time, he resigned to live on his farm near Stidham and devote himself to writing while his wife had charge of his business. It was not long during this period when the Federal government had taken over the supervision of all the Indian schools that Posey was called to serve as Superintendent of the National Creek High School at Eufaula. He soon had the High School in good order, and again was called to take charge of the Wetumpka National School. He rehabilitated this institution but left it to become publisher of the *Indian Journal.* The Dawes Commission with headquarters at Muskogee was closing up the governments of the Five Civilized Tribes, and there was much division among the Indian people

---

15 Minnie Posey (ed), *op. cit.*, p. 8.

16 Mitchell interview, *op. cit.*

17 Minnie Posey (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 20-24.

18 Mitchell Interview, *op. cit.*

(Sketch by Lela Johnson)

MRS. NANCY PHILLIPS POSEY, MOTHER OF ALEXANDER POSEY

over important matters in the settlement of their affairs. Posey was editor of the *Indian Journal* for more than two years, and then was employed by the *Muskogee Times*. The Creek people had great faith in Alex Posey. At the request of the Dawes Commission, he took charge of the Creek enrollment party, appraising lands and making allotments.[19]

Alex Posey spoke both English and Creek fluently, and often served as interpreter for many were needed in pre-statehood days. He was a friend to both the Indian and the white man and did much for all the people of the Indian Territory. Posey is especially remembered for his "Fus Fixico Letters" that appeared in the Eufaula *Indian Journal* and the *Muskogee Times*. The "Letters" contained remarks by such Indian characters as Hot Gun, Wolf Warrior, Kone Harjo and Tookpofko Micco. He also makes remarks in satire on the white men taking over the Creek lands and defrauding the Creek people.[20] Posey's poems and most of his other writings appear under the *nom de plume*, Chinnubbie Harjo, who in Creek mythology is regarded as the evil genius of the Creek people.[21]

Posey was a handsome man with clear cut features as his photographs verify. His name was Alexander but his signature was only Alex, ". . . and as such he is remembered and loved by the people who admire his writings and deplore his tragic drowning on May 27, 1908."[21a] His lines about the river that took his life has always provoked a mysterious feeling of awe in readers and admirers of his poetry:[22]

Why do trees along the river
Lean so far out o'ver the tide?
Very wise men tell me why, but
I am never satisfied;
And so I keep my fancy still,
That trees lean out to save
The drowning from the clutches of
The cold remorseless wave.

He was drowned in the North Canadian River while attempting to cross it during a flood on a journey from Muskogee to Eufaula. The stone marking his grave in Greenhill Cemetery in Muskogee reads:[23]

---

19 Doris Challacombe, "Alexander Lawrence Posey" *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XI (December 1933) pp. 1014-1015; Minnie Posey (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 30-40.

20 Minnie Posey (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

21 Carolyn Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

21a *Ibid.*

22 Minnie Posey (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 79.

23 Carolyn Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 185; also, Minnie Posey, (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 65.

(Photo taken 1910)

SCENE ON THE NORTH CANADIAN RIVER

When death has shut the blue skies
out from me,
Sweet Daffodil,
And years roll on without my memory,
Thou'lt reach thy tender fingers down
to mine of clay,
a true friend still,
Although I'll never know thee till the
Judgment Day.

Posey as Editor and Poet

The *Indian Journal* began publication at Eufaula in 1877, after the paper was moved from Muskogee. While in Muskogee the publication had been under the organization of a joint stock company composed of three Indians: William Ross, president: Samuel Grayson, treasurer, and M. P. Roberts, editor.[24] "A letter from the principal chief to the National Council of the Muskogee Nation, dated November 2, 1877, advised that since the *Indian Journal* first began publication, the world at large was becoming better acquainted with the interests of the Indians."[25]

---

24 Carolyn Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 179.
25 *Ibid.*, p. 179

The paper was printed in Muskogee from October, 1878, until 1887 when Dr. Leo Bennett returned it again to Eufaula. The *Journal* soon had correspondents at Fort Gibson, Wewoka, Checotah, McAlester, and Muskogee.

In 1887, the International Council of Indian Territory recognized the *Journal* as a paper representing the Indians. Bennett, issued a statement while he was editor saying the *Journal* was to be the ". . . medium through which both the wrongs and the rights of the Indians may be made known to the general public."[26]

In the last issue of the *Indian Journal,* the Editor, J. N. Thornton, told about selling his interest in the paper to Posey. He had this to say about the new editor publisher on January 25, 1902:[27]

> Mr. Posey is a writer whose reputation extends beyond the boundaries of Indian Territory. He will make the *Journal* a better paper because he will give it all of his attention, which I have been unable to do for several years. Mr. Posey needs no introduction to the people and press of the Territory. He is already well known and appreciated. I wish him and the *Journal* success.

It seems only fitting and proper that the January 31, 1902, issue of the Eufaula *Indian Journal* should be edited by a hometown boy. He was one of the most knowledgeable men of his day and considered by many people one of the greatest Creeks of all times.

In the first issue, January 31, 1902, Editor Posey had an advertisement covering the top half of the front page for Tully Mercantile Company. Charles Gibson, a talented Creek writer had composed a short article entitled "Creek War Whoop" that made the lower front page. These two features lasted almost as long as Posey was editor of the *Journal.* They were in nearly every issue.

In another front page article headed "About Indians," not only the Creeks were given coverage, but also the Chickasaws, Cherokees, and Choctaws. Articles from different papers, the *Purcell Register, Fort Gibson Post, Daily Capital, Holdenville Times,* and *Durant Times,* were also included under this general heading.

Alex Posey's wit and humor became a part of his paper. His humorous reports about the Snake faction among the Creeks,

---

26 *Ibid.*, p. 183.

27 This and all following quotes as well as all references, until otherwise noted by means of footnotes, are taken from the *Indian Journal,* published at Eufaula, Oklahoma, McIntosh County, during the time in which Alexander Posey was editor of the said publication.

(discussed later) appealed to his Indian readers. The following story appeared in the January 31, 1902, issue: "Information has reached us the Snake Indians held a great pow-wow at Hickory Ground and passed an edict and dispatched a body of light horsemen to Washington to execute the same by abbreviating the ears of Comm. Jones as the length of the said ears are a dead give-away as to the origin of his species and a reproach to civilization."

A story about a wedding was once begun in the following fashion (March 21, 1902): "The *Snake* reporter of the *Journal* was invited to see the first born of Mr. M. Horn married to Ben Winchester Aultman last Sunday . . ."

Another time (July 4, 1902) Posey printed a story told by Billy Barnett about a fullblood selling his land. It seems one old Creek kept hearing about how all his friends were getting rich by selling their lands so he decided to do likewise. After he was told at the land office that he would be given 15c an acre for his land, the Indian went out and brought back a gunny sack filled with rich soil from his farm, demanding 15c a pound for it.

On May 2, 1902, under the heading "Neighborhood Notes" appeared the following "note":

Lost—A small boy about the size of a girl, blind in the right ear deaf in the left leg, was barefooted with a pair of wooden shoes on, had an empty bag on his back containing three barrels of skylights and one railroad tunnel, when last seen was looking for that good road that leads to Eufaula.

An amusing episode which illustrates the famous Posey wit is recorded under "Canadian Tid-Bits" on July 4, 1902:

Alex Posey, our genial editor and "Boss" gave us a call Friday and informed us that he is going to edit both the Eufaula papers now, and would have lots of spare space "maybe sometimes," which we, Canadian, could have provided we have enough news to fill it up. We are very obliged to Mr. Posey for his kindness and will endeavor to return it with long items, poems, essays, etc. We know he is a very busy man, because—

O, visions of celestial ease,
With no one but yourself to please!
How pleasant in the shade to sit and drink your beer
and make good cheer
All day and never have to quit,
While others find
That they must grind,
That ever they must "up and git!"

(We appreciate our correspondent's weekly letters very much and the length of the news items, poems, essays, etc., will not affect our appreciation in the least.—Editor).

The *Indian Journal* enjoyed one of its most popular and most prosperous years with Alex Posey at the helm in 1902, with the announcement in April that the paper had the largest circulation

THE INDIAN JOURNAL.

TWENTY-SEVENTH YEAR. EUFAULA, IND. TER., FRIDAY, JULY 4, 1902 NUMBER 27

We are after your trade. We are better fitted to supply your wants than we have ever been before. You can come to our store and buy what you want We carry every thing, and carry it in quantity. Your orders are not to large or too small for us. All we want is for you to give us a trial to prove to you that we are the people for you to trade with.

Are you going to Büild

If so, let us furnish you your

LUMBER, SHINGLES, LIME, BRICK, WINDOWS, DOORS WALLPAPER, HARDWARE AND PAINT.

The only place in town that you can buy all of these in one place and buy them as cheap as you can buy them anywhere.

If you want to make a mistake buy a MOON BROS. Buggy from us. They are the most popular buggies that are used in Eufaula. We refer you to [illegible] Waterman & Benson, Tollerson and Norton, A. B. Vandivere, W. G. Herbert, J. G. Sunset, [illegible] Foley, John McFarland, W. T. Fears, Mrs. D. R. Porter, Mrs. M. [illegible] Crabtree, A. L. [illegible], and all others that are using them

C. H. TULLY PRESIDENT R. L. SIMPSON SECRETARY

TULLY MERCANTILE COMPANY

CAPITAL STOCK $100.000

FURNITURE AND UNDERTAKING

Have you visited our Furniture store, the only furniture house in Eufaula. We carry everything in the furniture line, wallpaper, [illegible] moulding, carpets, rugs, matting, [illegible] mirrors, etc., etc. We have sets, pictures, portraits, odd pieces, [illegible] thing. We have an Undertaking Department in connection with the furniture store—have a [illegible] only Embalmer in the city.

We carry Standard Groceries, every thing sold guaranteed to be as represented or your money refunded; when you are in the market and want to buy a bill for the cash we will sell it to you as cheap if not cheaper than any one else.

Clothing and Dry Goods

Clothing and Dry Goods in which we surpass all competitors. We guarantee to be the market, [illegible] best and latest styles and buy in quantities [illegible] to give a chance to make a selection from

Shoes

Shoes

We [illegible] have [illegible] the [illegible] shoes of [illegible] kinds [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

of any paper in the Creek Nation. The Muskogee *Daily Phoenix* commented on the *Journal* (July 18, 1902):

The *Indian Journal* published at Eufaula by Alex Posey, has shown improvement with every issue since the change of ownership. There is a freshness, a crispness, a novelty with each issue that is delightful and entertaining and since the consolidation of the two papers [the *Journal* and the *Gazette*] the *Journal* has grown to be one of the first papers in the Territory.

It was in June, 1902, that Posey acquired the Eufaula *Gazette* that had been published by Virgil Winn. The following statement was issued in the June 27th issue of the *Journal* in regard to the purchase:

. . . Lastly, it will be our policy, as heretofore to represent the whole community, not any part of it. If our friends get to fighting among themselves, it will be our policy to stand aside and watch them scrap it out. Since we cannot afford to lose any of our friends, we are not going to avail ourselves of the opportunity to make any of them our enemies. We shall be satisfied to extend fair treatment to all, to publish the news and to go our length in the upbuilding of Eufaula, to us the only town in the wide world.

When the *Indian Journal* celebrated its 27th birthday in January, 1903, this statement was printed (January 2, 1903):

. . . It reflected public sentiment in the Territory when Eufaula was an Indian village and when this country was truly the land of the red man and no white man dwelt here save the soldier, the licensed trader and Mr. Watts, of the Cherokee nation. Those were palmy days. The Indian politician was boss with an emphatic B.

And now that the strenuous life is staring the red man in the face and his land is rapidly slipping from beneath his feet; now that the red man must needs dig his toes deep in the soil and bow his back to stay in the land which the Lord God has preserved unto him, the *Indian Journal*, true to its name as in the past, will continue to be the Indian's friend, espousing always the cause which it believes will rebound to his betterment.

No white man could have put into words such an eloquent statement that carried as much meaning as this. An Indian could understand the feelings of the Indians during this time, and Alex Posey expressed them. When Posey edited the *Journal*, the publication was always for the red man as much as it was for the white man.

Much of the honor and respect entertained by the Eufaula paper at this time was due to its editor. Posey himself was known, honored, and respected throughout the Territory. Readers were aware of his flair for interesting writing and greatly appreciated him.

Posey lends the charm of his own delightful personality to the *Journal* and under his own management, it is winning fresh laurels every day. He has been prominent in National school work for seven years and the Creek nation never had an abler man. He is perhaps the best known writer in the Indian Territory. All in all, the *Journal* may well feel proud of its editor.—*Henryetta Free Lance* (Reprinted in *Journal* January 16, 1903).

The paper usually sported few editorials because said Posey, ". . . it is a newspaper and not an essay" (April 4, 1902). Although few policies of the paper were spelled out in black and white, this statement was printed in the April 11, 1902 issue: "The *Journal* is not the organ of any faction nor the mouthpiece of any individual in Eufaula . . . We are here to give the news and to treat every man with equal fairness."

From the beginning of his career as editor of the *Indian Journal,* Alex Posey set about to "sell people" on what a great town Eufaula was. Hardly an issue lacked some tidbit proclaiming what a good place Eufaula was to live in, how it was progressing, and what a bright future undoubtedly lay ahead for the town and its citizens (May 9, 1902):

> We know of no town in the Indian Territory with a more promising future than Eufaula. It had a bright future when there were no prospects of the great thing unto which it is coming. Backed up by an immense extent of fertile farming country and abundant natural resources, it has always felt it is to have a district court, county seat and another railroad, a glorious future awaits Eufaula!

Sometimes the editor would add only a line or two about the town, but that line or two usually made the point he was attempting to put across. Posey was a proud man and proud of his town. This trait he admonished in his fellow citizens (March 2, 1902): "The man that pays his taxes promptly and puts in a good word for his town when he can is a good citizen and is worthy of honor, no matter how many patches there may be embroidered on his overalls."

Posey's skill in praising his town appeared in the July 18, 1902 issue of the *Journal.* It said simply: "Eufaula has progress by the tail and a down hill pull."

It was, no doubt, difficult for readers of the *Indian Journal* to forget that the editor was also a poet. Posey could give praise to the town in a poetic way (February 28, 1902): "Eufaula has grown as grows a sturdy oak—striking deep roots into the rich soil between the two Canadians and bearing aloft in its vigorous growth into solid timber a great dome of spreading branches heavy with acorns."

Whenever matters seemed to be neglected by the townspeople, Editor Posey had a way of reminding all of their duties. This was about cats (March 28, 1902): "All winter and spring a dead cat has lain at the north end of Main Street . . . Since the coming of these warm days, . . . the passer-by can't help knowing that there is something raising a stink in this part of the city."

Again, it was about some "not quite so attractive" scenic view (April 4, 1902): "The big pond on Front Street is a disgrace to the town. It is the first thing a visitor sees when he lands in Eufaula and the impression it makes on him is bound to be unfavorable . . . It either ought to be filled up or made to look respectable by a fringe of willows."

Himself a poet, Posey always seemed to find room in his paper to print a few poems, but too few were of his own creation. He described spring in Eufaula (March 21, 1902) with no title or author listed:

The wood violet is in bloom, likewise the johnny-jump-up.
The grass is rising and creeping everywhere.
The peach trees are crimson with blossoms.
The mullen is pushing its hairy self to the front.
Folks are busy in the garden
The smell of the fresh earth is in the air.

The following lines entitled "Spring in Eufaula," was probably written by Posey, though no author is listed (April 4, 1902):

The turkey gobbler is gobbling.
The housefly is buzzing 'round in sunny places.
The spring fever is prevalent.
The small boy has gone fishing.
Spring poems are beginning to sprout.
The wild plum tree is in full bloom.
The May apple is unfolding its green umbrella.
The hen is laying with a vengeance and making her eggs worthless.
The morning air is jubilant with song.
The skunk cabbage is getting rank.

Following an article about a picnic to be held at the Slate Spring School house, five miles west of Stidham and one mile south of Burney, appeared this poem although it has no author nor title. (June 20, 1902):

Of all the places that you've seen,
Slate Spring is in the lead;
It's not like lots of neighborhoods —
Dried up and gone to seed.
The people here are wide awake,
They're doing something, too;
They don't stand back for some one else
To push a project thro.'
They are preparing for a time;
If they don't all get sick,
The thing is going to come off
At this big June picnic.

The next poem entitled *Song of the Brook* again has no author listed, but can be attributed to Posey. This appeared in a box similar to the kind in which many of the Fus Fixico letters appeared (May 22, 1902):[28]

I come from the haunt
Of the Front Street pond;
I flow through the town
And the woods beyond.
My color is green
When the days are warm;
The skeeters I breed
Sing songs in a swarm.
The dads of the town
I cause them to leap,
For the ruts I cut
Are yawning and deep.
Through the fence and weed
And the choicest lot,
Where the breachy cows —
Old Brindle and Spot —
Are chewing their cuds,
And the vagrant swine
Is upturning the sod
For an earthworm find.
I pursue my course
At my own free will
To the pent-up slough
That sleeps by the mill,
Where the moccasin
And the chill conspire
A plague for the town
In the ooze and mire.

An altruistic feature of the Posey paper was the human interest stories that made their debut after the Creek assumed editorship. This story appeared on March 21, 1902:

> There is a little frail, sparely clothed white woman living near Eufaula who supports a disabled husband and house full of children by peddling wood. The weather never gets too bad for her to be on the street with her load of wood. She comes early and stays late . . . She cuts much of the wood she peddles herself. She loads and unloads it herself. She stands up in the wagon and drives her poor old ponies like a man . . . The hard grind of poverty has forced her to take a man's place in the world and she is filling the place admirably.

Posey had praise for Whites and Creeks alike. On April 4,

---

[28] This was the same pond Posey referred to in one of his very short articles encouraging the citizens to correct the unsightly scene that always confronted visitors to the town. Satire may be noted in his expression.

1902, appeared a short article about the Creek, Jackson Lewis. "Lewis is a fullblood Creek and knows more about Creek traditions than anyone. He is, moreover, well-learned in Creek and can write Creek as few Whites can write English. . . ."

Interesting reports appeared in the *Indian Journal* about well-known citizens as the following in the July 4, 1902 issue about Colonel Roley McIntosh of Fame in McIntosh County:

> The colonel has been a conspicuous figure in Creek politics all his life and is a man of large mental caliber. His speech to the bolting Marcum delegation at Ardmore a couple of years ago established his reputation as a pointed and forceful speaker. His speech was directed at the Wolverton delegation and was as follows: "Those fellows in the big shed played hell."

On a few occasions even Posey received a flash of well-deserved limelight. Reprinted from the *Purcell Register* in the January 16, 1903 issue of the *Indian Journal* was this: ". . . we had the pleasure of meeting . . . the bright young Indian, Alex Posey, who has given to the Eufaula *Journal* more of originality than is possessed by any other paper that reaches us, and has placed the paper in a class distinctively its own."

Human interest stories in his paper showed his sympathy for the Snake, a faction of the *Creeks*. He described one of the old men who came into town (June 5, 1903):

> His hair, though long and flowing, was not abundant and its thinness reminded us of the tail of a pony from which the cockle burs had just been removed. Swung over his left arm were a pair of old-time saddlebags, stuffed with a various assortment of household supplies. The long hair and the saddlebags seemed strangely out of place in this age of Creek deeds and statehood agitation. Then it occurred to us that the long haired Snake Indian, with his old time saddlebags, was only one of the many discordant notes in the grand march of our civilization.

The Snake Indians, a faction of the Creeks who resisted the coming of statehood, contributed significantly to the current events reported during the early 1900's in the *Indian Journal.* Their camping grounds were located fairly close by, so any "Snake News" was of particular interest to the citizens of Eufaula. From the articles appearing in the Posey-edited issues of the *Journal* came a strong feeling of sympathy for the Snakes. Posey's concern for them was because he too was a Creek, sensitive and keenly aware of the difficulties surrounding his people, besides the fact that his intimate childhood friend, Tom Sulphur, was a member of this faction.[29] This comment appeared April 18, 1902:

---

29 Tom Sulphur was a Creek about the same age as Alex Posey and was reared by Alex's parents. He was a constant companion to Alex until they were in their late teens. Then Alex went away to school (Bacone), and Tom left home. No reports can be found by this author concerning Tom after this time with the exception of the above article. That Alex and Tom were quite close while at home is verified by Alex's sister, Ella Mitchell.

Tom Sulphur, our boyhood friend and companion, was in Eufaula last week and looked us up. He asked us if we had forgotten how we unstopped the two big gallon jugs another boy was learning to swim with; how we put the egg in Hoty's boots while he slept; how he (Tom) accidently exploded a big bunch of parlor matches in his pants pocket and groveled in fresh plowed earth to put out the fire on himself. Alas! Tom is but a poor, misguided Snake Indian now, while we are a big rich country editor.

At the end of a long article about the arrest of a number of the Snake Indians, Posey explained the fate of these people (February 21, 1902):

. . . So Snake and his folks lived in jail until they promised to be good. Then they were discharged on parole after pleading guilty to something-or-other.

But nothing was said in the parole about what was to be done in case of a failure in the corn crop and a consequent dearth of "sofkey". So, the unexpected having happened, the Snakes are again pestering the serenity and there are great doings at Old Hickory Ground, where the Snakes are too numerous for councilors and too few for war.

The following brief article about the Snake leader, Chitto Harjo, better known as "Crazy Snake," appeared in the *Indian Journal* for December 5, 1902:

Chitto Harjo or Crazy Snake, was in Eufaula last Saturday on a mission of peace—laying in supplies and quietly taking side-long glances at the passing show. His movements were so modest that many who had read about him in the news-papers elbowed him in the crowd and passed on without dreaming that they had just rubbed against the most "pizen" article that has ever won notoriety. . . .

Although Posey was entremely fair in representing both the White Man's and the Red Man's points of view, his sympathy, as observed in his reports on the "Snakes," lies mostly with the Indian. It is doubtful that any other man serving as editor of the *Indian Journal* during this crucial period for the Indian could have employed the paper to be any more representative of the full blood Indian.[30]

---

30 For a review of the life of Chitto Harjo (Crazy Snake) see Mel H. Bolster "The Smoked Meat Rebellion," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI (Spring, 1953).

Many reports and letters by G. W. Grayson, also a Creek citizen working with the government for the benefit of his people, were printed in the *Journal* to keep the Indians informed. On April 4, 1902, an open letter by Grayson carried the title, "Capt. Grayson calls the attention of the Interior Department to shady methods practiced by land companies to defraud Creek full-bloods."

Since these were the days of the Dawes Commission, treaties with the government, and the lengthy wait for deliverance of the deeds to their allotments, the Creek people, were naturally interested in the latest governmental and political news.

On July 25, 1902, appeared an article about the appeal "to the president for protection of the Creeks against lawless land grabbers" as submitted to the Council by Chief Porter. The following report by G. W. Grayson in the *Journal* explained the work toward allotment of land (September 4, 1902):

> The Dawes Commission has directed the Creek appraisement committee to begin the work of the appraisement of Creek allotments; and in order to familiarize itself with particular classes of land on which it will have to place values, the committee is now engaged in visiting certain localities, notably the country immediately adjoining towns, with a view to placing on such lands such prices as shall appear to be justified by the terms of the agreement with the government . . .

Listed under the heading, "Territorials" appears the statement: "The Creeks have accepted the $600,000 appropriation of Congress as payment in full of the Loyal Creek Claim."

During the early 1900's Creek Indian Schools were still in existence. Sometimes brief notices concerning the local Creek schools appeared in the *Journal.* In the June 6, 1902 issue this statement was found: "Our fullblood friends tell us that the closing exercises of Okfusky neighborhood school west of Eufaula was highly creditable. The teacher, Mrs. Nancy Scott, is a full-blood Creek, who was educated at Carlisle."

Because of the great number of Indians in the Territory, numerous reports concerning certain ones were often printed. Less glorious deeds such as the story reprinted from the *Muskogee Phoenix* on May 16, 1902, about Jack Tiger, a Creek desperado who was killed by a U.S. deputy marshal and the escape of his Wewoka pals were also printed.

The June 27, 1902 issue of the *Journal* carried a story about Choela, the medicine man, who passed out on Front Street after an excess of liquor. He was jailed and "made bond for $8.50 in preference to doing time on the streets." Yet there were many

industrious Indians that put their time to a better use such as Johnson Lewis:[31]

> Johnson Lewis, a Creek fullblood living near Eufaula, had made and delivered over seven thousand fence posts for the right of way of the Wybark extension of the Katy, and instead of blowing himself for booze, has saved up enough of his earnings to buy a hundred dollar mule. As he is still hard at work he will probably earn enough to buy a mate for his mule before the year is out. Lewis is made of good stuff and will survive and prosper.

It is highly probable that whoever might have happened to be editor of the *Indian Journal* at this time, the paper would have contained fairly adequate coverage of the Creeks, if for no other reason than the vast population of the Indians in this area. However, since Posey himself was a Creek, he was, acquainted with the majority of the local Indians. This proved a highly valuable asset to the editor in his collection of the news.

An article on Charles Gibson appearing in the *Henryetta Free Lance* was reprinted in the *Journal* December 12, 1902:

> Perhaps the most unique character in the Creek Nation today is Charles Gibson of Eufaula. He is at once an old timer and an Indian of modern views. Born and reared at a time when schools were scarce, he received but a smattering of the rudiments of an education. Yet he is a forceful writer and has a wide circle of admiring readers. His "Rifle Shots" as published in the *Indian Journal*, gives evidence of striking ability as a story teller. His imagination is vivid and his philosophy is unanswerable. His mind seems to dwell on the old days, so rich in legends and traditions, . . . His ability to recall the powers of his mind from the dreamy days of the sixties to the hard, cold condition that confronts his people today, seems wonderful. Both the United States government and the Creek authorities recognize him as a man well calculated to discharge a public trust.

Gibson's "Rifle Shots" were often amusing, sometimes pertinent to an immediate situation, or again just a brief history of an old Indian custom. Whatever form "Rifle Shots" took, they were always informative and enjoyed by the *Journal's* readers. His column was a regular feature in the Eufaula paper and usually appeared on the lower half of the front page. One interesting excerpt from Gibson's story appeared in *The Journal* for April 25, 1902: "The Creek law required all male citizens over 18 years of age to work the roads four days during the year. This kept the roads pretty good. But since the Curtis Bill went into operation, the roads have been neglected as most everything has been neglected."

The Creeks were forced to wait for sometime before the

---

31 The "Johnson Lewis" mentioned here by Editor Posey was Jackson Lewis of Eufaula-Canadian Town Creek Nation. Mrs. Jerlena King, the great-grand daughter of Jackson Lewis, contributed his biography to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLI (Spring, 1963), pp. 66-69.

deeds to their land allotments were delivered. Gibson once wrote in his column for June 20, 1902:

> We dreamed we saw the long-looked for Creek deeds handed out in great numbers. . . . One Indian was heard saying, "I did kind o'bargain off my land but this is my last chance and I believe that I bargained it off too low. Now, I am an honest Indian, but, I believe, I will act a little sneaky for once anyhow, and so hold up the deed to my land. I know it is not white in me to do this but I will follow up the golden rule a little ways 'doing as I have been done by.' "

Like Posey, Gibson also had compassion and sympathy for the Creeks. In his "Rifle Shots" column for August 1, 1902, he tells of a conversation with an old lady who was the last member of the McIntosh family to make the arduous journey from Alabama to the Indian Territory: "The government," she continued, "promised to pay the Creeks for losses incident to their removal from the old country, but the promise has never been fulfilled and I am still expecting to receive pay some day for the great misfortune sustained by my family."

Gibson wrote again on March 13, 1903: "When a white man seems to be real good to you is a time for you to let him alone; he wants something you have real bad."

It is almost ironical that two such talented writers as Posey and Gibson were both working for the same paper at the same time, and that they were both Creek Indians. Gibson, like Posey, was truly a credit to his people.

The most popular feature of the *Indian Journal* at the time, along with Gibson's "Rifle Shots," was Alex Posey's "Fus Fixico Letters." They were a satire on the white man's actions toward the Indian. Posey had such characters as "Hot Gun" and "Micco" to converse in broken English concerning the latest goings-on of "Secretary It's Cocked" (Hitchcock), "C. N. Has-it" (Haskell), "Tams Big Pie" (Tams Bixby), "Rob It Owing" (Robert Owen) and others. These were entertaining for all readers and were usually read first when a copy of the paper came in the mail.[32] This is Posey's column in the *Indian Journal* for May 8, 1903:

Fus Fixico's Letter

> Well, so Hotgun he say he wake up and didn't had no greens to eat except poke leaves. The frost was left nothing in his sofky patch but crab grass and his one-horse plow and a set a chain harness. But Hotgun he say he was glad it wasn't a cyclone.
>
> Well, so I like to know what kind a man Secretary It's Cocked is any-

---

[32] Interview with A. H. Pratt, July 1, 1967, at Eufaula, Oklahoma. The identity of "Secretary It's Cocked" here refers to Secretary of the Interior Hitchcock; "Tams Big Pie" refers to Tams Bixby of the Dawes Commission, "Rob It Owing" Robert Owen, Attorney at Muskogee, former Superintendent of the Five Civilized Tribes.

how. Look like he didn't had no safety notch and couldn't stood cocked. He was change his mind every time before he get it made up good. When he do anything he acts like he was sorry and take it back after it's too late in the day. So he was had Tom Ryan change the message he was sent to Tams Big Pie and say, "Well, so I don't want no monkey business when I get off of the train in Muskogee. I don't want to hear no brass band playing Dixie or big talk about statehood and things like that. So you must stay in your office and work same as a beaver instead hanging up flags and running down to depot to see if it's train time yet; so when I come there sure enough the people won't think Ringling Brothers was in town to give a show."

When I was told Hotgun about it he say, "Well, so I don't see how Secretary It's Cocked catch on to anything down here if he don't get out with the boys and had a good time and get acquainted."

Well, so I think Dennis Flynn was smarter man than Rob It Owing, 'cause he make a stride something and show he wasn't stood still and study about the same thing all time. Dennis Flynn was change his mind for one statehood but Rob It Owing was want two statehood like he say ten years ago and was made me think about a poker player that was stood pat on two ducces and nothing to nigger with.

Well, so I see in the newspapers they was lots a candidates for Creek chief sides Pleas Porter and Charley Gibson and Legus Perryman and Yaha Tustannuggee. But I think it was laid between Yaha and Charlie 'cause they get all the Injin votes and was left nothing for Pleas and Legus but niggers to vote for them and maybe so a few half breeds that was hungry for pie.

Hotgun he don't care much for politics like in olden times when he could get on the jury and draw $1.60 a day for three weeks, or may be so be lighthorse captain and have lots a prisoners to hoe in his sofky patch for nothing and get paid for feeding them on apusky and sour bread.

Posey ended his career as editor of the *Indian Journal* September 25, 1903, and took a position with the *Muskogee Times*. A few of the old-timers still recall him: "He was a nice man, rather quiet with very black hair."[33] Posey lives on in legend as one of the greatest Creeks and one of the most illustrious of Eufaula in history.

The city of Eufaula never achieved the growth, industry and prosperity which Editor Posey had envisioned, but it is still on the maps of Oklahoma with a population of less than 3,000. Also, still in existence, is the town's only paper, the Eufaula *Indian Journal*. It is usually a four page weekly and carries all local news. The name of the paper *"Indian Journal"* is appropriate even today, since Eufaula and the surrounding area continue to host a large Indian population. The majority of these in the vicinity of Eufaula are Creek. The paper covers adequately the affairs of the Indians just as it did in Posey's day. The hope is that it will continue to do so for many years to come: Este Cate Emunkv (*Red Man Always*).

---

33 Interview with Mrs. G. J. Fuller, July 1, 1967, Eufaula, Oklahoma.

(Muriel H. Wright Collection)

CHITTO HARJO — "Crazy Snake"

On the Capture and Imprisonment of Crazy Snake January, 1900*

Down with him! chain him! bind him fast!
Slam to the iron door and turn the key!
The one true Creek, perhaps the last
To dare declare, "You have wronged me!"
Defiant, stoical, silent,
Suffers imprisonment!
Such coarse black hair! such eagle eye
Such stately mien!—how arrow straight!
Such will! such courage to defy
The powerful makers of his fate!
A traitor, outlaw, — what you will
He is the noble red man still.
Condemn him and his kind to shame!
I bow to him, exalt his name!

—Alexander Posey

* Source: *The Poems of Alexander Lawrence Posey*, ed. by Mrs. Minnie H. Posey, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

PROTESTANT MISSIONARY WORK AMONG THE COMANCHES AND KIOWAS

By Hugh D. Corwin

The first record of Protestant missionary work among the Comanches and Kiowas in the area of the Wichita Mountains, in present Southwestern Oklahoma, was that of the Quakers, or The Society of Friends. They did not come primarily as missionaries, but as the legally appointed agents and workers of the Government of the United States. In the introduction to his well known book, *Our Red Brothers,* Laurie Tatum says:[1]

> After the election of General Grant (to be President of the United States, 1868), he was waited on by a committee of Friends, representing all the Yearly Meetings of the Orthodox Friends in the United States, who suggested to him to take into consideration the propriety of appointing religious men for Indian agents, who would secure religious employees so far as practicable, which they thought would have a better effect on the Indians than was sometimes seen in Indian agencies. After listening to them with great interest he replied, "Gentlemen your advice is good. I accept it. Now give me the names of some Friends for Indian agents and I will appoint them. If you can make Quakers out of the Indians it will take the fight out of them. Let us have peace.

Thus it came about that the Kiowas and Comanches, with several other of the Plains Tribes came under the influence of these religious leaders, "The Friends." Great care was exercised that only suitable, judicious persons were appointed to any important position under the care of that religious body. All teachers were very carefully selected, as they would have positions of the greatest influence. Agent Tatum continues:[2]

> From the day of William Penn to the present time, members of the Friend's Church, with but little if any exception, have taken a deep interest in the welfare of the Indians. Appreciating the generous offer of our President to receive nominations for Indian agents from Friends, we have greatly desired the opening might be embraced and suitable Friends appointed to take those positions. It is our united judgment that we would recommend none but such as are deeply imbued with the love of Christ, and who feel willing to accept the position from Christian and not from mere mercenary motives, men fearing God and hating covetousness. They should also be such members of our Society as will faithfully represent us, possessing firmness combined with patience and mildness, so as to secure the esteem and confidence of both the Indians and those interested in their welfare.

Friend Lawrie Tatum, a farmer from Iowa, was selected by the Executive Committee of the Society of Friends, for the position of agent to the Kiowa and Comanches as well as the rem-

---

1 Lawrie Tatum, *Our Red Brothers* (Philadelphia, John C. Winston & Co. 1899) "Introductory."

2 *Ibid.* pp. 22-23.

nant of other tribes. Of these two tribes he later wrote: "Those in the Southwestern part of the Territory were still addicted to raiding in Texas, stealing horses and mules, and sometimes committing other depredations, and especially was this the case with the Kiowas and Comanches. They were probably the worst Indians east of the Rocky Mountains."

July 1, 1869 the Kiowa-Comanche Indian agency — then located about one mile southeast from where the Old Stone Corral was later built — was turned to the charge of Lawrie Tatum, except the commissary stores which were not transferred until a year later.[3] In the fall of 1869 Lawrie Tatum's wife and their seven year old child joined him at the Agency. They remained there until the following June, when Agent Tatum released all employees to return to their homes, due to the number of killings near the Agency, most of which were attributed to the Indians. All left the agency except Josiah Butler and his wife Lizzie, who were teachers in the new school, having arrived at Fort Sill on May 28, 1870.[4] It was a great injury to the work, as there were so few to set a good example for the Indians. There were whiskey peddlers, gamblers and evil characters of all sorts always hanging around the Agency, and preying on the Indians. There was no law, except the military, and they could be used only to protect life. During this trying period, Josiah Butler and wife, continued their work and Christian teaching, and they were truly a lighthouse in a darkened land.

Butler gives an interesting account of his first Sabbath School:

Sabbath, 2d. Month, 26th. (1871), About ten o'clock I got all the children together and explained to them that God was what they understood as being 'The Great Spirit'. I then sang. 'There is a happy land', after which I told them (through an interpreter) that the Great Spirit loves us all, white, black and red, and wants us all to do right; that He loves us like a father does a child, wanting us all to do right and feeling very sorry when we do wrong. That, if we quit doing wrong and try hard to do right, He will receive us again, forgiving us, and love us. I also showed how God created all things—He made one man and one woman and they had children and, in this way the world got full of people, white, black and red. The children were really interested in this simple story. We closed by singing 'Happy Day.'

(Two months later) 4th. Month 23d. Sabbath. In the afternoon, I tried to show the children the necessity for loving each other—that God loves us all, that Jesus loves us all, that we ought to have good hearts and love both God and Jesus—that Jesus is God's son and has all power. Then, taking the 5th of Galatians, I explained to them in a simple way what God does not like and what he does like. Such is a little outline or

---

[3] *Ibid.* p. 27.

[4] Josiah Butler, "Pioneer School Teaching at the Comanche-Kiowa Agency School, 1870-3", edited by J. B. Thoburn, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VI, No. 4, (December, 1928), pp. 483-528.

sample of what I am trying to instill into the minds of the children in our Sabbath exercises.

These first teachers took the opportunity to be missionaries also, and instead of having the children play all the Sabbath day they taught them from the word of God. Those reached were the children of the Comanches and the Caddos as the Kiowas would have nothing to do with the school at this time. However, Agent Tatum brought in another Friend, Thomas Chester Battey, who used another plan in his teaching. He went to the camps of the Kiowas and set up his tent and tried to conduct school there. His school was not very successful, but by living among them he made many warm friends, and did reach at least two of the leading chiefs of that tribe, Kicking Bird and Stumbling Bear.

Both these Chiefs had been advocating peace with the Whites, and Battey strengthened their position with his teaching. He also reached Lone Wolf, for a time, however, due no doubt, to grief over the death of his son who was killed on a war raid, he later forsook the peace road for the war trail. The Quakers made no effort to establish churches. When they were replaced, in 1878, with other employees, the work came to a standstill, and they all left for their homes in the north and east.

In this same year, 1878, the Methodists sent a missionary to the Comanches. We have a very brief reference to it from the writings of the pioneer Methodist missionary, the Reverend A. E. Butterfield who arrived on the scene many years later: "About 1878 or 1879, The Northwest Texas Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, sent Reverend Stump Ashby among the Comanches at Fort Sill. The Mission was discontinued after one year."[5] Research, has so far revealed no further light on this venture. The Reverend J. J. Methvin wrote:[6]

> The next effort at religious work at Anadarko (now Kiowa and Comanche Agency headquarters), was by the Episcopal Minister, the Reverend J. B. Wicks, in 1883. He erected a small church building in the agency and held services there each Sabbath, but his ministry was more to the whites than to the Indians. What of his ministry was given to the Indians was chiefly to children in the two Indian schools. But in a short time he gave up the work and retired from the field, and for a number of years there was no mission of any kind south of the Washita."
>
> Having reconnoitered the field at an earlier period, the Writer was sent by the authorities of the M. E. Church, South, to pioneer mission work among the 'Wild Tribes' in 1887. At first his appointment included all the western part of the Indian Territory, but his efforts finally centralized at Anadarko and were confined to the three tribes, (Kiowa, Comanche and

---

[5] A. E. Butterfield, *Comanche, Kiowa and Apache Missions*, (Lubbock, Texas, 1934) p. 4.

[6] J. J. Methvin, *In The Limelight*, (Anadarko — Oklahoma City) (1924) p. 84.

Kiowa-Apache) south of the river [Washita]. During the next three years he built a parsonage with a church annex, founded a school [Methvin Institute] and gained a considerable number of members to the church.

Mr. Methvin, gave the first three years of his time to mission work at Anadarko. He went from lodge to lodge and from camp to camp, and for some time could find no one to interpret for him. One of his first converts was Andres Martinez, called Andele, who was a Mexican captive, adopted into the Kiowa tribe. Andele was a faithful interpreter and became a preacher and was most effective among his adopted people. They said he was the bravest warrior they had and they readily followed him on "The Jesus Road." Both Mr. Methvin and Andele conducted many Methodist camp meetings. Each year these were held near Mount Scott where there were always large camps in those early days. Virginia Stumbling Bear, was also a faithful interpreter for Reverend Methvin. She was a graduate of Carlisle Institute and well fitted for the task. She married Luther Sahmaunt and they both remained faithful workers in the Methodist Church all their lives.

In 1887, the Reverend and Mrs. George W. Hicks also came to Anadarko and established a small school and church. They were both missionaries of the American Baptist (Northern) Church.[7] At first their work was mostly with the Wichitas and Caddos but the younger Lone Wolf, (first named Ma-ma-de), asked them to send missionaries to his camp. Several years later they were able to send the help that he asked.

Referring again to the long period of missionary service of the Reverend John J. Methvin, who came to work among the Plains Tribes in 1887, and who lived and worked among them until his death in 1941, a period of fifty four years. The following is from an article calling him "The Apostle to the Indians of the Plains":[8]

The most important act of the Indian Mission Conference in 1887, was the appointment of John J. Methvin as missionary to the Western tribes. During the summer of 1887, Reverend Methvin, having closed his work at Seminole Female Academy because the gospel was being given the Seminoles by another church, made a reconnoitering trip through the hills and plains of these tribes. What he found was heart-breaking. They had been uprooted and transplanted in that territory as the Eastern Tribes had been. But no Christian influences had been brought with them. They were called Wild Tribes. There were dangerous elements among them. They have been subdued, not by the restraining influence of the Gospel, but by the fire of the Texas Rangers and soldiers of the United States army, i.e., those who had been subdued. There were yet many war-like Indians among

[7] Coe Hayne, *Kiowa Turning*, (New York, 1944) p. 14. Cited by permission of the American Baptist Convention.

[8] Sidney H. Babcock & John Y. Bryce, *History of Methodism in Oklahoma*, (Oklahoma City, 1935-1937) pp. 231-239. Cited by permission of Mrs. S. H. Babcock.

them. A mighty wall of superstition and ignorance stood between them and civilization. True, the United States agents were among them from time to time. Some of them were good men and wielded a good influence among the Indians, others were of the other kind, corrupt unbelievers who scoffed at religion.

The Baptists always were and are an aggressive religious body. They had established a successful mission north of the river (Washita). But south of the river, Methvin found no Christian work. The Indians were left for the most part to their own benighted fears, hopes, customs, and a prey for the corrupt white men who were ever ready to ply their wicked devices.

The Peyote Religion. The most degrading worship was the Peyote worship.[9] Peyote was a drug that produced an extremely pleasing sensation at first causing pleasing dreams of victory, peace and plenty. The votaries would assemble, partake of the drug, beat the tom toms and chant until they were completely overcome by the drug. They told the white man that he used a book to stimulate his religious experience but that they used Peyote because it was surer to produce the desired sensation.

These were some of the customs that prevailed among the Indians of the plains and to some extent among all the tribes in 1887. In October of that year at Vinita, Indian Territory, another religious body was in session. It was of a vastly different order, but withal the road from barbarism is a rather long and difficult one. The Methodist church had a custom at that time, known as the secret cabinet. The Bishop assembled his Presiding Elders to make appointments. They were sworn to secrecy and the destiny of the preachers and their families were in their hands. No preacher, when he went to the Conference knew what would befall him. Even the Presiding Elders would be surprised at times, for the Bishop would change the appointments after he had dismissed his cabinet.

After Brother Methvin had made his preliminary trip through the Territory of the Indians of the Plains, he wrote the board of missions and Bishop Galloway, who was to preside over the Conference, calling their attention to the conditions among these tribes and recommended that young, unmarried men be brought to the Conference and appointed to missionary work among the Wild Tribes. When Bishop Galloway reached the seat of the Conference, he announced that he would send a man to inaugurate the work as outlined by Brother Methvin but gave no intimation as to who the man would be. Brother Methvin has a wife and five young children. It never occurred to him that it would be either wise or prudent to appoint him to the task. Therefore he was startled into quickened heart beats when Bishop Galloway in reading the now growing list of appointments announced: 'Missionary to the Western Tribes, J. J. Methvin'.

After the shock of the appointment was over, Methvin went to the Bishop and thanked him for the appointment. The kindly Bishop put his arm around him, gave him his blessing, promised to follow him with his prayers and send re-inforcements as the work progressed.

After many difficulties, Brother Methvin with his family reached Anadarko. He surveyed the field from the Cherokee Strip on the north to Texas on the west and south. The vast territory presented a wild scene. Yet there was a thrill and romance in it all. The wide sweep of the prairies, the murmer of the rivers and creeks, the towering grandeur and beauty of the Wichita Mountains and granite hills, and the glorious hope of what was yet to be, compensated somewhat for the loneliness that crept betimes in their hearts in this outpost far away from loved ones, friends and civilization.

---

[9] *Ibid.* p. 235.

The Indians lived, for the most part in tepees in the winter and under brush arbors in the summer. For two years Methvin quietly visited them in their humble homes reading and explaining to them the Bible and telling them the story of Jesus and his love. At times it seemed a hopeless task. He was met with stolid indifference on the part of many, others went away angry. Still he toiled on. After two years he built a parsonage with a little church annex. Here the Indians were invited to come to hear the Gospel and to worship in the new way. At first only a few gathered. Gradually the congregations grew until the annex was overflowed and the Indians crowded around the windows and filled the yard. Conversions followed. Stolid Indians, many times on the warpath, gave way to deep conviction, were converted and joined the church. Thus a nucleus of church membership was formed. The work was centralized among the Kiowas, Comanches and Apaches, [the Kiowa-Apaches, not the Arizona Apaches, who came to Fort Sill as prisoners some years later], three of the most numerous of the tribes and the most war-like.

A school must be built. As noted above, the Government had decided not to enter into contract with churches to build any more schools, and to dissolve existing contracts as soon as possible. Methvin appealed to the Board of Missions who gave him $2500.00 to start with. He erected the first building and opened a school in the spring of 1890 with fifteen pupils. The Government gave a conditional grant of land which was later changed to a fee simple title — a site selected by Brother Methvin near the agency at Anadarko.[10]

The Government was also granting subsistence to the Indians in the section. At first Methvin's appeal for aid for the school was denied, but he finally succeeded in obtaining a Government order to disburse the subsistence ration that would go to the children of the tribes who were in school, through the school. This helped materially in the support of the school. (It was a boarding school). The school grew as rapidly as room was made to take care of the students.

The General Board of Missions took over from the Woman's Board of Missions the school property at Muskogee, (known then as Harrell International Institute), and the Woman's Board took over the school at Anadarko. They named the school "Methvin Institute" in honor of this first apostle to the Indians of the plains. For nearly twenty years this school sent a course of new life through all the tribes which roamed the hills and plains of the great west.

The Indian Mission Conference never gave much help to Methvin Institute.[11] In fact Brother Methvin received more criticism than help from the Conference. Even the veteran Shapard poured it on him quite heavily. Shapard and others thought he was entirely too slow in getting the school started.[12] Shapard also criticized the Board of Missions for appropriating money to build schools in the bounds of the Conference, without first consulting the Conference. He cautioned against laying the blame for failure of a school on the Conference, when the Conference had (no) voice in starting them or in the operation of them. It was even

---

10 This site was about one mile southwest of the Agency, and just south of what was later the Government Townsite of Anadarko, Oklahoma.

11 Sidney H. Babcock & John Y. Bryce, *Op. cit.* pp. 270-271.

12 The name of E. R. Shapard first appears in the Oklahoma Indian Mission Conference in 1873 as pastor at Skullyville; 1874-75, Presiding Elder of the Choctaw District; 1876-78, Superintendent of New Hope Seminary; 1879-82, Presiding Elder of the Choctaw District; 1883-85, Presiding Elder of the Cherokee District; 1886 pastor at Eufaula; 1887, pastor of Railroad Circuit; 1888, pastor of Eufaula Circuit, apparently retired in 1889.

intimated that large sums of money were collected from abroad to build a school for the Wild Tribes and that it was not being used for the purpose for which it had been collected. There was no foundation for such a rumor. In truth all too little money was received from all sources.

Despite these obstacles and contentions, Methvin went ahead, built several frame buildings at a cost of $10,000.00 and by 1895 had the school in operation. There were three teachers, 36 Kiowa, 7 Comanche, 1 Apache and 4 white students enrolled. The money for the support of the school was furnished, for the most part, by the Woman's Board of Missions.

Among the first converts to Christianity through the efforts of Brother Methvin was chief To-hau-sin. He was one of the most dangerous, if not spectacular, chiefs of all the western tribes. He was quiet, resolute and unboastful. He was a Kiowa, son of a great warrior (also named To-hau-sin, or To-hauson, meaning Overhanging Butte), and followed in the warpath of his father. Soon after Brother Methvin reached the agency To-hau-sin and his wife Un-ka-ma came to see him and said "What for you come set down here?"

I explained to him, says Methvin, that I was not here to make money or engage in business, or to persuade the Indians to adopt the white man's ways. I had come to bring a message of love from our Great Father above, and He was the great Father of all, both Indians and whites and that Jesus his son, came down into this world to reveal the Fathers' love to us. That now I had left my own people and had come to help him and his, I should depend upon him and all the best Indians to listen to the message I bring, and aid me in helping his people.

To-hau-sin listened with great interest and grunted his approval. He became a constant attendant upon the worship services. After about two years both he and his wife applied for membership in the church and were duly baptized and received. They lived consistent Christian lives. When To-hau-sin was stricken with his last illness he requested that his tepee be placed in Brother Methvin's yard that he might be near him when the end came.

"His tepee was set up in my yard," says Methvin, (and a bed arranged in my office nearby, and there one day, at the first purpling of the morning, the old warrior laid down his weapons of spiritual warfare, as long since he had laid down those of carnal warfare, whispering back with his last breath, 'Ka-tai-ke' (all good)."

In 1889, Reverend W. W. Carrithers, his wife and daughter Mary, arrived at Fort Sill, having been sent by his Church, The Reformed Presbyterian, to establish a mission for the Kiowas and Comanche Indians. Reverend Carrithers had been the Pastor of the Wilkinsburg, Pennsylvania, Reformed Presbyterian Church for several years, and was elected by his Presbytery to take the mission work. The territory had been explored by Mr. John R. Lee and by the Reverend J. M. Wylie, in 1887 and 1888, with the view of locating a Presbyterian Mission to the Comanche and Kiowa Indians. A location was chosen at that time on Chandler Creek, some ten miles north of Fort Sill, but when the Reverend Carrithers arrived some two years later, he found this same location, which was near a big spring, had been chosen by another Presbyterian Group, so he selected a new spot some five miles west of where Apache, Oklahoma is now located, on a beautiful, clear stream flowing from the limestone hills to the

west. The stream was thought to be Cache Creek, and the Mission was named "Cache Creek Mission." However, it was found later to be only a branch of Cache Creek, and it was named "Mission Creek." The Mission was supported by The Ladies' Missionary Society of the Pittsburgh Presbytery who guaranteed the salary of the missionary.

Mrs. D. C. Ward, wife of the pastor and Missionary (1958), of the Cache Creek Mission, came with her parents to the area in 1889, at age four. In 1908 she married D. C. Ward, a business man of Pittsburgh and left the Mission, but returned with her husband to take up the mission work in 1941.

Work began at once on a large, limestone one and one half story church building which was soon completed and which has been in continuous use since 1890. Other stone buildings were soon added, including a school, boys dormitory and hospital, which was never used as such, but has been the Superintendent's home these many years.

This is the oldest Mission in the Kiowa-Comanche Country in continuous use since it was built. While it was expected to serve the Kiowa-Apache Tribe, there were so few of these, the converts were mostly Comanches. There was never but one[13] mission worker who was able to learn to speak the Kiowa-Apache dialect, as it is not written and very difficult. There are today, very few who speak this at all, as nearly all the Kiowa-Apaches speak the Kiowa language.

Mrs. Carrithers passed on to her Heavenly reward September 12, 1913. Her husband continued with the work until a physical breakdown in 1922 forced his retirement. The Mission school was closed many years ago as the Indian children now attend the Public schools, but the Church is still the center of Mission life. As there is now no Presbyterian Church in the nearby town of Apache, several townspeople attend church at the Cache Creek Mission.

Following the resignation of the Reverend Carrithers in 1922, his sister, Mrs. Anna Patton and the Reverend Paul White were in charge of the work for a short time. The Reverend Floyd E. Caskey was Superintendent for a year and following this Reverend Paul D. White served until 1926. In that year the Reverend R. C. Adams came to the work and continued until 1930. He was followed by the Reverend and Mrs. A. J. McFarland who served until 1941. They were followed by the Reverend and Mrs. D. C. Ward, who are continuing in the work.

---

[13] Informant, Mrs. D. C. Ward, Missionary and wife of the Pastor, Rev. D. C. Ward, Cache Creek Mission.

The work of the American Baptist missionaries seems to have begun when[14] Lone Wolf welcomed to his camp a devoted Lay preacher and carpenter, W. D. Lancaster, who came with his wife under appointment of no Mission Board. This was in 1889. The Reverend W. F. ReQua, an itinerant missionary of The American Baptist Home Mission Society among the Indians and whites in the Indian Territory, was interested in the work at what was called the "Lone Wolf Mission". He gave liberally out of his limited income to supplement the scanty funds other friends in the territory sent in for the infant mission. Mr. and Mrs. Lancaster inspired the Indians with a desire to work, to become clean and well dressed, to have their children educated and to learn of the true God. They had reason to hope that Chief Lone Wolf, and second Chief Komalty, would in time enter the "Jesus Road." But as time went on the Lancasters received so little financial help that eventually they were compelled to abandon the field. Miss Isabel Crawford, who came on the scene some years later, reports that the Lancasters left for the Cheyenne-Arapaho country where they could take up a homestead.

In the spring of 1891 Lone Wolf made a plea to his friend, the Reverend J. S. Murrow, the veteran Indian Territory Missionary to send a missionary to his people. His plea did not go unheeded.

In 1892, Miss Lauretta E. Ballew and Miss Marietta J. Reeside, young missionaries sent out by the Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society, came to Elk Creek to the camps of Lone Wolf and Komalty to begin their work among the Kiowas. Within a year they were joined by the Reverend and Mrs. George W. Hicks, who had been working with the Wichitas north of Anadarko. A mission was established four miles south of where the town of Hobart was later located. While it is some two miles east of Elk Creek, and on the top of a high ridge, treeless and windblown, it was named "Elk Creek Mission". There is today in almost the same location a small chapel known by the same name. Mission work has been carried on continuously at this point since it was established. One of the first efforts of these missionaries to the Indians, was to get them to change their burial customs, to the Christian way.[15]

The work of the Baptist progressed steadily. In 1893 another dedicated young lady, recently graduated from the training school in Chicago, arrived on the scene at Elk Creek. This

---

[14] Coe Hayne, *Kiowa Turning*, (New York, 1944) p. 14.

[15] Rev. G. W. Hicks, Letter to American Baptist Home Mission Society, February 18, 1937.

was Miss Isabel Crawford. After three years at that station she volunteered to go alone to the Saddle Mountain area to work among the Kiowas there. This was some forty miles southeast of the Elk Creek Mission and in a very lonely spot, so far as white associates were concerned. Her first meeting with the Kiowas at Saddle Mountain was in April 1896, in a small two room house, on a rainy, stormy Sunday. Within the next six years she built and organized a church there, which has continued its fine work through all these years. Her faithful friend and interpreter was Lucius Aitsan, who had been a member of the all Indian cavalry troop in the United States army at Fort Sill. Lucius became the first ordained native Indian preacher at Saddle Mountain, following the Reverend Harry Treat who served from 1907 until 1912. He carried on the work until his death in 1918 during the flue epidemic. The Reverend Roy Saumpty, Kiowa Indian is now the Pastor.

Other early day American Baptist missionaries among the Kiowas were the Reverend and Mrs. Howard H. Clouse, who worked at Rainy Mountain and the Reverend and Mrs. Harry H. Treat at Redstone. Miss Mary McLean and Miss K. E. Bare were early helpers of Miss Isabel Crawford at the Saddle Mountain Mission. These pioneer mission workers found they had many duties beside teaching and preaching from the Bible. Among other things, Miss Crawford tried to teach the Kiowas to plow their land and raise gardens and some small crops. The Indian men rebelled and often went on "sit down strikes," as related in the following:[16]

> Couldn't stand it any longer so went out and signed to an Indian: 'The Great Father has watched you sit under this arbor three days doing nothing but eat and talk. If he had made the road for you to do just these two things He would have made you all mouth and stomach, no hands, no legs, no feet, just one big, 'chuck bag.' He put hands and feet on you so that you could take hold of a plow and walk after it.' He signed: When I plow my heart hurts me. My hands and feet are strong but my heart hits fast." I replied, "You would be dead if it did not hit." He went to work.
>
> In the evening I gave this talk to the camp: The Great Father wants us to work with him. He made the seed and put life into it. White men could make something that would look like corn but they couldn't put life in it and it wouldn't come up. When you plant the Great Father's seed he sends the sun and the rain to encourage you and makes it grow. He does the hardest part. If you love him you will try to please him and do yours. He could have sent 'women with wings' (angels) to plow for you and carry the Gospel to others but he did not.
>
> What would we do to show him that we love him if angels did everything? He wants you to plow and to plant and give the spiritual seed to others and He promises to take good care of you all the way along. Those who plowed today have made his heart glad.

---

16 Isabel Crawford, *The Kiowa* (Fleming H. Revel Co. New York, 1915), pp. 62-64.

The Great Father didn't give us the work road, called out Mokeen. (father of Lucius Aitsan, interpreter). Long time ago God gave a garden to white man and woman and they didn't have to work, they just had to look after things. Then these white people went crazy in their hearts and began to steal, and the Great Father turned them off and told them to work till the water ran down their backs. They went on the war path and killed everybody till they were taken captives.

Long time ago God gave Indians land and they didn't steal. Their hearts were good every day, every day, every day. They didn't have to work either, just hunt buffalo. After a while crazy white man came and stole all the buffalo and gave them the work road. They then went on the war path and killed everybody till they were beaten. White people are heap crazy. The Great Father didn't give the work road.

The wise young missionary made no effort to answer this. Miss Crawford lived to the age of ninety-five, deaf and almost blind, in far away Canada, and is venerated by the second, third, fourth and even fifth generation of the Indians, she labored among at Saddle Mountain. She died on November 18, 1961 at Grimsby, Ontario. The burial was at Saddle Mountain Mission Church.[17]

In the fall of 1892, the North Texas Conference, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, sent Reverend A. E. Butterfield as missionary to assist Reverend J. J. Methvin in his work at Anadarko.[18] For some two years he helped Reverend Methvin and then went some twenty miles south to the camp of the Comanche Chief, Big Looking Glass, and began to preach to the Indians there. A church was soon established on the Little Washita. From there Reverend Butterfield went to a new Mission near the Fort Sill sub-agency, and preached there and at Mount Scott for several years. In an account of his work published in 1934, he relates the following:

During the camp meeting east of Mount Scott the lines had been drawn so closely between the Christian and pagan Indians that everyone was taking one side or the other.[19] By noon Sunday many groups were formed about the ground, engaged in heated arguments about the difference between the pagan and the Christian religion. Nothing had been accomplished.

The workers all went to secret prayer for help from on High. That night I was to preach but Andele, the interpreter, stepped into the middle of the altar and, with emotion and much earnestness, talked for ten or fifteen minutes. To our surprise and joy a very prominent medicine man, followed by seventeen others, came and fell on their faces at the altar. All were converted.

The medicine man gave this testimony: 'I have been a very bad man. I hated the Missionary and his Bible. I would not speak to him. This morning I came here and heard my first talk by a Missionary. He

---

17 Tully Morrison. "Isabel Crawford: Missionary to the Kiowa Indians," *The Chronicles* (1962) Vol. XL.

18 Butterfield, *op. cit.*

19 *Ibid*, p. 11.

read from that book about how bad a man's heart is. I got so mad I went away and lay under a tree. While there I told myself that whoever wrote that book knows everybody's heart. I came tonight and sat away out on the ground. As Andele talked his face shown so bright and his eyes sparkled as he told how Jesus had saved him and made him love those he hated.

I looked at him and said: There stands the bravest man I ever went on the war path with. He is telling us what Jesus has done for him.' I saw all my sins about me like an old greasy blanket. Then I said to Jesus: 'that I lay the old blanket of sins on the ground behind me and go and give Andele my hand and you my heart, and I will never return to this old blanket of sin.' He lived for Jesus to his death and died happy in the faith."

Shortly after 1892, the Reverend S. V. Fait with his young bride, was sent out by the Presbyterian Church (USA) to undertake mission work among the wild tribes.[20] He built a church in the agency, and later founded a school four miles east of Anadarko (this was called "Mautame"). He was a man of ability and well equipped for any task to which he might be called. After years of toil, he laid down his burdens a few years ago, and left us for that home on high.

The old mission at Mautame has been gone these many years and the Presbyterians established no other work among the Comanches and Kiowas.

The Deyo Mission (American Baptist) was established in the winter just before 1894. It was very late in the year 1893 when they began hauling material for it.[21] It stands on its third if not its fourth location that was made, not being able to establish it on the former locations on account of the fact that the Indians didn't know what it was all about and they got the wrong idea that they would require quite a tract of land with it. It was rather thickly settled by the Indians out there on account of the big pasture being south and the mountains to the north, and they didn't care to have it in that locality. The Indians not understanding just what it was to be were not very friendly toward the idea. They nearly wore out the first two or three loads of lumber carrying it around to different locations.

Their first interpreter was a young lady by the name of Emzie Daily, now known as Mrs. McKewen, but other obligations she had at home, and for other reasons she did not stay long. I came to that place and relieved her. That was my first position away from home. They really preferred a boy for this place on account of his being able to take care of the stock and

---

20 Methvin, *op. cit.*

21 H. M. Fulbright, *Neath August Sun*, (Lawton, Oklahoma 1933) p. 105.

drive the wagon when they went to market and do errands that could not be done so well by a girl.

I began working there in 1895. They really did not get the Church established until 1895. Mrs. Deyo was a Sunday School teacher and teacher in Rochester, New York, Mr. Deyo was a young man, I believe he told me he was a farmer. His father dealt in farms and stock around Rochester. He was converted and then went straightway to studying for the ministry in a seminary. About that time he was ordained and he and Mrs. Deyo were married and came to this post as missionaries. She being a Sunday School teacher and having a life of social work, she had a lot of friends who were always sending boxes of clothing and toys and everything that could be used at this mission for distribution among these Indians.

These (her) people knew the mission was new, so took a contribution in her Sunday School class and bought a bell and shipped it to Marlow. This bell was to be used at the Chapel at the Church. It was rather a good size bell, it must have weighed four hundred pounds at least. When we got notice the bell was there we went to Marlow. We usually made a trip to Marlow about once every month or six weeks for supplies, and on these trips it was my duty to drive the wagon and if ladies went, Mr. Deyo drove a hack they had. This particular trip Mr. Deyo went with me in the wagon after the bell. Our wagon was old and the box was rather weak, and when we got to nine-mile beaver, the banks were steep, and the bell being heavy went through the floor. We worked more than two hours getting poles, putting the poles under it and getting it back into the wagon and on to the mission. When we got there our work had just started. To get it up to the platform eighteen or twenty feet, with a couple of skids and a wire seemed impossible, but we finally had it in place.

They tore this old mission down a few years ago (1930 to re-build it, of stone) and salvaged the lumber and stacked it. In doing this they placed that Bell out on the ground intending to remount it in the new chapel. While there the bell disappeared and they looked everywhere for it. They wanted it partly for its value and partly because it was so old and had been used for so long. They finally located it in Mangum in a junk shop. The man said someone sold it to him; any way the bell was brought back to the new mission and erected there when the dedication took place.

The Deyo mission chapel or church has been in continuous use since it was built. It is part of a two point circuit, with the Brown Church, near Walters.

Another of the permanent missions in this area for the Comanches and Kiowas is the Reformed Church Mission, located just north of Lawton on U.S. Highway 277. Reverend Richard H. Harper, one of the long time missionaries there writes:[22]

Prominent among the "Blanket Indians" of Oklahoma were the Comanches, a vigorous and formerly a warring tribe. Impelled by the conviction that more missionary work was needed among them, in the year 1895 the Women's Executive Committee of the Reformed Church in America (now the Women's Board of Domestic Missions) sent into the field Reverend Frank Hall Wright, a Choctaw Indian, son of a Choctaw minister and chief. He at first found little encouragement in his approaches to the Comanches. At this time a group of Chiricoahaua Apaches, prisoners of war were being held at Fort Sill. No Christian work was being done for them; so Dr. Wright attempted to reach them with ministrations to their spiritual needs. For some time his way was blocked. But he was not one to give up. He persisted in his efforts;; and in due time succeeded in reaching both Apaches and Comanches. A piece of land was secured a mile north of the townsite of Lawton, (where the townsite of Lawton was later located), and here a church and parsonage were erected. In one day the Apache and Comanche churches were formally organized, with Reverend L. L. Legsters as the first pastor. Miss Maude Adkisson was the first Superintendent of the Apache school and orphanage, built by the Reformed Church about 1900, upon the Fort Sill Military Reservation. (The buildings of this school were about one mile northwest of Medicine Bluff, and were moved from the reservation in 1918). She became the wife of Reverend Legsters, and was succeeded in the Apache work by Miss Hendrina Hospers. By the time of this organization of the churches Reverend Dr. Walter C. Roe, of Colony, Oklahoma, had become Superintendent of all the Indian work of the Reformed Church; and under his enthusiastic direction, the work of the missions went forward. * * * * Among the early Comanche converts were Nahwatz and Chah-tin-ney-ack-que, (father of the Reverend Robert Chatt, present pastor of the church, 1958) of the men; and the wife and step-daughter of the latter. It was the daughter Dorothy, who had led Nahwatz to become a Christian, through her reading of the Gospel to him and her own example in declaring she must follow Christ.
* * * *

Reverend Henry Sluyter became the pastor after Reverend Legsters, and did constructive work with the Indians. Reverend James Dykema then supplied the mission for a year, giving of his energetic personality to the field.

This writer (Reverend Richard H. Harper), became the missionary in charge, January 15, 1915, coming from New Mexico. Here with Mrs. Harper and the family, he labored until the death of the beloved missionary wife, in July, 1923.

After the writer Reverend Harper, came Reverend Dr. J. L. Read, and wife to the pastorate of the mission. They remained until 1931, doing excellent work with the Comanches and Apaches.

Mr. Robert Paul Chatt, a Comanche Christian of the second generation, is now the Missionary in charge. He is the son of one of the first Deacons, Chah-tin-ney-ask-que; and a nephew of the elder Nahwatz, men already mentioned.

The Comanche Mission, as it is called locally, has now a

---

22 Richard H. Harper, *Neath August Sun* (Lawton, Oklahoma 1933), pp. 29-30.

beautiful, new building which is surrounded by new additions to Lawton, but stands as a lighthouse of the Gospel, to guide the new generations of Comanches in the better life.

In 1894 Reverend Henry Kohfeld was sent by the Conference of the Mennonite Brethren, to locate a mission among the Comanche Indians, near Fort Sill. He came to the Reverend E. C. Deyo, Baptist missionary already in the field for advice and help. He also consulted the Reverend A. E. Butterfield Methodist missionary who had been in the Territory some two years. Reverend Kohfeld was advised to try to get a location near the home of Quannah Parker, Comanche chief, who had been opposed to having a mission. The Reverend Kohfeld and had been given three months to get a location for a mission, and he prayed constantly for guidance. The Indian Agent was favorable and helpful, and finally furnished him a team, wagon and interpreter. With these he set out to see Quanah Parker.[23]

The chief was not at home when Reverend Kohfeld arrived, but the interpreter who was a Christian, a member of the Dutch Reformed Church near Lawton, spoke to another Indian by the name of Tessiky, whose husband had much influence with Chief Quanah Parker and who was willing to plead in favor of a location of a station on Indian land. Reverend Kohfeld through the interpreter also spoke to Topay, one of the seven wives of Quanah Parker, who too was moved in favor of a mission.

When the Chief returned, his wife said to him, "My dear husband, we have lived together twenty years and have been happy. Here is a Jesus man, sent from God to build a Jesus house and teach us the way to Heaven. If you hinder him I shall never be happy again." This led the Chief to some serious contemplation. He called together some of the other Indians and after a brief consultation with them told Reverend Kohfeld to mount a horse with one of the Indians and follow him. Reverend Kohfeld clung to the rider in front of him as they raced through the woods and creeks. Presently the Chief stopped, left his mount, cut several notches in a large post oak tree, and said, "here build Jesus House." Since Reverend Kohfeld carried with him the papers obtained from the Government office, he asked the Indians to sign, some writing their names, others able to make only thumb prints to signify their signature. Reverend Kohfeld now held in his hand the sanction of the United States Government as well as the signatures of the Indians to a grant of a 160 acre tract of land upon which to locate a mission among the Comanches. Since the tree in which Chief Quanah Parker had cut a sign indicating the location of the Jesus House was a post oak tree, the Mission was named Post Oak. The small stream near the land is also named Post Oak Creek. The Lord had honored his promise to His servant and answered the prayers of the committee and the Conference.

In 1895 at the M. B. (Mennonite Brethren) Conference held at Marion, South Dakota, the Committee on Indian Mission was glad to report that a place had been obtained for the location, and that by virtue of Chief Quanah Parker's grant, the Government had allowed the appropriation of 160 acres of land for a church building to be erected on the newly acquired land. The work of erecting these buildings was begun immediately.

---

23. *Ibid.*

Since Reverend Henry Kohfeld has been appointed missionary to serve on this field he, of course, assumed the responsibility from the very first in constructing suitable buildings as well as learning the language and customs of the Indians. Among those assisting in the construction of the mission buildings completed in the fall of 1895, there was found a younger brother, A. J. Becker, who later came to Post Oak for a long term of service.[24]

In 1897 it was decided by the Conference, to start a mission school at Post Oak, and A. J. Becker was selected to be the teacher. There was $200.00 appropriated for a building, but no provision was made for a dormitory and without it there were no pupils. It was some years before the school was started. The mission was provided with a Deaconess, Sister Mary Regier, who served on the station from 1896 to 1898. Deaconess, Katie Penner served from 1896 until 1902. Their work among the Comanches required much personal contact. Visitation in the homes, Christian instruction in camp meetings, work among the women and children all needed attention. Experience in the work of trying to bring the Gospel to the Indians, soon made it evident to The Conference Committee, that couples, man and wife, must serve this people rather than single workers. A report on "Foreign Missions" for the Mennonite Church (1948) reported:[25]

During the intervening years Brother A. J. Becker has married. The Lord laid upon Brother and Sister Becker the burden of the Comanches at Post Oak. The Conference in 1901 was glad to accept this young couple for missionary service to assist Reverend and Mrs. Kohfeld.

In the year 1907 Reverend Kohfeld placed before the M. B. Conference his formal resignation from the work at Post Oak, due to the health of Mrs. Kohfeld. * * * "Mrs. Kohfeld passed away in 1931 in Salem, Oregon, and Reverend Kohfeld died at Shafter, California, in 1932."

In 1907, the Reverend and Mrs. A. J. Becker assumed the full responsibility for the work of the mission. When the Kohfelds left the Beckers were without an interpreter. After much prayer, a young Government interpreter, Herman Asenap, offered to interpret from that time on. In this year of 1958, Herman Asenap is still the interpreter, at this church, when one is needed. Before the Conference convened in the fall of 1907, the Mission had four baptisms and seven members.

Mrs. Becker was called to her Heavenly home on July 7, 1938, after laboring in the Lord's service at Post Oak for thirty seven years. The Reverend Becker continued with the work until 1941, at which time the Reverend and Mrs. J. S. Dick, who had been on the work in China, started the services at Post Oak. The Dicks were missionaries of long standing and entered into

---

[24] A. E. Janzen. "The Story of Post Oak M. B. Mission to the Comanches", *Foreign Missions* (Hillsboro, Kansas, December 1948), p. 7.

[25] *Ibid, pp.* 10-17.

the services at Post Oak wholeheartedly. The Indians responded to their genuineness, sincerity and willingness to minister. Mr. Dick, however, was destined to serve only a short time at Post Oak, as he suffered a fatal heart attack on March 19, 1942, while working in the cemetery. Brother and Sister C. E. Fast followed next in the work continuing until 1944. They in turn were followed briefly by the Reverend and Mrs. J. J. Weibe, of Corn, Oklahoma.

In June of 1945 the Reverend and Mrs. D. J. Gerbrandt, young missionaries, just out of college took up the work with the Comanches at Post Oak. Their work was very fruitful and lasting.

In 1957, due to the expansion of the Fort Sill Military Reservation, it was necessary to move the Post Oak Mission and Cemetery. A lovely new Church and school building was built at the northwest corner of the town of Indiahoma. The cemetery was re-located just to the west of the church. The remains of the Comanche Chief, Quanah Parker, and his white mother, Cynthia Ann Parker, were re-interred in the Post Cemetery at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, with appropriate honors.

The Mennonite Brethren are closely associated with the American Baptists, and meet with them in their annual conventions. It was the rare pleasure of this writer to spend the day, July 18, 1958, at the camp meeting Association of these two groups at the Saddle Mountain Mission, thirty miles northwest of Lawton. Among those present from the early days, some as far back as sixty-five years, were, Herman Asenap, Comanche; Felix Kowena, Mina Domot, Richard Aitsan, Mrs. Read, all Kiowas.

In their meeting they still give thanks to God for his all-wise providence in sending to them in those far-gone days the missionaries who taught them the way of the better life.

COLONEL SAMUEL LEE PATRICK

*By Harry B. Gilstrap, Jr.**

Samuel Lee Patrick was born August 10, 1833, in Brimfield, Massachusetts, the seventh of eleven children of Samuel and Susan Lee Patrick and the grandson of a Revolutionary War soldier. When he was four years old, the family moved to Black Walnut Grove, Ogle County, Illinois, where he was reared on a farm. He attended public schools and continued higher education from 1849 to 1852 at Beloit College in Wisconsin and at Mt. Morris Seminary, in Illinois.

In October, 1852, he sailed from New York to California where he remained four years in the gold mines, returning in 1856 to resume farming. In July, 1861, he enlisted as a private in the 34th Illinois Volunteer Infantry, a regiment he helped recruit. In September, 1861, he was commissioned first lieutenant of Co. E, and in March, 1862, he became its captain.

He fought at Corinth, at Shiloh, at Stones River (or Murfreesboro) and at Liberty Gap, commanding the regiment at the latter battle. Wounded severely at Shiloh, where he lay all night on the battlefield with a bullet-hole through his throat, he returned to action shortly; but late in 1863 he was invalided home, illness having reduced his tall frame to ninety pounds; and in February, 1864, he resigned his commission.

He was a merchant at Algonquin, Illinois, from 1865 to 1867. In the latter year he married Mary Farron, and in 1868 they moved to Ottawa, Kansas, where he farmed and served for twelve years as clerk of the district court, assessor and in other offices.

He also served successively as major, lieutenant colonel and colonel of the First Infantry Regiment, Kansas National Guard, and later, as brigadier general, commanded the Guard's Fourth Brigade.

In 1889 he was appointed by President Benjamin Harrison as Indian Agent to the Sac and Fox, Shawnee, Pottawatomie, Kickapoo and Iowa tribes, with offices at the now-abandoned old Sac and Fox Agency south of Stroud. His responsibility included 1,500,000 acres in four reservations. He continued as agent until 1895, when during the Cleveland administration, he was suc-

---

*Harry B. Gilstrap, Jr. is Editor of the *Southwest Heritage*, published at Amarillo, Texas. Mr. Gilstrap is the grandson of Colonel Samuel Lee Patrick.

SAMUEL LEE PATRICK

Captain, Company E, 34th Illinois Volunteer Infantry, 1863

ceeded by Edward L. Thomas, who was replaced in 1897 by (Samuel) Lee Patrick (Jr.).

Colonel and Mrs. Patrick had two children, Lee, who became a banker in Stroud and now is deceased, and Harriet, who married the Chandler newspaper publisher, Harry B. Gilstrap. Colonel Patrick made his home in his last years with his daughter at Chandler and, later, in Washington, D.C., where he died in 1923 at the age of ninety.

Recently, a manuscript of notes on the Sac and Fox by Colonel Gilstrap was brought to light in his papers now in the hands of his daughter, Mrs. Gilstrap living at the age of ninety-eight. She wrote an article published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Vol. XXXVIII, 1960), "Memoirs of a Pioneer Teacher," giving some of her reminiscences of the Sac and Fox Agency where her father, Colonel Patrick served from 1889 to 1895 as an Indian Agent. His notes on the Sac and Fox Indians tells something about that composite tribe, its characteristics and leaders in the early 1890's. This manuscript has never before been published:

Colonel Patrick's
Notes on the Sac and Fox

The Sac and Fox Indians live in wick-e-ups or bark houses and in tepees made of reeds woven together, some at the present time living in log houses. Some few are scattered about on farms, having taken their allotments.

It is their nature to live near one another, in consequence the majority have taken their land in settlements.

The Mo-ko-he-ko band, or what is known as the Kansas Sacs (by reason of their leaving the reservation and going back to Kansas, where they remained 17 years until forcibly removed by U.S. Troops) have taken their land in a body and fenced with wire. The most of the tribe are still in blankets but they are rapidly becoming more civilized and adopting citizens clothing. There are many pecan groves on the reservation.

The Indians camp out to pick pecans and hunt, living in tepees or tents. They did dance the ghost dance last year about five miles from the Agency, they do not that I can learn, wear the ghost robe. They are dancing ghost dance now about 25 miles from Agency. This tribe is considered semi barberous.

The Gov. issues no rations or provisions of any kind to Sac & Foxes except to the school and policemen.

The tribe is wealthy in annuities, their interest on funds at 5% amounting to about $100.00 per capita.

(Oklahoma Historical Society)

CHIEF MOSES KEOKUK, SAC AND FOX

(Photo by Standiford, Muskogee, C.N.)

MRS. MARY KEOKUK
Wife of Chief Moses Keokuk

Main Chief Paw-she-pa-ho is a dull sluggish non-progressive Indian, but as a whole they are more frugal industrious and thrifty and saving than any other band.

The Mo-ko-ho-ko band are opposed to education, the majority of the others favor education. There are a number of educated Indians in the tribe, these are intelligent and do not seem different from white people. The chief is elected by the council every two years. The present principal chief is Mah-ko-sah-toe, the second Keo-kuk who of course is the royal blood chief, being son of old Chief Ke-o-kuk, who was the white man's friend and peaceful chief in the days of the Black Hawk War.

There is no school especially for the Sac and Foxes except at the Agency. There is to be expended $13,000 this year for increasing capacity of school buildings at Agency. They still have medicine men and women and medicine dances. The Sac and Fox reservation is 20 miles E. & W. x 50 N. & S.

The Agency is about 160 miles from the Kansas line and 55 miles from a rail-road, our nearest point being Sapulpa on the Frisco road, Oklahoma City 65 miles west.

There is a settlement on the Cimmerron River 30 miles north and one on the North Fork of the Canadian 25 miles southwest, others settled scattering between. Black Hawk has two grandsons that I know of, Kah-kaque and Ke-ke-wy-tuck (called Joe North Fork).

Old Mrs. Goodell or An-na-mo-sa was a Sac and Fox Indian, known in history as the woman who swam the Mississippi with the child on her back. This child is still living at the Agency and a lovely old lady she is, kind hearted and sympathetic, her name is Mary A. Means.

These are the true facts of the case—during the Black Hawk War this Indian woman with her three yr. old babe started to cross the Wisconsin River (not the Mississippi) to get away from the soldiers, she had one pony, on this she strapped all of her possessions with her baby, thinking the pony could swim across with these and she could swim after them; after starting, something seemed to tell her to take the child; she swam around the pony and did so, when the pony was about half way across it went down with all the possessions in a whirlpool.

The brave woman struggled on, as she neared the shore it seemed that she would perish, but the sight of friends on the other shore encouraged her and as she neared the land one of the Indians came down and helped her across but she was so exhausted that the Indians had to move on and leave her there

where she and the child lived for ten days with nothing to eat but wild onions. They were then captured by the Winnebagos, a then hostile tribe to the Sac & Fox, and taken to the Winnebago Mission on Yellow River.

In one year the child, Wa-pa-se-ta, was adopted by an army officer at Ft. Crawford, Wis. The mother remained in the Mission until some Sacs (Long Horn, Kish-ke-kosh, and others with John Goodell as interpreter) went to the Mission and took her away with them to Burlington, Iowa. Here she married John Goodell, July 4th 1840 with ceremony, the latter being a white man.

After marrying Mr. G. then moved to Ft. Des Moines, Ia. where the Indians were then living.

They then moved to Franklin Co. Kans. and in 1847 Mrs. G. started to find daughter Wa-pa-se-ta whom she had not seen from the time they were separated at the Mission, she finally heard of her through Capt. John King U.S.A. who told her she was at Galena, Ill. where she found her, she (Wa-pa-se-ta) having married a white man by the name of Gardner in 1846.

Wa-pa-se-ta was born to An-na-mo-sa when the latter was but 15 years of age, the father being an army officer (Col. Mitchell) stationed at Rock Island.

After marrying Mr. Goodell Mrs. G. gave birth to ten children of these only two lived to be of any age, Sarah (now Sarah A. Whistler-Pennock) and John (died in Fall of '75 of consumption age 18 years). She raised and educated three children who are at the present time living on the reservation, one having gone back to the blanket, the other two are refind nice people, Mrs. John Whistler and Isaac Goodell (twins).

Mr. G. died in Quenemo, Osage Co., Kansas in 1867, Mrs. G. never married again. She was a kind hearted old lady known to every one as "Mother Goodell," she lived a Christian life, having been converted at Baldwin City, Kans., there she joined the Methodist Church and after coming to this country joined the Baptist, there being no Methodist Church. Mrs. Goodell died at Sac & Fox Agency after an illness of one week, June 1st, 1879.

Wa-pa-se-ta, afterwards Mrs. Gardner, now known as Mary A. Means, has a very interesting life, can entertain one for hours by telling her experiences.

—Samuel Lee Patrick

SCENES IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY KOWETAH MISSION

By Augustus W. Loomis

Introduction

A manuscript on Kowetah Mission is found in a type written copy taken from a small book titled *Scenes in the Indian Territory* by Augustus W. Loomis published in 1851.[1] Colonel Loomis served in the Seminole War in Florida and was in command of Fort Towson in 1843-1844. The next year he was in command of Fort Gibson on the Grand River with four companies of Infantry and two Dragoons. Around the post were many Seminole Indians who had been brought from Florida at the close of the War. In the period of 1846 to 1848, Colonel Loomis in command of Fort Gibson was noted as "the Christian Commander." During his service here, he made a trip west up the Arkansas to visit Kowetah Mission. The notes on his visit to Kowetah were transcribed from his rare book.[2] The text as shown in the manuscript is given here except for some obvious typographical errors made in the transcription besides some correction of punctuation.[3]

—Editor

Kowetah Mission

This is eighteen miles west of Tallahassa, in the skirts of the timber which lines the banks of the Arkansas River. The road running from Fort Gibson, through Tallahassa, past the Mission house, and then stretching on towards the west, is the old army trail.[4]

---

1 This manuscript gives the name of the author of *Scenes In The Indian Territory* as "Augustus W. Loomis." His name, however, as an Army Officer is given "Gustavus Loomis" found in Francis B. Heitman's *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, (Washington: 1903) Vol. II; and in Major General George W. Cullum's *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy* (New York, 1868), Vol. I.

2 Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Gustavus Loomis," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, (Vol. XVIII, September 1940).

3 The manuscript "Kowetah Mission" is in the Grant Foreman Collection, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, Rella Looney, Archivist.

4 This road from Fort Gibson via Tullahassee and Kowetah Mission to the west was the Army trail and route followed by Washington Irving and his companions with the Rangers for "Tour on the Prairies" in 1832.—George H. Shirk "A Tour On The Prairies Along The Washington Irving Trail In Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLV (Autumn 1967).

The Mission house is pleasantly situated. Grand old forest trees stand there, in all their native pride and strength. The buildings are not at all imposing; they have not any of that look which would lead one to wonder if they had been taken up out of the city, and set down there; but they bear the marks of having been constructed of such materials and with such tools as were at hand, far out on the frontier; they are innocent of paint, or needless ornament; but they look comfortable . . .[5]

There was first a solid one-and-a-half story building of hewed logs, facing the east, with a wide hall, and two rooms on each side of it. Afterwards, as the school increased, a two story building was joined to its south end; it was of hewed logs, and weather boarded with clap-boards, split out of oak trees and covered with pine shingles. Along the front was an open shed with rude seats. On the west side of the old house another building was added . . . You may think of these (buildings) as in the center of a large yard, which was surrounded by a high rail fence; the yard, however, being divided in the middle by a close picket fence, giving a separate yard to each department . . . And now we wish you to look along the west side of the yard, and you will see a row of little cabins. The first was occupied by the black man, who was hired by the month to work on the farm, and who was also employed as interpreter.

The second was the mill-room, where 'Uncle Frank,' the blind negro man, with an iron hand-mill, ground all the meal and hommony [*sic*] used in the establishment, to supply fifty mouths and the bread used there was principally of corn . . . The third cabin in the row was generally reserved as a place for lodging strangers — Indian families that wanted entertainment for the night . . . Beyond this cabin was the smokehouse, where the bacon was hung. On further, and down back of all were the stables, hay stacks, cattle pens, etc. Off at the east, and down a little hill was a spring and over it the milk-house.

At the north-east was a capacious garden, guarded by its picket fence; the orchards at the west, and the fields spread out beyond and around . . . And this was the farm . . . where Indian boys learned how to do all manner of *Out-door work;* and there the girls learned to be good help-meets for educated Indian men, by getting a knowledge of the method of performing all manner of *in-door* work.

At the south, and in front of the house, was an open space, covered with a green-sward; in the center of the most elevated point of the green, stood the chapel, which during the week days was also the school house. It had no steeple or bell; but a hand

---

[5] Foreman, "Gustavus Loomis," *op. cit.*, pp. 222-23.

bell called the children into the school; and to gather the people from the surrounding cabins for public worship, a man with strong lungs blew a trumpet — a trumpet of the most primitive kind, a long crooked horn.

Origin of Kowetah Mission

That little log cabin No. 2, now the mill-house, was first erected by the pioneer missionary, who is the present Superintendent of Tallahassa Mission. Afterward he brought a wife, to share his labours. In that one little cabin they taught a little day-school. . . .[6]

There, in that little log cabin, some who are now teachers, and interpreters, and church members, first began to acquire that education which has rendered them useful men and women in their nation; . . . Among those early pupils was, I think, the boy, now the man and ordained minister, who at this present time has charge of this same Kowetah Mission . . .[7]

At first the Creeks were hostile to schools, and especially to Christian Missions . . . for a long time they had been left without schools, and without the preaching of the gospel; except that there were a few Indians and Negroes that claimed to be preachers . . .

The chiefs of the nation were met in council, and permission obtained to send a man to them on trial (from the Foreign Mission Board). Such a man was found who was willing to undertake the mission. He traveled from his home in Georgia to the Indian Territory; traversed the country on horseback, was present at a council, was granted liberty to construct a cabin; and the ground lying between two streams that were specified, was designated as the Mission premises, as long as they saw fit to tolerate the Mission at all.

There he might have permission to teach such children and youth as chose to come to him; and he might preach in his own house, but no where else; and these privileges he could

---

6 Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Report of the Reverend R. M. Loughridge to the Board of Foreign Missions regarding the Creek Mission, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI (Spring 1948). The superintendent mentioned here by Colonel Lewis was the Reverend R. M. Loughridge whose report is given by Mrs. Foreman. See, also, Virginia E. Lauderdale, "Tullahassee Mission," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI (Autumn 1948).

7 The name of this mission is spelled "Koweta" in early day records, its location just south of present Coweta in Wagoner County, Oklahoma. This was the town of the old Chief Roley McIntosh, of the Creek Nation. The only vestiges of the Koweta Mission site are a few old graves, among them the grave of Mrs. Loughridge and her infant child. The site has been acquired (1967) by the Oklahoma Historical Society, and the plot has been cleared and fenced to preserve it as a historic site.

enjoy only so long as, in the opinion of the chiefs, he behaved with propriety . . . That was a license for one year only.

At the end of the year he was granted, "for he had won the entire confidence of the people, and disarmed the fears of the chiefs"; and now, on their own, they requested him to send to the States for more men *just like him,* with a special reference to the enlarging the school . . .

In a short time he was allowed to go anywhere in the nation, preaching the gospel; . . . at the present time our missionaries and native preachers may travel, and hold meetings, from the eastern limits of the tribe to the westward as far as the people have carried their settlements . . .[8]

The African Interpreters

. . . Since, however missionaries to the Indians make much use of interpreters, it may not be unacceptable to hear a little about them. Well, one of our interpreters at the Kowetah Mission, was Robin, a negro, and he occupied the cabin in the corner. Robin was also a man of all work, and very "handy" at repairing tools, and preparing many little "make shifts," which cannot be obtained in that far off country.—Within his cabin was like a boatswain's locker, having a great many things, but all in confusion . . . At the side of the room, opposite the great fireplace, is the low bedstead, constructed of poles, the ends of which are made fast in the logs; but it is not always occupied, for Robin often sleeps on the floor in the summer to escape the mosquitoes, and in the winter, because he may then roll himself in blankets, not excepting the head, and place his feet close to the fire.

He was fond of talking, and once in a while we would listen to an old legend or tradition . . . Some reference was made to people of different nations, and the question was started as to what may have been the original colour; when he repeated the old Indian tradition of the three men who were originally all black. They came to a stream of water, and one of them washed in it, and came out entirely white, and he was the father of the white race. The second washed in the now turbid water, and came out only partially white, and he was the father of all red men. The third, seeing the water already too black, did not wash at all, except to touch the palms of his hands and the soles of his feet, therefore, he remained black, as do all the Negroes, his posterity, to this day.

Then he repeated the other old story, by which they account for the diversity of tastes and employments . . . The legend is

---

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 280-281.

that those three men whose colour had become fixed again started on their journey together, and travelled till they came to a place in which the Great Spirit had deposited a great variety of articles, arranged in three separate parcels. In one were books, maps, pens and paper, etc., and the white man chose these. In the second were bows and arrows, beads and feathers and the like, and the red man caught up these; and there was nothing left for the poor black man but the spades, and hoes, and grubbing tools.

Therefore, when we urge upon the Indians the advantages of education, and the importance of sending their children to school, they answer, "Oh, learning is for you white people: the books were given to you; but to us the bow and arrow; therefore the Great Spirit does not desire us to change our mode of living."

After a few years the interpreter becomes well stocked with Theological and Biblical learning . . . This man of whom we have been speaking, thought he would be able to repeat, entire, many sermons that he had interpreted . . . this, he said, was the way in which he occupied himself in his lonely hours.

One of the ladies once asked him how he amused himself in his long rides over the prairie; for every other Saturday he rode, on his own pony, several miles to spend the day with his wife. He answered, "Why, ma'am, some of the way I sings and some of the way I prays, and some of the way I preaches." "Preach, Robin! and to whom do you preach?" she asked. "Oh, to myself, ma'em."

Uncle Frank

This was the black man who ground the meal. He kept his snug little room in good order, neater than some do who have both their eyes. He would say, "The good Lord is taking care of me so well; giving me so good a home, and causing people to be kind to me, a poor old black man, and blind, without money, relatives, or home of my own. . ."

The School

The regular study hours are from nine to twelve, and from one to four; and often parts of the evening are employed in giving additional instruction to some of the advanced classes; or in familiar lectures to the whole school, to enlighten them in general knowledge.

Before and after school hours, the pupils separate into different companies for work. Some of the boys with their axes to repair the wood pile, others with hoes are put to work in the

field. Among such a number of boys just out of school, it would not be surprising if there were more inclination to play than labour: indeed the man who is with them had his patience tried no little but if he manages them skilfully he will get some work done; but what is better, and what in fact is the chief object in putting the pupils to manual labour, he may teach them how different kinds of work should be done; and by engaging with them himself they see that he is not above labor.

In the larger missions there is one who manages the temporal affairs of the establishment, and who takes charge of the boys when out of school. He is sometimes denominated the Steward and Farmer.

In the missionary schools among the American Indians the manual labor department was an important feature. Many people would consider instruction in farm work the most useful of all.

The farmer is with the boys of the boarding-school, four or five hours each day, teaching them the various kinds of work which farmers have to do.

The Indians have been rovers in former times, living by hunting, fishing, or begging, and sometimes by plunder, and on such corn and beans as their women could cultivate; for the men considered it dishonourable to work in the fields. There was no hope of civilizing these tribes unless they could be induced to abandon their migratory habits, and settle down as farmers or herdsmen; and the most effectual means of bringing about such a result, has been found to be The Mission Boarding-school; and in this work . . . a *practical* farmer is needed . . . not one that would say, "Go boys," but, "Come boys," Thus putting his own hand to the work . . . he dignified labour in the eyes of the Indian youth . . .

Female Department

The girls, when out of school are likewise appointed to their several tasks, or divisions of labour for the week; and the week following a change is made, so that all in turn are engaged in the different branches of domestic economy, having the ladies of the mission to direct them.

These ladies have to do more than oversee them; they have to put their own hands to the work in order to show how it is done. Among the Indian girls there are spirits that are hard to manage — difficult to tame: not infrequently there is a case of "desertion"—a pupil broke loose from school, and escaped to its home. Untutored Indian children are not to be reconciled at once to the dull routine of school, and the stately uniformity of

a well ordered household: it is a great change from the free and indolent life to which they had been accustomed.

There were two little creatures — brother and sister. When brought to the Mission they were as shy as young partridges; and many was the time that they ran away. As soon as they were missed, a messenger would be posted after them. Their quick ears however, would hear the sound of approaching footsteps, and they would turn aside and skulk in the bushes till the messenger had passed; and when not finding them at home thinking that certainly he must meet them on his return, they, being quicker to hear than he to see, would again elude him; and perhaps for several days they would avoid being caught.

One morning two little girls were missing. They had been at the Mission for a long time, and seemed contented; their homes were far off and they had no relatives close at hand. They were not to be found anywhere in the neighbourhood; we only knew that they were gone and had taken some of their clothes with them. It was afterward learned that those two little girls, with no other company, had arisen sometime in the night, crept softly from the house, and carrying their bundles, had travelled eighteen miles through the dark woods and over the solitary prairie.

The Mission schools are busy places in the morning and evening.

About the kitchen and dining room — some of the girls are assisting in cooking, others in preparing the tables; some are at the milkroom; others in the clothes room, some making or mending clothes, others ironing, folding and laying them away — each child's garments in its own particular place; some are pounding corn in great wooden mortars, and others are cleaning it with such fans as the ancients in eastern countries used for winnowing grain; this corn is for *sofky*, and "large hommony" [*sic*]. If it is Monday forenoon many of the girls are earnestly and cheerfully at work in the wash-room.

Their Recreations

It is not "all work and no play" at these schools. Suitable and healthful recreations are encouraged. Some portion of the day is theirs to use as they please and it is pleasant and exhilarating even to see and hear them stretching their muscles and expanding their lungs in their sports . . . some of which we never witnessed except among the Indian children.

On the holidays the girls may be seen in groups gathering wild flowers, resorting to the river's bank, or making little visits to young friends that reside near. Some of the older girls improve

the time in writing compositions, or in getting instructions from the ladies in fancy work.

The boys occasionally go out gathering nuts or berries; or they go hunting — not with fire-arms, but with sticks and dogs. An Indian boy would run down a rabbit without any trouble. Often on a moon-light night would be an application for permission to go and hunt racoons or opossums; but generally they brought in more polecats than racoons.

The half day of the hunt was sometimes followed with an evening of feasting, in huntsman's style.

It was a picturesque scene, that frolicking company of Indian boys around their fire, which was kindled on the ground at a safe distance from the house, dressing and barbecuing their game, and eating it together with potatoes roasted in the ashes. . . .

Scene in the Dining-Room

Let a stranger come in at breakfast or supper time and we think he would be interested. After the meal is ended, each teacher and pupil recites a verse of Scripture, beginning at the head of one of the tables and passing around through the entire company . . . Then a chapter is read, with a few brief comments, explanations, and practical observations . . . then the hymn and the prayer . . .

Help Those Women

That is a self-denying and arduous work in which the ladies in these missions are engaged. Without their help the whole work connected with the boarding-school would have to stop. Ladies to a large extent are employed as teachers: and they are efficient teachers. There must, of course, be ladies to superintend all the domestic arrangements . . .

The trials — those trials which are the hardest to bear — of the female missionaries in these fields are such as are not paraded before the public, and which, therefore, they have to bear alone, because few know them. There are trials in getting to their place of labor. When there they are far away from home and friends, though on their own continent, yet in some measure isolated from the stirring, news-reading world.

The mission stations are far apart and when there is a vacation in which they might go to visit their fellow-labourers at other stations they find their modes of traveling slow and uncomfortable, compared to what they had been accustomed to at home. Going to meeting in ox-wagons, or starting on a journey of two hundred, or four hundred miles out and back, with rivers

to ford, or perhaps to swim; with horses breaking down, and then two ladies seated on one beast to prosecute the journey; this is a new thing to most of our missionary ladies, until they arrive in the Indian country.

The luxuries and many of the conveniences of life are not now within their reach, and help in the kitchen sometimes cannot be obtained, when absolutely necessary. Before the Indian girls can be made useful they have, in most cases, to be taught and some have first to be tamed and subdued. They are tried with the unruly and perverse temper of children who, in some cases, seem to delight to tease and worry their teachers and matrons, this is not mentioned in the papers, nor referred to in platform speeches, nor is the public told how sad and discouraged the lady sometimes is, when she finds that the task she directed to be done, is not done, and that the girl has run away to play, and she herself has to perform the work.

There are trials which result from sickness or enfeebled health, and impaired strength; while the labours remain undiminished . . . and there are trials, such as you may imagine, when many of the pupils are prostrated with an epidemic disease, and the duties of nurse, both day and night, are added to all their other duties.

THE WHITE THREAT IN THE CHICKASAW NATION

*By Parthena Louise James**

The Chickasaws feared being outnumbered in their own nation, and United States policy often threatened to make this fear a reality. First, there had been the attempt to force the Chickasaws to adopt their freedmen. Second, there had been a limited invasion of Chickasaw territory by white men, which the United States did not stop. Before the war there were white men living in the Chickasaw Nation, but they were few in number, and most of them were traders who brought in supplies. Some white men, however, had begun to farm and ranch in the Chickasaw Nation, and often these married Chickasaw women and were adopted into the tribe. This intrusion was forbidden by treaty, except as regulated by the Chickasaws, but little effort was made to stop this influx, even of those who came as fugitives from justice in the United States.

White men did not become a big problem in the Chickasaw Nation until the reconstruction years. Unsettled reconstruction conditions discouraged white immigrants for several years, but as Chickasaw life returned to normal, whites began to come. Those that came willing to live under the Chickasaw regulations were often welcome. Few new white settlers entered the nation before 1871, however, but after that year they came in increasing numbers.[1] Many came from the South, among them Confederate veterans, seeking to build a new life. They either hired themselves out to the Indians as laborers or leased Chickasaw land.[2] These leases were for a period of five or ten years, depending on the intended use of the land and the type of building on the property.[3]

These men were in the same position in the Chickasaw Nation as the freedmen. Both were United States citizens, which were to be in the nation on a limited basis, and for this reason the Indians could have no jurisdiction over them. In cases in-

---

*This is the second article contributed by Parthena Louise James from her paper "Reconstruction in the Chickasaw Nation, 1865-1877," prepared as a candidate with a major in history for the B.A. degree, at Oklahoma State University, 1963. The first article by Mrs. James, titled "Reconstruction in the Chickasaw Nation: The Freedman Problem," appeared in *The Chronicles* for Spring, 1967 (Vol. XLV).—Ed.

1 Joe T. Roff, "Reminiscences of Early Days in the Chickasaw Nation," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XIII (June, 1935), p. 177.

2 Johnson, *The Chickasaw Rancher*, p. 155.

3 Roff, "Reminiscences of Early Days in the Chickasaw Nation," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XIII, p. 177.

volving white men, justice could come only from the federal court at Fort Smith. This naturally encouraged the lawless element in the United States to seek safety in the Chickasaw Nation in addition to those white men who came seeking new land and a new life. As these numbers increased, the Chickasaws foresaw that they might someday be outnumbered by this group also.

One of the leading opponents of the white influx was B. F. Overton, and he warned his people of the consequences of this emigration in 1872 while he was a member of the Chickasaw legislature. He said that the whites had not changed from the 1830's when the Chickasaws had been forced to leave their historic homeland, and he emphasized that they had only become "more assuming and grasping than ever by . . . [*this*] onward march in civilization." Overton's recommended solution was isolation from the white element.[4]

The increasing number of whites made it necessary for the legislature to attempt to regularize agreements between Chickasaws and non-citizens. All non-citizens wishing to rent land were required to get recommendations from two substantial citizens of the United States. Any contract with a Chickasaw must be reported to the local county clerk, who would then issue a certificate to the non-citizen allowing him to remain. For this permit the clerk charged $5.00, which was used primarily to finance county government. The legislature requested that contracts be binding for only one year.[5]

In the election campaign of 1874, Overton promised if elected governor, to remove from the nation all non-citizens residing there without purpose or business.[6]These men were chiefly refugees from United States justice.[7] Overton was elected, and he acted at once against this group with a proclamation to all Chickasaw constables and sheriffs ordering them to remove all non-citizens unlawfully in the nation or illegally holding livestock.[8] In order to remain, a white man must hold a permit similar to the following: "This is to certify that W. G. Trowlridge has obtained a

---

[4] *Vindicator*, July 31, 1872. (See biography, "Governor Benjamin Franklin Overton and Governor Benjamin Crooks Burney," by John Bartlett Meserve, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVI, No. 2 [June, 1938], pp. 221-233.)

[5] Chickashaw Miscellaneous Papers File, Division of Manuscripts, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

[6] U. S. Congress, Senate, *Report Number* 774, 45th Congress, 3d Session, p. 462.

[7] *Vindicator*, March 22, 1876.

[8] Proclamation to the Sheriffs and Constables, Chickasaw Tribal Officer Folder (Governor), Number 12940, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

permit at this office to remain in the limits of the Chickasaw Nation for twelve months in the employment of Winchester Colbert to bore for oil."[9]

Overton was supported by the full-blood portion of the Chickasaw tribe, and he also received help and encouragement from the cattle ranchers in the nation. Many of these were white men, and they held leases from Chickasaws for large amounts of land. These ranchers were just as eager as Overton in keeping the open ranges in the Chickasaw Nation, which increasing settlement would end.[10]

In his annual message in 1875, Overton presented a plan to settle some Plains Indians from Kansas in the Chickasaw country as provided for in the Treaty of 1866. This would end the threat of whites eventually filling the nation and would also delay individual allotment.[11] The plan was not popular with the Chickasaws, and no Kansas Indians were ever settled in the Chickasaw Nation.[12]

But the increasing white population was causing more and more alarm. In 1873 there were a reported sixty white or mixed-blood families living in Pickens County; these people cultivated 13,000 acres and 2,000 of these were planted in cotton.[13] Agent S. W. Marston reported in 1876 that there were "a great many white people" scattered throughout the Chickasaw Nation, and he estimated that one county had a population of 3,000 persons.[14] While this group might be law abiding and friendly, there were simply too many non-Indians among a population of less than 6,000 Indians.

Overton appealed to the legislature to help prevent "the large and steady influx of white people into our country." He called for a revision of the permit law and severe restrictions on the employment of non-Indians, and he also asked that the $5.00 fee for a permit be changed to $25.00. The work of white persons was to be confined to Indian homesteads, for often non-citizens had been allowed to farm land never before used by Chickasaw citizens. These men often made deals with Chickasaws for leases on Indian homesteads, and were farming more and more acres

---

9 Chickasaw Royalty Folder, Number 8235, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

10 Meserve, "Governor Benjamin Franklin Overton and Governor Benjamin Crooks Burney," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XVI, p. 223.

11 *Oklahoma Star*, September 17, 1875.

12 *Oklahoma Star*, October 1, 1875.

13 *Vindicator*, May 17, 1873.

14 *Commissioner of Indian Affairs Report for* 1876, pp. 62-63. See biography of "Sylvester Witt Marston," by Winona Hunter Chilcott, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLV (1967), pp. 68-72.

yearly. Overton worried about this loss of land and also about the timber which these intruders cut.[15]

Overton got his legislation. Chickasaw citizens were prohibited from holding pasturage and stock in their name which really was being used by non-citizens.[16] Non-citizens were still to obtain permission from the county clerk in order to remain in the nation, and permission was granted only if they were employed by a Chickasaw and the $25.00 fee paid. Non-citizens living in the nation with a permit were not allowed to own more than five milk cows, and they could not raise hogs outside of an enclosure. They were permitted all the horses and beef cattle necessary to work the farm. The freedmen, except those owned by Chickasaws on the date of the Fort Smith Conference, were also to follow these regulations.[17]

Overton hoped primarily to rid the nation of the floating population of whites, as he had also hoped to do with the proclamation in 1874. "They come in there," he explained "and locate in the corner of a fence. They cannot protect their women and children from the snow and rain. They occupy little vacant cabins throughout our country . . . They would probably remain during the winter and steal a horse or two and get out."[18] Overton also hoped to discourage the farming of Chickasaw land by individual whites.

The new permit law produced unexpected reactions from United States authorities, for it required all white persons resident in the Chickasaw Nation to pay $25.00, including employees of the United States. Agent Marston asked the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in January, 1877, about the validity of this law.[19] Marston had two reasons for believing the permit law was not valid. First, he related that his office had not approved the law, even though such action was not necessary. Second, he felt that the law was null and void because it was a tax upon the labor of United States citizens, and the Chickasaws did not have jurisdiction in this field.[20]

While Marston was waiting for the reply of the Secretary of the Interior, to whom the Commissioner of Indian Affairs had re-

---

15 *Vindicator*, September 5, 1876.

16 Homer, *Constitution and Laws of the Chickasaw Nation Together with the Treaties of* 1832, 1834, 1837, 1852, 1855, *and* 1866, p. 134.

17 U. S. Congress, Senate, *Report Number* 774, 45th Congress, 3d Session, p. 424.

18 *Ibid.*

19 S. W. Marston to the Office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 3, 1877, in Registers of Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, January 1-March 31, 1877, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

20 *Star Vindicator*, September 15, 1877.

ferred the matter, Overton issued a proclamation requiring the permit law to be carried out in full.[21] Overton was determined to enforce the law, and when he met with opposition he used the Chickasaw militia. He had received permission from J. Q. Smith, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to enforce the law until the Secretary of the Interior reached a decision on it. "The permit law in Panola County is established beyond a doubt," a Choctaw journalist reported. "There are but few who have not paid the permit."[22] Overton's collection of the $25.00 permit was aided by United States military authorities.[23]

This action by Governor Overton was unpopular with the portion of the tribe regarded as progressive. Overton caused many white men to leave the nation, which resulted in fields lying uncultivated.[24] The *Star Vindicator,* a liberal Choctaw newspaper, attacked Overton: "That blessing which was predicted for the Chickasaw Nation upon the enforcement of the $25 permit law seems to come very slowly . . . More crimes are reported from that country, since Overton's militia started out, than were through the whole of last year."[25]

Overton regretted that it had been necessary to use the militia to enforce this law. He reported to the Chickasaw legislature in September that this action had been repugnant but necessary. The expense involved in using the militia was justified by the thousands of dollars added to the Chickasaw treasury from the collection of the fee. The nation was also repaid because of the number and type of white people that had been forced to leave.[26]

Enforcement of the law continued through the spring and summer of 1877. On August 27, the Secretary of the Interior, Carl Schurz, ruled the permit law null and voil.[27] He followed the advice of the Senate Judiciary Committee which made this decision because white labor was being subjected to Indian taxation.[28] Overton had even attempted to collect from Early, the teacher at the freedmen's school at Fort Arbuckle.[29] Overton re-

---

21 U. S. Congress, Senate, *Report Number* 774, 45th Congress, 3d Session, p. 780.

22 *Star Vindicator,* April 28, 1877.

23 *Star Vindicator,* May 12, 1877.

24 *Star Vindicator,* April 28, 1877, and *Star Vindicator,* May 12, 1877.

25 *Star Vindicator,* May 26, 1877.

26 *Atoka Independent,* September 14, 1877.

27 U. S. Congress, Senate, *Executive Document Number* 74, 45th Congress, 2d Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1877), p. 32.

28 *Star Vindicator,* September 1, 1877.

29 J. Q. Smith, to S. W. Marston, September 12, 1877, Chickasaw Royalty Folder, Number 8236, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

fused to accept the decision of the Secretary of the Interior as final. In November he left for Washington to testify before a Senate committee and file a petition with the Senate Judiciary Committee requesting a change on the decision nullifying the permit law.[30] The Chickasaw attempt to stop the flood of white citizens was finally upheld when this committee declared the permit law valid.[31] This decision was supported by the Assistant Attorney General, S. F. Phillips, in 1881 when he also reported that the Chickasaw permit law was legal.[32] Governor Burney followed Overton's policy, and in March, 1879, he issued a proclamation directing Chickasaw sheriffs to enforce the permit law.[33]

The Chickasaw victory on this law did not stop the flood of white men. This was an impossible fight for the American Indian whether he fought with arrows or legislation. Even the legislative body that had passed the permit law was under attack during the reconstruction years, and the vital issue became not if the Chickasaws would be outnumbered in their own nation, but whether there would even be a Chickasaw Nation. There had been a warning of this danger before the war. Many white men wished to see Indian Territory organized like other territories in preparation for statehood. Some believed this would eventually result in an Indian state entering the union as an equal with the other states, and would bring about the consolidation of all tribes within its borders. Other persons saw the territorial government phase as a chance for white men to get into Indian Territory, force the allotment of Indian land, and the eventual sale of surplus land to non-Indians. It would then enter the Union with a white population as well as Indian.

The alliance of the Chickasaws and other tribes with the Confederate States allowed many plans for territorial government to be presented in Congress during the war. Kansas Senator James H. Lane introduced a resolution calling for the removal of Kansas Indians to Indian Territory soon after the war began.[34] The Secretary of the Interior during the war, James Harlan, was also interested in territorial government for Indian Territory and influenced Lane's bill calling for such a govern-

---

30 U. S. Congress, Senate, *Report Number* 774, 45th Congress, 3d Session, p. 428.

31 U. S. Congress, Senate, *Report Number* 698, 45th Congress, 3d Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1879).

32 Chickasaw Federal Relations Folder, Number 7070, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

33 Proclamation to the Sheriffs and Constables, Chickasaw Tribal Officer Folder (Governor), Number 12940, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society.

34 U. S. Congress, *Congressional Globe*, 37th Congress, 2d Session (Washington: J. C. Rives, 1862), Part 2, p. 1331.

ment.[35] None of these measures were successful, but they were a hint as to what would come after the war when the United States turned its complete attention to expansion.

At best the Chickasaws hoped to be able to help determine what form the change in government would take. Their treaty with the Confederate States contained such a provision, and this instrument established that the Chickasaws were to govern themselves, and any new territory or province created out of their land would come into being only with their consent.[36] The reconstruction treaty with the United States sought also to meet this danger. The treaty called for the creation of a council of delegates from each tribe, an organization somewhat similar to the Grand Council which had met during the war.[37] The Chickasaws had co-operated with the other tribes in this council while their own tribal government had ceased to function during the war. The newly proposed Indian council could be regarded as a continuation of this effort. Although the Chickasaws did not really wish to accept the proposal for the new council, they adopted it, perhaps in an effort to end the threat of territorial government which would end tribal government.[38]

The first meeting of the new council was in December, 1870, at Okmulgee, in the Creek Nation. The Chickasaw delegation joined the representatives of 60,000 other Indian tribes, including the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Seminole, Ottawa, Eastern Shawnee, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyndotte, Peoria, Sac and Fox, Great and Little Osage, and Absentee Shawnee.[39] The Chickasaw representatives were Joseph P. Fulsom, Alfred Wright, Charles Percy, Joseph James, Hopiah Tubbee, Colbert Carter, and Jackson Kemp.

The Indians first decided that the purposes of the council were (1) to preserve peace and friendship among themselves, (2) to promote the general welfare of all Indians, (3) to establish friendly relations with other Indians, (4) to secure their lands exclusively for themselves, and (5) to transmit their lands to their children.[40]

Carter, a Chickasaw delegate, presented a motion for the

---

[35] U. S. Congress, Senate, *Senate Journal*, 38th Congress, 2d Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1865), p. 133.

[36] *Official Records*, iv, I, p. 448.

[37] Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties*, II, p. 921.

[38] *Commissioner of Indian Affairs Report for* 1866, p. 283.

[39] U. S. Congress, House of Representatives, *Miscellaneous Document Number* 49, 41st Congress, 3d Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1871), p. 2.

[40] U. S. Congress, Senate, *Executive Document Number* 26, 41st Congress, 3d Session, p. 8.

council to appoint a twelve man committee to draft a constitution. This committee wrote a constitution providing for a federal union of the tribes. This union was to be governed by a government consisting of three branches, the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. By treaty the executive would be the Secretary of the Interior, empowered with the right to suspend any laws passed by the legislature. The legislature was to be made up of representatives of the tribes, and it was here that Indian influence would be strongest. But the Chickasaws became discouraged with the prospect of having any power in this body when they saw the first draft of the Okmulgee Constitution. This instrument provided for a senate consisting of one member from each nation with a population of over 2,000; an additional member would be allowed for every 2,000 citizens. The Chickasaws, with a population of a little over 5,000, would have at best three delegates. Thus the Chickasaws presented an amendment calling for only one member from each nation, but it was rejected by a vote of forty-eight to eight, and the final draft of the constitution carried the objectionable provision.[41]

The council then adjourned until June, 1871, in order to allow tribal governments time to act on the constitution. It would come into force if two thirds of the legislatures ratified, and the executive authority of each nation was to notify the council secretary of the action taken by the national legislature. The constitution was to be binding only on those tribes ratifying.[42] The Chickasaws were the first to take action on the Okmulgee Constitution, and they rejected it because of the apportionment of the legislature.

While the Indians were thus laying the ground work for a proposed Indian state, there were many plans underway in Congress to create a traditional territorial government. Often the backers of such bills insisted that this legislation would not in any way harm Indian rights to exist as a unique individual in a land of his own, but many others took the opposite point of view, as did this Washington legislator: "If the intention and object of the organization of a territorial government on the part of the United States is to prevent our people from going into such a territory and settling upon it, it certainly is a novel idea in a territorial bill."[43] Neither the Chickasaws nor United States authorities saw the Okmulgee Council as the territorial government desired by men such as Lane of Kansas. Thus the Chickasaw Nation was constantly alive with talk of plans for this type

41 *Ibid.*, p. 22.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

43 U. S. Congress, *Congressional Globe*, 38th Congress, 2d Session (Washington: J. C. Rives, 1865), Part 2, p. 1306.

of government during the reconstruction years in spite of the fact that President Grant supported the Indian state plan, as when he said: "It is highly desirable that . . . [these Indians] become self-sustaining, self-relying, christianized and civilized." He believed these aims would result from an Indian-run government.[44]

Territorial bills in Congress caused the Chickasaws a great deal of anxiety and agitation, and each bill brought the measure closer to reality.[45] In March, 1870, before the first council meeting at Okmulgee, Senator Benjamin F. Rice of Arkansas introduced a bill to create the Territory of Oklahoma out of Indian Territory. The bill failed, but in 1872 was once again on the floor of the Senate. The Chickasaw legislature protested against this bill and "all attempts to restrict or destroy the right of self-government, and the right of disposing of their lands as they please." All the Chickasaws wanted was to be left alone to work out their own destiny in accord with their treaties.[46]

The Chickasaws joined the Okmulgee Council in protesting against territorial bills. The Chickasaws had not only rejected the Okmulgee Constitution, but had even met with the Choctaws to express their mutual opposition to the constitution.[47] In addition, Chickasaw delegates met with other members of the council of the Indian nations in December, 1873, to begin their opposition to territorial bills. Some persons had hoped that the council would prepare the way for territorial government, but it became the united voice of the Indians against such a plan, with the Chickasaws usually uniting in this opposition.[48] In 1873, after unanimously protesting all territorial bills under consideration, the Indians expressed their desire to change the reconstruction treaties concerning railroad right-of-way, for they saw that the railroads were the most powerful supporters of a territorial government. The railroads needed to encourage the emigration of white people to the West in order to financially support the roads. Railroad grants usually included sections of land along the track, most of which could be sold to white settlers, but the Indian land stood in the way of these plans.[49] In 1875 the Chickasaws accused J. D. Lang, former chairman of a Congressional com-

---

[44] U. S. Congress, Senate, *Executive Document Number* 26, 41st Congress, 3d Session, p. 1.

[45] *Commissioner of Indian Affairs Report for* 1871, p. 571.

[46] U. S. Congress, House of Representatives, *Executive Document Number* 141, 42d Congress, 3d Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1873).

[47] *Vindicator*, July 11, 1872.

[48] U. S. Congress, House of Representatives, *Miscellaneous Document Number* 87, 43d Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1874), p. 1.

[49] U. S. Congress, Senate, *Report Number* 774, 45th Congress, 3d Session, p. 380.

mittee which had recommended territorial status for Indian Territory, of being the treasurer of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Company.[50] The Okmulgee Council had provided the Chickasaws with support for this view.

Both the territorial bills and the attempt to organize through the Okmulgee Council continued. The sixth meeting of the council, in September, 1875, found the Indians divided more than ever in their opinions on organization.[51] In April of the next year the Commissioner of Indian Affairs notified the principal chiefs of the tribes in Indian Territory that the Okmulgee Council was not to convene again until further authorized by Congress.[52] Congress refused to provide money for the operation of the council, and the council ceased meeting.[53] With the failure of the Indian council there also came a slack period in the pressure for territorial government. Conditional land grants to railroad companies expired in 1878, and with this there was less pressure for change in Indian Territory for several years.[54]

The Chickasaws still desired some form of united Indian government where they would be on an equal footing with the other tribes. They had often voluntarily joined with the Choctaws to work out problems before the war, and they had joined the Grand Council during the war after leading the way in signing treaties with the South. The Chickasaws realized the value of united action by the Indians, but they valued even more the autonomy of their tribal government. Always the Chickasaws faced being outnumbered and outvoted. Governor Overton expressed his sorrow that united government had failed when he addressed the Chickasaw legislature in the fall of 1876. Although Overton believed "the political, material, and social interests of the Indian race demand their consolidation," his people were unable to accept this solution.[55]

The Treaty of 1866 provided for the survey and allotment of Chickasaw land.[56] Each of the Five Civilized Tribes held land in common. Each Indian used as much as he wanted, so long as he did not encroach on some other Indian's holdings. The land

---

50 U. S. Congress, Senate, *Miscellaneous Document Number* 34, 43d Congress, 2d Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1875), p. 1.

51 *Vindicator*, September 18, 1875.

52 *Vindicator*, April 26, 1876.

53 U. S. Congress, House of Representatives, *Report Number* 95, 45th Congress, 2d Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1878), p. 8.

54 Amos Maxwell, "The Sequoyah Convention," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXVIII (Summer, 1950), p. 165.

55 *Vindicator*, September 20, 1876.

56 Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties*, II, p. 923.

could not be sold or mortgaged or in any way pass from Indian hands, but could be leased, as was often done.[57] Holding land in common was an Indian custom which white men neither approved nor understood, for they supported individual holdings. The white friends of the Chickasaws believed that they would become civilized much sooner if they held land as was done in the United States, while less scrupulous persons saw allotment as a step toward obtaining their surplus lands.[58]

The Chickasaws accepted the survey of their lands and allotment to individuals, and Governor Colbert advised this step in 1866.[59] The legislature concurred on November 9, 1866, and Colbert notified the President of the United States that the Chickasaws were ready to hold land in severalty.[60] There were some members of the tribe that opposed this legislation, but most were in favor of it. The Chickasaws had various reasons for supporting allotment. Some wished simply to own their land, and this feeling was described by Overton Love, a Chickasaw half-breed cattle rancher and plantation owner: "I know that my home is my own. I want to see it. I want to feel if I die that I can give it to whom I please." Others supported allotment out of fear. Governor Overton described this feeling: "It was represented at that time by the delegation [to Washington] that the government had offered these terms by which all could have a home and that upon their failure to accept the provision of the allotment of lands they would be left homeless." Governor Burney agreed that severalty was favored because "if the people did not do that they would be in danger of losing all." Severalty was also supported as one way to hold onto land in case railroads were built.[61] Thus the Chickasaws favored allotment whether they did so because of fear or because they felt it was best for the people.

The United States Congress responded with an appropriation of money to finance the survey of the Chickasaw Nation, but the money was not enough to provide for a land office or the distribution of land.[62] Unfortunately for the Chickasaws, the Choctaws had not agreed to the allotment. In fact, they strongly

---

57 Johnson, *The Chickasaw Rancher*, p. 74.

58 Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties*, II, p. 923.

59 Meserve, "Governor Daughtery (Winchester) Colbert," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XVIII, p. 354.

60 U. S. Congress, House of Representatives, *Miscellaneous Document Number* 29, 42d Congress, 1st Session, p. 91.

61 U. S. Congress, Senate, *Report Number* 774, 45th Congress, 3d Session, pp. 140, 141, 393, and 422.

62 J. D. Cox to General Land Office, August 29, 1870, in Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs from the Chickasaw Agency, 1856-1861, and 1867-1870, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

opposed allotment, and the Treaty of 1866 said both nations must agree before allotment was made. But the United States began the Chickasaw survey, and although Choctaw protests stopped work on it briefly in 1870, by the summer of 1872 the task was completed.[63]

By that time Overton was openly opposed to allotment, and he ran for the Chickasaw Senate later that year using this issue in his campaign. Overton expressed his fears for his people after allotment: "In twelve months time after the allotment is made, we will be overrun by devils bearing the image of man; and such lands as they cannot buy from us, they will forcibly take by dishonest means under the disguise of law."[64]

Governor Harris believed allotment was necessary. He told the Chickasaw legislature of his views in the fall of 1872 after being elected governor. He would not support allotment "had we any shadow of remaining as an independent nation, holding our lands in common." He thought this was impossible because of the land speculators and the railroad companies, and he believed allotment would help make the Chickasaw people ready for the inevitable.[65] Under his direction, the Chickasaw legislature requested that the Choctaw Nation consent to the survey and allotment of lands.[66] The Chickasaws desired permission to act alone if the Choctaws still did not wish allotment, but this request was not acted on by the Choctaw legislature.[67]

Parsons, the Chickasaw agent, reported in 1873 that most Chickasaws still favored allotment.[68] Smith, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, requested that the United States Congress legislate around the Choctaw refusal for allotment and allow the Chickasaws the right to hold their own land. Chickasaw freedmen were also waiting to make their selection of land.[69] Smith's request came after the Department of the Interior had declared that allotment could not be made without the consent of the Choctaws.[70] Smith hoped that legislation by Congress could get around the treaty requirements, but like the solution of the freedmen issue, allotment came as the Chickasaw Nation was being

---

63 *Ibid.*, and *Vindicator*, July 11, 1872.

64 *Vindicator*, July 31, 1872.

65 *Vindicator*, September 14, 1872.

66 Choctaw Foreign Relations Papers Folder, Number 17716, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

67 *Vindicator*, November 23, 1872.

68 *Commissioner of Indian Affairs Report for* 1873, p. 209.

69 U. S. Congress, House of Representatives, *Executive Document Number* 75, 43d Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1874).

70 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

destroyed. The Dawes Commission solved both problems when freedmen were included in the final allotments.

Reconstruction for the Chickasaws was made much more difficult by white men. Not only did the nation need to recover from war and solve the problems left by war, but it also had to face more serious issues. The freedmen were joined by white men in threatening to outnumber the Chickasaws. The Indians tried to stop this, but were usually not successful. Although the tribe was often divided on whether or not to exclude all white men, it was generally united as it attempted to meet the challenge offered by territorial government. In an attempt to prevent this, the Chickasaws joined the Okmulgee Council, hoping a united Indian effort could stop territorial government. Again the Chickasaws were unsuccessful, partly because they could not accept being outnumbered, even by other Indians.

The Chickasaws desired allotment of land to individuals in an effort to meet these threats. If the Chickasaw Nation could have been divided into individual allotments, with Indians holding legal titles to all land in the nation, there would have been less danger from intruding white men or the threat of territorial government. Consent on the part of the Choctaws prevented this, and as the reconstruction period ended, the Chickasaw tribal government continued to function as it had before the war. The Chickasaw people still held their lands in common as they had historically, but the inevitable conclusion was only postponed.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Index to The Chronicles, 1967

The Annual Index to *The Chronicles,* Vol. XLV, 1967 compiled by Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist, is distributed free to those who receive the quarterly magazine. Orders for the Annual Index should be addressed to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 73105.

The Governor's Mace

At the Governor's Inaugural on January 9, 1967, for the first time in Oklahoma's history a governor's mace was passed from the retiring Governor, Henry L. Bellmon, to the incoming Governor, Dewey F. Bartlett, as the authority of the office moved from the former to the latter.

The mace has long been recognized as the symbol of authority of office. The most notable mace in the United States is the Mace of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress. There it is used as a symbol of authority by the Sergeant-at-Arms when borne by him to keep order. Its position signifies whether the House is in session or whether it is sitting as Committtee of the Whole House on the State of the Unon. When the Speaker calls the House to order to begin a session, the Mace is placed on a pedestal at his right. If the House resolves itself into a Committee of the Whole, the Mace is placed on a lower pedestal next to the desk of the Sergeant-at-Arms.

In America there are other maces of ancient origin, particularly one dating from 1753 of Norfolk, Virginia, and one dating from 1756 of the House of Representatives of the State of South Carolina.

The mace, in ancient days a weapon, through the centuries developed into a ceremonial staff symbolizing the authority of office, according to many historians.

At the Inaugural of the Governor of Oklahoma, it seems to be somewhat of an empty ceremony for the outgoing Governor to merely shake hands with the new Governor and walk away. There is need for a visible symbol of the transition of the authority of the office from the outgoing Governor to the succeeding one. This symbol is the "Governor's Mace" which the retiring Governor will hand to the new Governor as a symbol of the office. Each Governor, upon the expiration of his term, will

(Photo, Oklahoma Historical Society)

THE GOVERNOR'S MACE

MACE OF THE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA

Side of the shaft of the Mace showing the six seals of the historical areas comprising the State of Oklahoma

physically hand the Mace to his successor. The Mace will be kept at the Governor's office or in the Blue Room of the State Capitol where it may be viewed by visitors. On certain State occasions, the Governor may make ceremonial use of it.

Governor Henry L. Bellmon first expressed the need for a mace following a visit in May 1966, to Virginia where he was given a small replica of the Mace of Norfolk.

The idea, design and creation of a Mace then was discussed by Governor Bellmon with Floyd Carrier of Carrier, Oklahoma, his Legislative Officer, and Herbert L. Branan. Branan had served in the 15th, 16th and 17th Oklahoma Legislatures, and being a lawyer, was a student of the Oklahoma Constitution and Oklahoma history. His first research was into the history of maces and symbols of office. His second source of research was the Constitution of Oklahoma and its references to the office of Governor.

By the use of cardboard from laundried shirts he pasted together a "dummy" design for a mace and discussed it with Governor Bellmon and Mr. Carrier. This process was repeated several times before a final form was agreed upon.

Others who offered suggestions and comments were Mrs. Clark Horton and Mrs. Gerald Baxter, Executive Secretaries.

After a number of trials and much study, the Southwestern Engraving Company in Oklahoma City was consulted as to how to get a mace made. Several full-size drawings of the design were made up by Grant Eagle and Gerald Cobb of Southwestern Engraving Company between July and November 15, 1966. Then it was finally agreed that the engraving company was to go ahead and manufacture the Governor's Mace. The finished product was completed by December 27, 1966, for the use of Governor Bellmon in the Inaugural Ceremonies for Governor-Elect Dewey F. Bartlett on January 9, 1967.

(Photo, Oklahoma Historical Society)

MACE OF THE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA

Side of the shaft of the Mace engraved with the words: *The Governor of the State of Oklahoma—Supreme Executive.* Lower part of the shaft shows a gavel entwined with mistletoe around its handle.

The legends and emblems on the Mace are as follows:

1. The top of the Mace is a disc-shaped metal form about one-inch thick and four inches in diameter with two faces upon which is engraved the Great Seal of the State of Oklahoma. This is mounted atop a metal ball with four opposite flattened surfaces upon which is engraved the following:
   a. On one surface:

      MACE
      OF THE GOVERNOR OF THE
      STATE OF OKLAHOMA
      SUPREME EXECUTIVE
      CHIEF MAGISTRATE
      CONSERVATOR OF THE PEACE
      COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF
      OF THE MILITIA

   b On the opposite surface:
      UNDER GOD, LAW AND
      ORDER FAITHFULLY
      EXECUTED AND ADMINISTERED

   c. On the other two surfaces appear outlines of the State boundaries.

2. The shaft of the Mace is square and made of Oklahoma walnut wood. On each side of the shaft is a strip of gold-plated copper, upon which designs are engraved.
   a. On one side of the shaft of the Mace are the seals of the historical geographical areas, which now comprise the State of Oklahoma. These seals are as follows in order of position:
      Seal of Territory of Oklahoma
      Seal of Cherokee Nation
      Seal of Chickasaw Nation
      Seal of Choctaw Nation
      Seal of Creek Nation
      Seal of Seminole Nation
   b. On another side of the shaft is the title:

      THE GOVERNOR
      OF THE
      STATE OF OKLAHOMA
      SUPREME EXECUTIVE

      Below this title is a Gavel with Mistletoe entwined around its handle.
   c. On another side of the shaft is the title:
      CHIEF MAGISTRATE
      Below this title are the Scales of Justice in balance.
   d. On the fourth side of the shaft are the titles:

      CONSERVATOR
      OF THE PEACE
      COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF
      OF THE MILITIA

      Below these titles is a Sword overlaid by a Pen with Redbud Twigs entwining both emblems.
   e. The lower end of the Mace is an extended metal handle for use when the Mace is carried. It is designed to fit into a slot on top of a columnar post when the Mace is at rest or on exhibition.

(Photo, Oklahoma Historical Society)

MACE OF THE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA
Side of the shaft of the Mace engraved with the title: *Chief Magistrate*. Lower part of the shaft shows Scales of Justice in balance.

The dimensions of the Mace and its symbols are as follows:

The Seals of Five Civilized Tribes and Oklahoma Territory are 2½ inches in diameter.
The State Seal is 3 inches in diameter.
The Walnut Shaft is 3⅛ inches square
The Metal Ballat Top is 4¼ inches in diameter
The Handle at bottom is 9¾ inches long.
The Overall Length is 42 inches.
The Weight is about 30 pounds.

The legends on the Mace are the official constitutional titles set out in Article VI of the Constitution of the State of Oklahoma describing the office of Governor of the State of Oklahoma:

Section 1, Article VI creates the executive authority of the State and names the officers in whom such executive authority is vested. The first of these is "Governor."

Section 2, Article VI provides that the Supreme Executive power shall be vested in a Chief Magistrate who shall be styled "The Governor of the State of Oklahoma."

Section 6, Article VI provides that the Governor shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Militia of the State.

Section 8, Article VI defines the authority of the Governor and prescribes his Constitutional duties. This article provides that he shall cause the laws of the State to be faithfully executed and among other things that he shall have the power to approve or disapprove bills and resolutions passed by the Senate and House of Representatives. This is the Governor's veto power.

The wording on the Mace is intended to reflect the titles and descriptions of his authority. The symbols of authority used on the shaft, the Scales of Justice, the Gavel, the Sword and the Pen are universally accepted to depict the nature of the authority described.

The Seal of the Territory of Oklahoma was copied from the cover page of the Summer 1957 issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* Volume 35, No. 2. The first Legislature of Oklahoma Territory adopted the official seal for the Territory.

The official Seals of the Five Civilized Tribes of the Indian Territory are taken from the Autumn 1962 issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* as pictured on page 215 and as taken from a description in Thoburn and Wright's *Oklahoma: A History of a State and Its People,* 1929, Volume 2, page 639. The Seal of the State of Oklahoma was taken from the Oklahoma Directory 1965, published by the State Election Board and from other

(Photo, Oklahoma Historical Society)

MACE OF THE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA
Side of the shaft of the Mace engraved with the titles: *Conservator of the Peace—Commander-in-chief of the Militia.* Lower part of the shaft shows a sword overlaid by a pen with twigs of redbud entwining both emblems.

official imprints and as described in the Oklahoma Constitution, Section 35, Article VI.

The Mistletoe is the official floral emblem of the State as directed by Section 92, Title 25, Oklahoma Statutes. The Redbud Tree is the official tree of the State as directed by Section 97, Title 25, Oklahoma Statutes.

The Mace is the property of the State of Oklahoma and will be assigned a proper place for exhibition in the Blue Room in the Capitol. It is expected that each Governor will pass the same on to each succeeding Governor at the Inaugural Ceremonies.

Governor Bellmon, on announcing the creation of the Mace said, "Mr. Herbert L. Branan and others who have devoted their time, energy and talent to the design of the Mace, deserve the thanks and congratulations of the people of Oklahoma for the contribution which they have made, making the Chief Executive's Office more meaningful."

—Herbert L. Branan*

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

*Hon. Herbert L. Branan, Attorney is a Director of the Liberty National Bank and Trust Company and Vice-President of the Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company, Oklahoma City. As a graduate of the University of Oklahoma, he has the degrees of A.B. (1932) and of LL.B. (1950). He has served through the years in the advancement and the development of Oklahoma, his activities including member of the Oklahoma House of Representatives (1934-40); editor of the Session Laws (1939); and adviser to Gov. Leon Phillips (1940-41) and to the University of Oklahoma Alumni.—Ed.

BOOK REVIEWS

Odyssey of a Desert Prospector. By Herman W. Albert. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1967. Pp. 260. $2.00.)

In 1907, Tonopah, Nevada, surrounded by mountains of mine tailings, was still clinging proudly to its desert heritage. It was a turn of the century boomtown and was still a mining lodestar to many an eastern tenderfoot who headed west to seek his fortune as a prospector. It was here that the author, fresh from his native state of New Jersey, began his career as a desert prospector. He not only chose to become a prospector, but he chose to become the wandering, lonely kind, complete with burros as pack animals, a skillet for cooking and a canteen for survival.

In the annals of the west, the prospector was a unique and distinct breed of man. Let the news of a strike leak out and off he would start, across the prairies, through the desert and into the canyons and mountain passes, risking all in the search for riches. Most of them never found monetary wealth, but the lure of treasure was enough to keep them searching.

After a period of some sixty years, Mr. Albert has been able to recall, with remarkable clarity, his life as a desert prospector. In doing so, he has been able to fill a void in the story of mining after 1900. He was an excellent observer and with an excellent memory, he has been able to recreate and relive his odyssey.

The entire book is a delight and all lovers of Americana will enjoy his intimate, never-before-published story of the ubiquitous desert prospector. It is volume 35 in The Western Frontier Library.

The Rising Tide. By Richard F. Pourade. Commissioned by James S. Copley. (Union-Tribune Publishing Co., San Diego, 1967. Pp. 267. $9.50.)

That period between the two great wars, from 1920 to 1940, were the years that formed and shaped the destiny of San Diego and Southern California. This sixth volume in a commissioned series presents a dramatic and close-up look at this period. Too, these were the years when the first auto migrations forecast the future of California as the most popular state in the Union.

The rush of settlers to Southern California in the 1920's quickly exhausted many local sources of water; the approach of

World War II made it a race to bring the supply of water in balance with the continuing rise in the tide of population.

The author explains, "This book then, primarily must be the story of water, and of a city that almost didn't live."

The struggle to obtain that life-giving water on which to exist and grow, is one of the great stories of our time. The story of this epic undertaking must be told many times. Even then it may never be fully appreciated by those who have never known the desert Southwest. The tapping of the mighty Colorado River is described here in dramatic detail.

This series of books about San Diego and Southern California have been written by Mr. Pourade, editor emeritus of the San Diego Union, one of the Copley newspapers published in California. Each volume is lavishly illustrated with many, excellent photographs and maps. The publishers should be congratulated on this tremendous contribution to California history.

The Buffalo Soldiers. By William H. Leckie. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1967. 290 Pp. $5.95.)

Negro soldiers who wished to remain in the United States Army following the Civil War were organized eventually into the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry Regiments. Called all sorts of names, the one that stuck—Buffalo Soldiers—was given to them by their Indian opponents. Men of both regiments were proud of this title, and the most prominent feature of the Tenth Cavalry's regimental crest was the figure of a buffalo.

The experiment with Negro troops was launched in 1866 and proved a success by any standard other than that of racial prejudice. The regiments, commanded by white officers, operated under intense disadvantages—lack of selectivity by recruiters; difficulty in obtaining officers; prejudicial treatment by higher army officials concerning equipment, assignments, and camp policy; and prejudice in frontier towns. By 1891, the combat record of these two cavalry regiments was one of the most impressive in the entire army.

The Buffalo Soldiers fought on the plains of Kansas and in Indian Territory, in the vast expanse of West Texas and along hundreds of miles of the Rio Grande and in Mexico, in the deserts and mountains of New Mexico and Arizona, in Colorado, and finally in the rugged grandeur of the Dakotas. Few regiments could match the length on sweep of their activities.

Their labors were not limited to the battlefield alone. They built or renovated dozens of posts, strung thousands of miles of

wire, and escorted stages, trains, cattle herds, railroad crews, and surveying parties. All of this in spite of the knowledge that their efforts would receive little or no attention, official or otherwise. It was a record, too, built on generally second-rate equipment and the worst horseflesh in the army.

The author has researched his subject well and has written a splendid account of the buffalo soldiers. Their story is long overdue and perhaps this book will help them get the recognition they so richly deserve. More than this, the reader will be convinced that they deserve recognition for what they were—first rate regiments by any standard one wishes to apply.

—Arthur Shoemaker

Hominy, Oklahoma

NECROLOGY

Kelly Brown

1884-1961

Kelly Brown was born May 11, 1884, at Caney, Morgan County, Kentucky, the son of Allen Kendall Brown and Eliza (Likins) Brown. Kelly was ten years old when his parents moved to Oklahoma. Later the family home was at Ardmore when Kelly graduated with the first senior high school class in this city. He attended the University of Texas and studied law at the University of Chicago.

He was admitted to the Bar of Oklahoma in 1910, and began the practice of law at Ardmore with his two brothers, H. H. Brown and Russell Brown. Kelly Brown continued active law practice in the U. S. District Court, Eastern District of Oklahoma in 1911; in the Circuit Court of the 8th Circuit, 1915; in the 10th Circuit, 1924; and before the U. S. Supreme Court, 1932.

Mr. Brown had his law office in Ardmore until he moved to Muskogee in 1915. He had been elected member of the Fifth State Legislature in Oklahoma for the term 1914 to 1916, and submitted his resignation to Governor R. L. Williams when he moved to Muskogee in 1915. Governor Williams refused Mr. Brown's resignation saying that the State needed men of his caliber in the Legislature and that he could serve Carter County just as well by living in Muskogee County.

Mr. Brown was active in the Democratic Party and served as district chairman of the 2nd Congressional District on the State Central Committee with George D. Key as chairman. His wife, Mrs. Leta Mae Brown served as co-chairman of the Democratic Central Committee. Mr. Brown was elected member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society in 1956, serving as member of the Board until the time of his death on April 6, 1961. He was survived by his wife, Leta Mae Brown and three of their children: David Kelly Brown, Pasadena, California; Mrs. Robert Lindsley, Bartlesville and Mrs. Barton Treece, Muskogee, Oklahoma.

As a trial lawyer, Kelly Brown was without a peer. He was a man of remarkable ability who also possessed the oratorical skill to drive home his point with the clarity of a bell. He was gifted in the use of beautiful language. He was not born in a log cabin but surely he was a king in his appearance before a jury of the Court. Those of us who are counted among the many friends of Kelly Brown are prompted to say that in his death a mighty oak has fallen and leaves a vacancy against the sky.

—R. M. Mountcastle

Muskogee, Oklahoma

KELLY BROWN

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY JANUARY 25, 1968

The Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order in quarterly session by President George Shirk at 10:00 p.m., on January 25, 1968. The meeting was held in the Board of Directors' room of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building. President Shirk welcomed the newest Board member, Dr. A. M. Gibson of Norman.

Members present for the meeting were: Henry Bass, Mrs. George Bowman, Dr. E. E. Dale, W. D. Finney, Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Bob Foresman, Dr. A. M. Gibson, John E. Kirkpatrick, Joe W. McBride, W. E. McIntosh, R. G. Miller, Dr. James D. Morrison, R. M. Mountcastle, Fisher Muldrow, Genevieve Seger, George H. Shirk, and H. Merle Woods.

Members absent from the meeting were: Lou Allard, Q. B. Boydstun, Joe W. Curtis, Morton R. Harrison, Judge Robert Hefner, H. Milt Phillips, and Earl Boyd Pierce. Mr. Mountcastle moved that all members absent from the meeting be excused. Mr. McIntosh seconded the motion which carried.

Administrative Secretary Fraker reported that thirty new annual members had joined the Society and a considerable number of gifts had been received. Mr. McIntosh moved that new members be elected and the gifts be accepted. Mr. Mountcastle seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

As there had been no nominations for Board member, Administrative Secretary Fraker cast one ballot for each of the five members whose term expired in January, 1968. Those members were: W. D. Finney, Morton Harrison, Dr. James Morrison, John E. Kirkpatrick, Q. B. Boydstun. Miss Seger moved that the action of the Administrative Secretary, in accordance with the policies adopted by the Board of Directors, be confirmed. Mr. McBride seconded the motion. The Board passed the motion when put.

Mr. Fraker reported that three new employees had been hired during the last quarter. Those new staff members are: Jack Wettengel, head of the newspaper and microfilm departments; Wynona Brack, mail clerk; and Buddy Ogburn, who works in the library, museum, and as a nightwatch on Monday night.

It was also reported by Mr. Fraker that the appropriations bill for the Oklahoma Historical Society has been designated as Senate Bill #550, and as far as he could tell, the amounts will be the same as last year, except for an additional $10,000. This additional amount is earmarked for the hiring of extra staff for the library and museum to work on week day evenings and Saturday afternoons.

The Administrative Secretary gave the following suggested route for the Historical Society's Annual Tour for 1968: Begin in Oklahoma City, go to Henryetta, stop at Green Corn Dance site, on to Fort Gibson, then to the Cherokee Village at Tahlequah, stop at Polson's Cemetery, stay at Western Hills Lodge one night, visit Sequoyah's Home, Senator Robert S. Kerr's home, Wesley House, Old Chief's House, Fort Washita, stay at Lake Texoma Lodge for one night, then return through Ada, Norman for a visit to the University of Oklahoma campus, then to Oklahoma City.

Mrs. Bowman moved that the proposed route for the Annual Tour be confirmed. Dr. Fischer seconded the motion which carried.

Treasurer, Mrs. Bowman, handed copies of the treasurer's report to each Board member. Mr. Muldrow moved that the amount reported by the Treasurer due from the Life Membership Endowment Fund be forgiven. The motion was seconded by Mrs. Bowman. The motion was passed by the Board.

In his report for the Historic Sites Committee, Mr. McIntosh stated

that $2,500 is needed for the purchase of the Koweta Mission site. He also stated that across the highway from the site of the Tullahassee Mission, which is on Highway 51A, two miles west of Highway 69 and one-quarter of a mile from the exit of the Tulsa Will Rogers Turnpike, a golf course and country club is being built. Mr. McIntosh reported to the Board that no other way had been found to persuade the heirs and widow to sell the site for Honey Springs except by the act of condemnation.

Mr. Fraker reported that a road from the Murrell Home to site of the original Cherokee Capitol is being repaired. He stated also that the John Jolly marker is ready to be erected. He reported the following historic sites were being further restored: Sod House, Old Chief's Home, and Sequoyah's Home.

Mr. McIntosh presented for consideration and moved the adoption of a Resolution entitled:

RESOLUTION DECLARING THE PUBLIC INTEREST IN THE SITE OF THE BATTLE OF HONEY SPRINGS AND EXPRESSING THE DESIIRE OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY TO IMPLEMENT THE WISH OF THE LEGISLATURE

The motion to adopt the Resolution was seconded by Mr. Mountcastle, and the same was adopted unanimously.

Mr. Mountcastle then moved that the Resolution just adopted by the Board of Directors be forwarded to the Attorney General's office declaring the public need for the Honey Springs site and President Shirk be instructed to execute the same. Mr. McIntosh seconded the motion. The motion was passed by the Board. A copy of the Resolution is hereby attached to and made a part of these minutes.

Mr. Mountcastle moved that the Administrative Secretary be instructed to write to the Industrial Development and Parks Department urging them to take action on the Commissary Building at Fort Gibson. The motion was seconded by Mr. McIntosh and adopted by the Board.

A suggestion was made by President Shirk that a plaque be erected at the rest stop at Daisy, Oklahoma, which is on the Washington Irving Trail. Mr. McIntosh moved that the Administrative Secretary be instructed to erect the proper marker at the proper time in conjunction with the Oklahoma Turnpike Authority. Dr. Fischer seconded the motion. When put to a vote, the motion passed.

In reporting for the Publications Committee, Mr. McBride said that, for the first time in nearly three years, THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA were being printed on time. He also reported that one-thousand copies of the following articles were being ordered: A TOUR ON THE PRAIRIES ALONG THE WASHINGTON IRVING TRAIL, by George H. Shirk: ALICE M. ROBERTSON, OKLAHOMA'S FIRST CONGRESSWOMAN, by Ruth Moore Stanley: and EDWARD EVERETT DALE: A BIOGRAPHY AND A BIBLIOGRAPHY, by Jimmie Hicks.

Mr. McBride moved that appreciation of the Board be expressed to George H. Shirk for his work on A TOUR ON THE PRAIRIES ALONG THE WASHINGTON IRVING TRAIL. Dr. Fischer seconded the motion, which was adopted by unanimous consent.

Work at Fort Washita, stated by Dr. Morrison, is progressing satisfactorily. A highway marker that had been knocked down has now been reset. Interior work on the Cooper Cabin is finished along with work being done on pruning the trees. He stated that land around Government Springs was being cleared. He also reported to the Board that Mr. Loper, the man who lives in the house at Fort Washita, is very ill.

Mr. Shirk reported to the Board that, through the Kirkpatrick Foundation, the site of Fort Towson had been purchased and leased to the

Oklahoma Historical Society. He stated that he, John Kirkpatrick, Dr. Morrison and Dr. Fischer had gone to Fort Towson on Sunday, January 21 and the entire town had turned out for the meeting. Along with the Kirkpatrick Foundation's purchase of the site for $15,000, the H. E. Bailey Foundation had contributed $200.

Named by President Shirk as a Fort Towson Commission to work in much the same way as had the Fort Washita Commission was: Walter B. Hall, Fort Towson, Chairman: Donald A. Davis, Oklahoma City; Dorothy Orton, Fort Towson; John E. Kirkpatrick, Oklahoma City; Roland R. Fishel, Oklahoma City; Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Stillwater; John Myers, Fort Towson; George Caldwell, Fort Towson; and James Redwine, Hugo.

Mr. Bass moved that the Board express its appreciation to Mr. Kirkpatrick on his purchase of Fort Towson. This motion was seconded by Dr. Fischer. Mr. McBride proposed that a Resolution be drawn up commending John E. Kirkpatrick and George H. Shirk for their contribution and interest toward the purchase of Fort Towson. The motion and proposal were adopted unanimously.

Mr. Kirkpatrick moved, and Mr. Muldrow seconded, to confirm the members of the Fort Towson Commission. The motion was adopted.

Mr. McBride moved, with Dr. Fischer's second, that the date of the Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society be set for 9:30 a.m. on the fourth Tuesday of April. This would be April 25. The meeting is to be held in the Auditorium of the Historical Society Building. The motion was passed.

Mr. Mountcastle moved that, due to absence of many Board members, the election of the new member be delayed until the next meeting. Second was made by Mr. McIntosh. This motion was passed by the Board.

The election of officers was conducted with Mr. R. G. Miller presiding. Upon a motion by Mr. McIntosh, and after a ballot, all officers of the Society were unanimously elected to another term of two years.

Mr. Miller told the Board that questions on the test required for an Oklahoma history teaching certificate are out of date. Dr. Fischer suggested President Shirk appoint a, committee to study the questions and revise the test. President Shirk appointed Dr. Gibson, Dr. Fischer and Mr. Miller to this committee.

It was moved by Mr. Muldrow that the Legislature be encouraged to pass a law requiring that Oklahoma history be a compulsory subject for graduation from high school. This motion was seconded by Dr. Fischer and passed by the Board.

Dr. Fischer moved that $5 for each Board member be taken from Account 18 each year to obtain a subscription to *History News*, publication of the American Association for State and Local History. Mr. Bass seconded the motion. It was passed by the Board.

President Shirk explained to the Board that he had gone to a gun sale recently and had heard of some valuable historical papers for sale. Upon reviewing these papers, he decided to purchase them at a price of $350. They are files of John Sprinster, who was an attorney for member of the Indian Home Guard units during the Civil War. Mr. Shirk wanted to give these papers to the Historical Society. Mr. Muldrow moved that Mr. Shirk be reimbursed by the Society in the amount of $350 for these papers. Dr. Fischer seconded the motion. It was passed when put.

Dr. Fischer moved that the Historical Society, through its Board, be authorized to purchase a genuine facsimile carriage for the Civil War Artillery Tube which stands in front of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building. Mr. Bass seconded the motion, which was approved.

On behalf of the Board, President Shirk congratulated Mr. Bass on his having been invited to attend the re-opening of the Ford Theatre by President and Mrs. Johnson.

On a motion by Mr. Mountcastle with a second by Mr. Bass, the meeting was adjourned at 12:00 noon.

GEORGE H. SHIRK
President

ELMER L. FRAKER
Administrative Secretary

RESOLUTION DECLARING THE PUBLIC INTEREST IN THE SITE OF THE BATTLE OF HONEY SPRINGS AND EXPRESSING THE DESIRE OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY TO IMPLEMENT THE WISH OF THE LEGISLATURE

WHEREAS, the Legislature of the State of Oklahoma by House Bill 579, approved May 8, 1967, has declared it to be in the interest of the people of the State of Oklahoma to acquire real property in Muskogee and in McIntosh Counties, Oklahoma, whereon occurred on July 17, 1863, the Battle of Honey Springs or Elk Creek; and

WHEREAS, by Title 53, Oklahoma Statutes, Chapter 1, and particularly Section 2A thereof, it is the responsibility of the Oklahoma Historical Society to restore, rehabilitate, preserve and maintain historic sites within the State of Oklahoma; and

WHEREAS, this battle, between the forces of the Union commanded by Maj. Gen. J. G. Blunt, and the forces of the Confederate States of America commanded by Brig. Gen. Douglas H. Cooper, was the most important engagement within what is now the State of Oklahoma during the War Between the States; and

WHEREAS, there is great public interest in the proper care, preservation and maintenance of those localities and places whereon there occurred armed conflict during that struggle which has resulted in the great and continuing union of separate and yet inseparable states; and

WHEREAS, the Oklahoma Historical Society has been unable by voluntary negotiation to carry out and to complete the mandate of the Legislature in the acquisition of such real estate; and

WHEREAS, it is essential to complete our understanding of the history of the region that has since become the 46th State of that Union that such site be acquired and maintained in perpetuity for the people of the State of Oklahoma.

NOW, THEREFORE, be it resolved by the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society that the site of the Battle of Honey Springs in Muskogee and in McIntosh Counties, Oklahoma, be and is hereby declared to be embued with the public interest; and that its acquisition is required and essential for the preservation of the history and heritage of the region that has now become the State of Oklahoma.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that in the execution of such public interest it is necessary that the following tracts of land in McIntosh County, Oklahoma be acquired by the power of eminent domain, to-wit:

Tract One

One acre in form of square, in Southwest corner of Northwest Quarter (NW¼) of Section Eleven (11), Township Twelve (12) North, Range Seventeen (17) East.

Tract Two

Southwest Quarter (SW¼) of Northwest Quarter (NW¼) except one acre in Southwest corner of Northwest Quarter (NW¼) of Section Eleven (11), Township Twelve (12) North, Range Seventeen (17) East.

Tract Three

Northwest Quarter (NW¼) of Northwest Quarter (NW¼) and Southeast Quarter (SE¼) of Northwest Quarter (NW¼) of Section Eleven (11), Township Twelve (12) North, Range Seventeen (17) East.

Tract Four

Northeast Quarter (NE¼) of Northwest Quarter (NW¼) of Section Eleven (11) Township Twelve (12) North, Range Seventeen (17) East.

Tract Five

North Half (N½) of North Half (N½) of Southwest Quarter (SW¼) of Section Eleven (11), Township Twelve (12) North, Range Seventeen (17) East.

Tract Six

South Half (S½) of North Half (N½) of Southwest Quarter (SW¼) of Section Eleven (11), Township Twelve (12) North, Range Seventeen (17) East.

Tract Seven

South Half (S½) of Southwest Quarter (SW¼) of Section Eleven (11), Township Twelve (12) North, Range Seventeen (17) East.

Tract Eight

North Half (N½) of Northeast Quarter (NE¼) of Section Eleven (11), Township Twelve (12) North, Range Seventeen (17) East.

Tract Nine

South Half (S½) of Northeast Quarter (NE¼) of Section Eleven (11), Township Twelve (12) North, Range Seventeen (17) East.

Tract Ten

Northwest Quarter (NW¼) of Southeast Quarter (SE¼) of Section Eleven (11), Township Twelve (12) North, Range Seventeen (17) East.

Tract Eleven

Northeast Quarter (NE¼) of Southeast Quarter (SE¼) and South Half (S½) of Southeast Quarter (SE¼) of Section Eleven (11), Township Twelve (12) North, Range Seventeen (17) East.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a certified copy of this Resolution be transmitted to the Attorney General of the State of Oklahoma for necessary action.

ADOPTED this 25th day of January, 1968.

s/GEORGE H. SHIRK
President

ATTEST:
s/ELMER L. FRAKER
Administrative Secretary

LIBRARY:

Survey of American Church Records, Vols. I and II, by E. Kay Kirkham.
Donor: Cliff Blunt, 2804 Warwick Drive, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Microfilm—1860 Louisiana Census Roll #88, City of New Orleans.
Donor: Mrs. T. R. Lankford, 3920 Northwest 27th, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Original two townsite Patents-Deeds filed on record, October 10, 1890, Edmond, Oklahoma Territory, Sweet Claim.
Donor: In Memory of Judge Edgar N. Sweet
By Mrs. Helen Sweet Emley Schmidt, Los Angeles, California, his granddaughter.

Photocopies of information regarding E. P. McCabe.
Donor: L. G. DeLay, 501 Smoky Hill, Oaklay, Kansas.

"Biographical Information re Jessie Newby Ray"
The Chapel Story, 1947-1951 by Jessie Newby Ray.
Donor: Dr. Jessie Newby Ray, Edmond, Oklahoma.

El Paso, Texas City Directory, 1959.
El Paso, Texas City Directory, 1960.
Donor: Mrs. Thomas R. Lankford, 3920 N.W. 27th, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Collection of the late Dr. W. Floyd Keller regarding Hartshorne, Oklahoma.
Donor: Mrs. W. Floyd Keller, Hartshorne, Oklahoma.

File on International Peace Garden in Oklahoma City — Mrs. Della Cook, 3840 N.W. 44th, Oklahoma City.
Military Collector and Historian—Journal of the Company of Military Historians, Washington, D.C. Vol. XVII, No. 2, Summer, 1965.
Military Collector and Historian—Journal of the Company of Military Historians, Washington, D.C., Vol. XIX, No. 2, Summer, 1967.
Sooner Magazine, March 1967.
The Classic Car Club of America Handbook and Directory, 1966.
Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity, Annual Report, 1967.
United Fund Economic Survey Committee Report, June 1967.
Oklahoma City: Progress Through Planning, 1967-1985.
United Fund Budget Committee Report, June 1967.
United Fund Report of the Economic Survey Committee, June 1966.
Study of the State Constitution, Part 2, League of Women Voters of Oklahoma, 1967.
State Study on the Arts — Oklahoma, September, 1967.
Oklahoma — 1967 — Insurance Commissioner Annual Report and Directory.
Program of Service — City of Oklahoma City 1967-1968.
"Printing Reaches the West" by Paul Bennett, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Lester E. Lenrow Oklahoma History Collection.
Donor: Lester E. Lenrow, P.O. Box 1141, Avon Park, Florida 33825.

Miss Alice Robertson letter, August 7, 1929.
"Prison Unrest Recalls Events in Early Federal Jail in City" by Alice M. Robertson, from Muskogee Daily Phoenix, August 1929.
"A Journey"—unpublished essay by Sarah Worcester, daughter of Dr. Samuel Austin Worcester.
Donor: Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

"That Wonderful A.&M. Class of 1903" by R. Morton House.
Form of Certificate of Omega Literary Society, May 30, 1903, issued to Nina B. Hurst (Zeroxed copy of original).

Receipt to D. D. Kuhlman for $14.00 in full for Townsites—Lot 17 & 18, Block 12, town of South Oklahoma, Oklahoma Territory, January 30, 1892 —signed by Angelo C. Scott (Xeroxed copy of original).

Donor: Dr. B. B. Chapman, 1820 Harrison Avenue, Orlando, Florida.

John Crary of Boston and Descendants, 1660-1967—A Genealogical Study by Alsace Lorraine Daniels and H. Vern Crary.

Donor: Miss A. L. Daniels, 5804 Whitworth Drive, Los Angeles, California.

The Smithsonian Journal of History, Spring, 1967.

Donor: Smithsonian Institution's *The Smithsonian Journal of History*, Post Office Box 1001, Berkeley, California.

Chute Family in America in the 20th Century by George M. Chute, Jr., 1967.

Donor: George M. Chute, Jr., 546 S. Evergreen Avenue, Plymouth, Michigan.

The Business of Business by M. A. Wright.

Donor: Humble Oil & Refining Company, P. O. Box 2180, Houston, Texas 77001.

Oklahoma's Forgotten Fort Nichols by Bucky Walters, 1967 — Second Edition.

Donor: Bucky Walters, 7961 Appleblossom Lane, Westminster, Colorado, 80030.

Ramona High School, 1910-1911 *and Other Events* by Joe 5 Lee.

Donor: Joe 5 Lee, Ramona, Oklahoma and 201 Nevada—25, Idaho Falls, Idaho.

Indian Territory and Oklahoma Railroad Map 1901 — Autopositive Copy from original.

Donor: Harold Farrar, Bartlesville, Oklahoma.

Armed Forces Decorations and Awards.

Donor: LTC James E. Tindle, Oklahoma National Guard, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Golden West, March 1968 containing "Nibs and His Good Squaw Min" by F. Horace Hughes.

Donor: F. Horace Hughes, Modesto, California.

The United Nations and The Business World, prepared and published by Business International Corporation, 1967.

Donor: George R. Vila, Uniroyal, Inc., Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y.

The Jacobson Family in West Prussia, Germany (1650?-1884) by J. Larry Jacobson, 208 W. Lockheed, Midwest City, Oklahoma.

Donor: J. Larry Jacobson, P.O. Box 356, Wilburton, Oklahoma.

Security and Reduced Tension edited on the Occasion of the 70th Birthday of Gen. (ret.) Adolph Heusinger, August 4, 1967.

Donor: Federal Republic of Germany, MarKus-Verlag G.M.B.H., 5 Koin — Hohenzollernring 85/87.

Index to the Subjects of Obituaries (Sterbfalle-Todesanzeigen)—Abstracted from Der Christliche Botschafter of the Evangelical Church, 1836-1866, Compiled by Mrs. A. R. Seder, 730 Benton Avenue, E., Naperville, Illinois.

A Century of Commerce 1867-1967, compiled and edited by James K. Sanford.

Donor: Richmond Chamber of Commerce, Richmond, Virginia.

Postal Rates—Hearings Before the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service United States Senate, 90th Congress, October 16-30, 1967.

Donor: Mike Monroney, United States Senator, Washington, District of Columbia.

Archaeological Sequence in the Broken Bow Reservoir Area, McCurtain County, Oklahoma by Don G. Wyckoff, 1967.
Donor: Don G. Wyckoff, Stovall Museum; Oklahoma River Basin Survey Project: University of Oklahoma Research Institute, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

From Pioneers to Progress by Anita Lindsay, 1957.
Donor: Miss Tess Lindsay, P.O. Box 266, Lindsay, Oklahoma.

The Garrison Family—Mecklenburg County, Virginia and Warren County, Kentucky.
Donor: Senator Denzil D. Garrison, Bartlesville, Oklahoma and Paul Garrison, Oklahoma City.

Oklahoma Session Laws, 1963.
Oklahoma Session Laws, 1965.
Oklahoma Session Laws, 1967.
Donor: Oklahoma State Library, State Capitol Building, Oklahoma City.

Indian Meridian Dedication, April 17, 1966. Compiled by B. B. Chapman.
Donor: Dr. B. B. Chapman, 1820 Harrison Avenue, Orlando, Florida.

BOOKS FROM OKLAHOMA GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY

Adventurers of Purse and Person—Virginia 1607-1625, by Annie Lash Jester with Martha Woodroff Hiden, Princeton University Press, 1956.
Colonists of Carolina in the Lineage of Hon. W. D. Humphrey, by Blanche Humphrey Abee, The William Byrd Press, Richmond, Virginia, 1938.
Irish Families—Their Names, Arms and Origins, by Edward MacLysaght. Hodges, Figgis and Co., Ltd., Dublin, Ireland, 1957.
Kress Family History, by Karl Friedrick von Frank, Vienna, Austria, 1930.
And the Home of the Brave, by R. E. Minnis, Jr., Oklahoma City, Okla. 1940.
History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties, Missouri, National Historical Company, St. Louis, Missouri, 1886.
An Index to Fifth Census of the United States 1830 *Population Schedules Territory of Arkansas*, Bobbie Jones (Mrs. Gerald B.) McLane, Hot Springs National Park, Arkansas, 1965.
The Yingling Genealogy, by Claude J. Rahn, Vero Beach, Florida, 1958.
My Folks Came in a Covered Wagon, Copper Publishing, Inc., 1956
Letter Written October 10, 1889 to Hillary Talbert, John F. Talbert, Oklahoma City, 1889.
Genealogical History of the Halliburton Family, by W. K. Rutherford and A. C. (Zimmerman) Rutherford, Brown-White-Lowell Press, Kansas City, Mo., 1959.
A Guide to Regional Manuscript Collections, by A. M. Gibson, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma, 1960.
The Peters Colony of Texas, by Seymour V. Connor, Texas State History Association, Austin, 1959.
A Survey of American Church Records (Vols. I & II), by E. Kay Kirkham, Deseret Book Company, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1959-1960.
Descendants of Richard & Elizabeth (Ewen) Talbot, by Ida M. Shirk. Baltimore, Maryland, 1927.
Genealogical Sketch of Certain of the American Descendants of Mathew Talbot, Gentleman, by Robert Howe Fletcher, Jr. Whittet and Shepperson. Richmond, Va., 1956.
Genealogy Notes on Virginia Families.
The Reed Family, by J .D. Reed, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1907.
Oklahoma — A History of the State and Its People (Vols. I, II, III & IV), by Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., New York, 1929.
Seale and Allied Families, by Ida Carrie Seale, 1954.

Families of the Pilgrims, by Hubert Kinney Shaw, Mass. Society of Mayflower Descendants, Boston, Mass., 1955.
The Appomattox Roster, by R. A. Brock, Antiquarian Press, Ltd., New York, 1962.
Sulgrave Manor and the Washingtons, by H. Clifford Smith, London, Jonathan Cape, 1933.
The Baylis Family of Virginia, by Mrs. Willetta Baylis Blum and Dr. Wm. Blum, Sr., Shenandoah Publishing House, Inc., Strasburg, Virginia, 1958.
The Mudd Family of the United States, by Richard D. Mudd, Edward Brothers, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1951.
North Carolina Genealogical Reference, by Wallace R. Draughon, Seeman Printery, Inc., Durham, N.C., 1956.
Layne-Lain-Lane Genealogy, by Floyd Benjamin Layne, Los Angeles, California, 1962.
A Pictorial of the Brillharts of America, by John A. Brillhart, Mennonite Publishing House, Scottsdale, Pa., 1926.
The Howard Lineage, by Gustine Courson Weaver, Powell and White, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1929.
The Genealogy and Story of the Family of Robert Kirtley Garnett, by Elizabeth Harriet Hobble and Charles Hunter Garnett, Semco Color Press, Inc., Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 1955.
Hooper Genealogy — A Southern Branch, by Flora Hooper Collier.
The English Ancestry of Peter Talbot of Dorchester, Mass., by J. Gardner Bartlett, Boston, Mass., 1917.
William Webb, His War Service, by Capt. R. H. Greene, New York, 1914.
Correspondence of Governor Samuel Ward, by Clifford P. Monahon, Roger Williams Press, Providence, Rhode Island, 1952.
A Genealogical Record of the Descendants of Hancock-Cofer-Jones-Massie of Virginia and Kentucky, by Helen L. Bloore, Glendale, California.
The Murphy Family, by Frances J. Pierce, Tulsa, Oklahoma, 1962.
The Shipman Genealogy, by Frances J. Pierce, Tulsa, Oklahoma, 1963.
The Allen Family, by Frances J. Pierce, Tulsa, Oklahoma, 1959.
The Ewing Family, by Frances J. Pierce, Tulsa, Oklahoma, 1959.
Armorial Bearing of Meadows, by Frances J. Pierce, Tulsa, Oklahoma, 1962.
The Watkins Family of North Carolina, by William B. Watkins, Aberdeen, Mississippi.
Ancestors — Descendants James Wilson Wright, Sr. who married Cynthia Rebecca Jones, by William R. McCann, 1954.
The Lesley E. Voorhees Records, Vol. I, by Lesley E. Voorhees, Syracuse, New York, 1965.
The Price Genealogy, by Montgomery J. Seaver, American Historical-Genealogical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Some Turners of Virginia, by Louise Richardson Patton Turner, Tulsa, Oklahoma, 1965.
The Blumer by Mrs. Phyllis J. Rhodes, Springfield, Virginia, 1962.
The Jeremiah Jones Family in England and America and Allied Lines, by Reba Turnbow Johnson, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 1965.
du Mont de Sounagne and Allied Families, by John S. du Mont, Greenfield, Mass., 1960.
Duckwall-Mitchell Charts, by Clyde M. Duckwall, Jr., Oklahoma City, Okla.
Migration into East Texas, 1835-1860, by Barnes F. Lathrop, Texas Historical Association, Austin, Texas, 1949.
His Lordship's Patronage, by Dr. Donnell MacClure Owings, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland, 1953.
Scottish Family Histories Held in Scottish Libraries, by Joan P. S. Ferguson, The Scottish Central Library, Lawnmarket, Edinburgh, Scotland, 1960.
The Autobiography of the Rambling Longhorn, by T. C. Richardson, The Farmer Stockman, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 1959. Two copies.

Historical Sketch of St. Paul's Churches, Beaver Township, Clarion County, Pennsylvania, by Raymond E. Hollenback, 1960.
Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1909-1910, by George W. Martin, State Printing Office, Topeka, Kansas, 1910.
A Bibliography of Ship Passenger Lists, by Harold Lancour, the New York Public Library, New York City, New York, 1963
The Story of Surnames, by L. G. Pine, Charles E. Tuttle, Company, Rutland, Vermont, 1963.
Membership List and Index of Ancestors with Brief Histories and Reports of National State Organizations, compiled by Mrs. George M. Spangler, Peoria, 1949.
Royal Ancestor of Magna Charta Barons, by P. Carr Collins, Jr., Dallas, Texas, 1959.
The Collins Genealogy, by P. Carr Collins, Jr., Dallas, Texas.
The Story of Heraldry, by L. G. Pine, Charles E. Tuttle, Company, Rutland, Vermont, 1966.
Irish and Scotch-Irish Ancestral Research, Vols, 1 and 2, by Margaret Dickson Falley, Evanston, Illinois, 1962.
The Old Dutch Burying Ground of Sleepy Hollow, The Rand Press, Boston, Mass., 1953.
Gazetteer of Scotland, by W. and A. K. Johnston, W. and A. K. Johnston and G. W. Bacon, Ltd., Edinburgh, 1958.
Barking Water—The Story of Wewoka, American Association of University Women, Wewoka, Oklahoma, 1960. Two copies.
Cherokee Pioneers, by James Manford Carselowey, Adair, Oklahoma, 1961.
Early Settlers, by James Manford Carselowey, Adair, Oklahoma, 1962.
Pryor Cemetery, by James Manford Carselowey, Adair, Oklahoma, 1962.
My Journal, by James Manford Carselowey, Adair, Oklahoma, 1962.
The Scotch-Irish in America's History, Belfast, Northern Ireland, 1965.
Manhattan Maps, by Daniel C. Haskell, New York Public Library, New York. 1931.
The Iowa Conference Story—Forty Years of Intercollegiate Sports, by J. E. Buck Turnbull, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1922-1961.
Gone to Georgia, by William C. Stewart, National Genealogical Society, Washington, D. C., 1965.
The Plymouth Adventure, by Ernest Gebler, Doubleday and Co., Inc., New York City, 1950.
Abstracts of Wills and Other Records, North Carolina, by Gordon C. Jones, Mount Holly, New Jersey, 1958.
Pension Abstracts of Maryland, Soldiers of the Revolution, by Mrs. Carl W. McGhee, Washington, D.C.
Dennis Mohon and His Descendants, by James Leroy Mohon, Norman, Oklahoma, 1964.
The Lytle Family, by Raymond A. Tolbert.
The Mitchell Family, by Edna Mitchell Little, El Reno, Oklahoma, 1960.
The Emporia State Research Studies, by Eugene Donald Decker, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, Kansas, 1961.
Writings on Kentucky History, by Jacquelin Bull, University of Kentucky, 1955.
Presidents and Near Presidents, by S. B. Gribble, University of Kentucky, 1960.
Daniel Fitz Randolph—His Ancestry and Descendents, by Oris H. F. Randolph, 1959.
A Calendar of Cases of Witchcraft in Scotland, 1510-1727, by George F. Black, The New York Public Library, New York, 1938.
The 1953 *Handy Book for Genealogists,* by George B. Everton and Gunnar Rasmuson, The Everton Publishing Company, Logan, Utah, 1953.
The Third Edition, The Handy Book for Genealogists, the Everton Publishing Company, Logan, Utah, 1957, by George B. Everton and Gunnar Rasmuson.
Fourth Edition, The Handy Book for Genealogists, by George B. Everton

and Gunnar Rasmuson, Everton Publishing Company, Logan, Utah, 1962.
This Was Montreal in 1814, 1815, 1816 and 1817, by Lawrence M. Wilson, 1960.
The Scotch-Irish of Colonial Pennsylvania, by Wayland F. Dunaway, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1944.
Texas Society of Colonial Dames of XVII Century, 1958.
A Simple Guide to Irish Genealogy, by Rev. Wallace Clare, The Irish Genealogical Research Society, London, England, 1966.
Denoyer-Geppert Atlas of American History, by Edgar B. Wesley, Denoyer-Geppert Co., Chicago, Illinois, 1957.
Directory Information Material for N. Y. City Residents, 1626-1786, by John H. Moriarty, The New York Public Library, New York City, 1942.
The World—Its History in Maps, by William H. McNeill, Morris R. Buske, A. Wesley Roehm, Denoyer-Geppert Co., Chicago, Illinois, 1963.
Our United States—Its History in Maps, by Edgar B. Wesley, Denoyer-Geppert Co., Chicago, Illinois, 1961.
The Cholera in Kalamazoo, by Robt. C. Kedzie, Kalamazoo Public Museum, Michigan, 1961.
European History Atlas, by James H. Breasted, Carl F. Huth, and Samuel B. Harding, Denoyer-Geppert Co., Chicago, Illinois, 1964.
Genealogical Atlas of the United States of America, by George B. Everton, Jr., The Everton Publishing Company, Logan, Utah, 1966.
Block Island Cemetery Records, by Helen Winslow Mansfield, Block Island Historical Society, Providence, Rhode Island, 1956.
North Carolina County Histories, by William S. Powell, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, 1954.
1850 *Census of Tarrant County, Texas*, by Mary Barnett Curtis, Arrow Printing Co., Fort Worth, Texas, 1963.
Oklahoma's Longest Pony Express by Tony Thomas.
Descendants of Bartholomew Jacoby, by Helen E. Evard, Mitchell-Fleming Printing Inc., Greenfield, Indiana, 1955.
Passports Issued by Governors of Georgia, 1810-1820, by Mary Givens Bryan, Washington, D.C.
Jens Christian Bay, Bibliologist, by Lawrence A. Thompson, University of Kentucky Library, 1963.
Historic Sketches of the Edwards and Todd Families and Their Descendents, by George Hortense Edwards, University of Kentucky, 1963.
The Libraries of Colonial Spanish America, by Lawrence S. Thompson.
The Good Old Days, by Kenneth Doud and Alene Henn.
The John McCreary Clan, 1710-1777, by Marjorie MacCreary, 1961.
Cemeteries—Gravestone Inscriptions, Carroll County, Arkansas; Barry County, Mo., by Jesse F. and Annie E. Harrington.
Hood County, Texas, United States Census of 1880 *and Marriage Records*, 1875-1885, by Frances Woods and Doris Lewis, Texas Printing Craft, Inc., Austin, Texas, 1964.
Memoranda of the Preston Family, University of Kentucky, 1963.
Index of Surnames of Genealogical Pedigrees of Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, by F. Nadeen Waggoner Atkinson, 1966.
Scots Kith and Kin, Clan House, Edinburgh, Scotland.
History of the George L. Allen Family and Their Descendents, 1745-1960, by Joe D. Allen, 1960.
Central States Mission Genealogy Queries, by Samuel R. Carpenter, Central States Mission, Independence, Missouri, 1959. Two copies.
Proven Ancestry of John Edwin Darby and Charlotte Amelia Bremerman, by Earl G. Darby, 1967.
Records of Pickens County, Alabama, Vol. III, by Mrs. C. P. McGuire, Sr., Willo Publishing Company, Tuscaloosa, Alabama.
Baltimore County, Maryland Tax Lists.
Records of Some of the Old Forts in New Mexico Since 1846.
Wagon Trains Lead to Roses in December, by Jen Carlson and others.

A Century On An Iowa Farm, Part I, by Otha D. Wearin, Nishna Vales Press, Hastings, Iowa, 1959.
Lineage Chart, Six Generations Caleener and Bishop, by Lucille G. Barnes.
Index of the Laura Pierce Kendall Manuscript Collection, by H. C. Stallings.
Bibliographies, by Dr. Donnell M. Owings.
The Steins of Muscatine, 1962.
Family of Wesley D. McCann, by William R. McCann, 1962.
Delevan Arnold, A Kalamazoo Volunteer in the Civil War, by Helen Everett Wood, Kalámazoo Public Museum, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1962.
Landmark, by Willard S. Griswold and Mrs. Elizabeth F. Nolan, Waukesha County Historical Society, Waukesha, Wisconsin, 1961.
Genealogical Material in Oregon Donation Land Claims, Vol. I, 1957.
Bible and Cemetery Records, Birmingham Genealogical Society, Birmingham, Alabama, 1962.
Northwood, North Dakota, 1884-1959, by Orville Bakken and Others, Semco Press, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Records of the Ancestry of John Park Cravens, by John Park Cravens, Booneville, Arkansas, 1957.
A Story of My Parents—Warren Jacob Collins and Tolitha Eboline Valentine Collins, by Vinson Allan Collins, Livingston, Texas, 1962.
The Paullin Family of Southern New Jersey, by Elmer Garfield Van Nome, 1958.
Miller Data.
A History of the Town of Wells, Vermont, by Grace E. P. Wood, 1955.
Hatton's Heritage—A History of Hatton, North Dakota, 1884-1959, 1959.
Hebron's Heritage—A History of Hebron, North Dakota, 1885-1960, 1960.
Governor Garrard of Kentucky His Descendents and Relatives, First Lutheran Church Centennial, 1956, Geneseo, Illinois, by Anna R. and Louis des Cogriets, Jr., 1898, also 1962.
Grand Island, Hall County Centennial, 1957, 1957.
1820 *Federal Census, Licking County, Ohio*, by Miss Ollie Kaiser, 1963.
The Swiss Family Kaiser, by Roland G. Kaiser.
Yorktown, Climax of the Revolution, by Charles E. Hatch, Jr., and Thomas M. Pitkin, National Park Service, 1941.
An Index to Fifth United States Census of Arkansas, Mrs. Bobbie Jones McLane & Mrs. Inez Cline, Arrow Printing Company, Fort Worth, Texas, 1963.
Family of Eliza R. McCann who Married Lytle Griffing, by Robert Lee McCann and William Ray McCann, 1963.
Kansas Historical Quarterly, Kansas Territory Death and Marriage Notices, 1854-1861, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 1950.
Oklahoma City, From Public Land to Private Property, by Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, Oklahoma Historical Society, 1960.
Texas Society Colonial Dames of the XVII Century, 1961.
Some Data on Amason Families.
Sheldon (Shelden) Family Association, 1958-1965.
Ancestral Lineage, Mildred Oliver Bates McCann, by William Ray McCann.
Gilbert History—Guide to Genealogical and Historical Research in Pennsylvania, by Floyd G. Hoenstine, 1958.
Texas Batteries, Battalions, Regiments, Commanders and Field Officers Confederate States Army, 1861-1865, by Lester N. Fitzhugh, Mirror Press, Midlothian, Texas, 1865.
Aids for Genealogical Searching in Indiana, by Carolynne L. Wendel, The Detroit Society for Genealogical Research, 1962.
Kiel's Heritage, A History of Kiel, 1854-1954, 1954.
Sketches of Jacob Parkhurst, 1772-1863, by Jacob Parkhurst, Eastern Indiana Publishing Company, Knightstown, Indiana, 1963.
Abstracts of the Records of the Society of Friends in Indiana, Part I, by Willard Heiss, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, 1962.
Highlights of the War of 1812, by Mrs. Nathan R. Patterson, 1961.
History of Dodd City, Texas, by Milliard Doan Brent, 1959.

A List of Books at the Library of Congress Containing Call Numbers Opposite Them of Books by Annie Walker Burns and Lucy Kate McGhee, 1964.

Genealogical Material and Local Histories in the St. Louis Public Library, by Georgia Gambrill, 1953.

Checklist of Microfilms in the Tennessee State Archives, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee, 1960.

Gamaliel Cemetery, Monroe County, Kentucky.

History of Oklahoma, the First National Bank and Trust Company of Oklahoma City, compiler, Oklahoma Publishing Company, Oklahoma City, 1957.

The End of the Old Southwest, by Wilborn Hope.

United States Land Patents Homesteads—Oklahoma County, Indian Territory—Land Run of April 22, 1889—"89ers", 1961.

Portrait and Biographical Records of Oklahoma, Chapman Publishing Company, Chicago, 1901.

The Pindells of Maryland and Kentucky and Some Allied Families Notably the Bealls and Belts.

Pierre Billiou, The Walloon, Staten Island Pioneer, by Elmer Garfield von Nome, 1958.

Where to Write for Birth and Death Records, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

Sir Watson Tyler, by Edith Mirrielus, Doubleday, Doran and Co., Garden City, New York, 1929.

Shackelford Clan Magazine, Vol. 12, by T. K. Jones, Lubbock, Texas, 1956.

Genealogical Almanac, Pollock, Idaho, 1964.

Louisiana Weekly Market Bulletin, Issued by Dave L. Pearce, Commissioner of Agriculture and Immigration, State of Louisiana, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

The Examiner's Gallery of Great Americans, San Francisco Examiner, San Francisco, California, 1965.

The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. LV, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., 1931.

Sheppard Family, compiled by Mabel A. and Lillian A. Sheppard.

Three Cases of Extirpation of Diseased Ovaria, by Ephraim, McDowell, University of Kentucky, Kentucky, 1960.

Crow Family Papers, compiled by Mrs. George D. Crow.
University of Kentucky Library, Facsimile No. 7, 1960.

Obituary Notices and Records from Daily Oklahoman for period—Sunday, May 15, 1955 to Saturday, June 16, 1956, compiled by Schuyler E. and Alice A. Cronley, 1956.

Genealogy, A Selected Bibliography, by Milton Rubincam, Banner Press, Birmingham, Alabama, 1967.

Some Suggestions and Considerations When organizing a local Genealogical Society or Historical and Genealogical Society, by Dorothy Wilkinson, Muriel S. Cooter and James L. Mohon.

Index to the History of Methodism in Kentucky, by Rev. A. H. Redford.

Tam Family History, by Fred J. Tam, Idaville, Indiana, 1960.

The Handy Book, by Walter M. Everton, Logan, Utah, 1949.

The Dyghtons of West Riding and their Descendents, by H. Deighton, Brooklyn, New York.

John I. Jones—Mary Ellen Swartzwelder, by Ray McCann, Bourbon, Kentucky.

Ringer Genealogy, by H. R. Emerson, 1957.

Matthew Current—June Wilson Call, Bourbon. Kentucky, 1955.

Genealogical Materials and Local Histories in the St. Louis Public Library, Revised, by Georgia Gambrill, 1966.

The Original Texas Land Grant Maps.

The Number of Persons and Firms Connected with the Graphic Arts in

New York City, 1633-1820, by Harry B. Weiss, New York Public Library, New York City, 1946.
Tour of the Historical Society, by Edgar Weston.
Notes on the Loye Family, by Percival Elliot Loye, 1966.
Deaths in Truro, Cape Cod, 1786-1826, by John Harvey Treat, Salem Press Publishing, Salem, 1891.
The Donnell M. Owings Memorial Lecture—Fifth Annual Oklahoma Conference on GeneaIogy, 1966.
Catalogue II, Oklahoma Daughters of the American Revolution, Genealogical Library, 1952.
Binding Your Own Books by John Woodcock.
History Wall Maps, by Foreign Map Makers and Denoyer-Geppert Company, Denoyer-Geppert Co., Chicago, Illinois, 1916.
Lincoln and Herndon—Religion and Romance, Keepsake Number 6, by Holman Hamilton, University of Kentucky Library Association, 1959.
Cholera in Lexington, Keepsake Number 12, University of Kentucky Library Association, 1963.
Nebraska History, editor—W. D. Aeschbacher, Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1960.
The Wi-Iyohi, South Dakota Historical Society, 1964.
The Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Connecticut, 1963.
OPUBCO Cuff Stuff, editor—Dale Talkington, The Oklahoma Publishing Company, Oklahoma City, 1966.
Braly Historical Research Newsletter.
Mrs. Emma C. Embury's Account Book—A Study of Some of Her Periodical Contributions, by J. Albert Rollins, The New York Public Library, New York, 1947.
Appomattox Court House, by Ralph Happel, United States Government Printing Office, 1955.
Untold Tales of Oklahoma, Vol. I.
Mms. of Untold Tales of Oklahoma.
A Thumbnail History of Hot Springs, by Mary D. Hudgins, Hot Springs Natural History Association, 1954.
University of Kentucky Library Associates Newsletter, Lexington, Kentucky, 1960.
Joint Session of the 57th General Assembly of the State of Iowa to Observe the Centennial of the Constitution of 1857, Senators Nolan, Vest and Johnson, 1957.
The Arkansas Historical Association—25th Annual Meeting, 1941-1966, 1966.
Biographical Index to Perrin's History of Bourbon, Scott, Harrison and Nicholas Counties, Kentucky, compiled by Julia Spencer Ardery.
Directory 1959-1960 *Oklahoma Society of the National Society of Daughters of the American Revolution.*
Special Lists—Number 8—Population Schedules, 1800-1870—*Volume Index to Counties and Major Cities*, The National Archives, Washington, D.C., 1951.
University of Kentucky Library Bulletin, Number XXI—*A President or a Near-President*, 1960.
Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1954.
Aids to Genealogical Research, by Margarete Ness Butz, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis, 1958.
University of Kentucky Libraries—Occasional Contribution No. 110, Lexington, 1960.
Roster Supplement, 1964—Oklahoma Society NSDAR, editor—Mrs. Perry Lane (Myrtle Moore) Wilson, The Oklahoma Society Daughters of the American Revolution, 1964.
University of Kentucky Library—Bulletin XXIII—Lexington, Kentucky, 1963.
Dixie Date Book, Colonial Publishing, Inc. Boston, Mass., 1961.

Leaves of Thyme, editor—Juliet Peddle, Vigo County Historical Society, Terre Haute, Indiana, 1960.
Form Manual for the Preparation of Papers, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York, 1944.
Eolai an Telefoin—Telephone Directory, Diereadh Fomhair, 1958.
John McCreary Clan, compiled by Miss Marjorie MacCreary.
The Kinsbury Directory, Bureau of Kinsbury Ancestry, Northampton, Mass., 1904.
Clan Ross in America, 1912.
The Reynolds Family Association, 1932-34.
The Reynolds Family Association, 1632-1935-37; 1632-1923.
Ancestors and Descendants of William and Elizabeth Reynolds of North Kingstown, R.I. by Thomas A. and William A. Reynolds, 1903.
Last six items from Mrs. Virgil Brown Library as part of Hume Collection.
National Society, Daughters of the American Colonists, from the Mrs. Virgil Browne Library through Oklahoma Genealogical Society.
Daughters of the American Revolution, Year Book, 1932-1933, from Mrs. Virgil Browne Library through OGS.
Illinois DAR News, Salem, Illinois.
Minutes of National Board of Management, Oct. 26, 1938.
Ponca City Chapter, 1939-1940 D.A.R. Publicity Scrapbook.
Adelina Patti in New Orleans, 1931.
New Century Club, Oklahoma City, 1945-1946.
"Dramatizing Democracy" by Mildred Edmundson with Edward Lee Edmundson, Jr., 1947.
Louisiana—A Tourist Guide to Points of General and Historic Interest, by J. G. Ewing.
The English Speaking World, Vol. XXII, #9, Sept. 1940, Incorporating *The Landmark*.
A Directory of the Opportunities for the Vocational Training of Women in the State of Pennsylvania, by Mary Ellis Thompson, compiled in 1919.
Organization and Regulations of the Declamatory, Essay and Oratorical Contests of the United States Constitution, Sesquicentennial Commission, Washington, D.C., David M. Matteson, Historian, August 23, 1935.
Edellyn Farms—Scotch Shorthorn Cattle, Charles E. Wilson, owner, June 4, 1951.
Notes on "The Star-Spangled Banner" and Francis Scott Key.
National Republic, Frank P. Litschert, Editor, Vol. 28, Oct. 1940, Washington, D.C.
New Citizens at Mount Vernon by Carrie Wycoff Ormsbee, October 25. 1951. (All above from Mrs. Virgil Browne Library through OGS).
Oklahoma Land Records, notes by Dr. Berlin B. Chapman.

PERIODICALS FROM OKLAHOMA GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY

The Genealogist's Post, editor—Mildred C. Williams, Miami, Florida—Vol. 1, No. 3; Vol. 2, No. 2, 4, 11, 12; Vol. 3, No. 1, 2.
The Southern Genealogist's Exchange Quarterly, editor—Mrs. Aurora C. Shaw, Jacksonville, Florida—Vol. I, Series II; Vol. 3, Issue 18; Vol. 3, No. 21, 22, 23, 24; Vol. 4, No. 26, 27, 28; Vol. 5, No. 29, 30, 31, 32; Vol. 6, No. 33, 34, 35, 36; Vol. 7, No. 37, 38, 39, 40; Vol. 8, No. 41, 42.
They Were Here—Georgia Genealogical Records—Frances Wynd, editor, Albany, Ga. Vol. I, No. 4; Vol. 2, No. 1, 2, 3, 4; Vol. 3, No. 1.
Georgia Pioneers—Vol. 1, No. 1, 2, 3, 4; Vol. 2, No. 1, 2, 3, 4; Vol. 3, No. 1, 2, 3, 4; Vol. 4, No. 1, 2.
Idaho Genealogy Society Quarterly, editor Richard L. Maus, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2; Vol. 2, No. 1, 2, 3, 4; Vol. 3, No. 1, 2, 3, 4; Vol. 4, No. 1, 2, 3, 4; Vol. 5, No. 1, 2, 3, 4; Vol. 6, No. 1, 2, 3, 4; Vol. 7, No. 1, 2, 3, 4,; Vol. 8, No. 1, 2, 3, 4; Vol. 9, No. 1, 2, 3, 4; Vol. 10, No. 1.
Historic Missouri, The State Historical Society, Columbia, Missouri, 1959.
Vermont History, Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, Vermont, 1955.
New Orleans Life, editor, Stanley Kimmel, New Orleans, Louisiana, 1927.

Ford Times, editor, C. H. Dykeman, Dearborn Michigan, Ford Motor Company, 1961.
Modern—Simplified Book Repair, Bro-Dart Industries, Newark, New Jersey.
Genealogical Publications Exchange, editor—Mrs. Lewis O. Bowman, Sr., Rockville, Maryland.
The Guardian Mercury, editor—Arthur Wilson Stewart, Limestone Cemetery and Genealogical Association, 1961.
The Ohio Genealogical Society Report, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2; March, May, July, Sept. Nov. 1962; Feb., April, June, August, Oct., Dec., 1963; Feb., April, June, Aug., Oct., Dec. 1964; Feb., April, June, Aug., Oct., Dec. 1965; Feb., April, June, Aug., Oct., Dec. 1966; Feb., April, June 1967.
Denoyer-Geppert, Catalog 64, 1964 Chicago, Illinois.
Central Illinois Genealogical Quarterly, editor—Ronald Ford, Decatur Genealogical Society, Feb. 1967.
Annual Report by Council of the Ulster Scot Historical Society, Belfast, Ireland, 1960, 1961 and 1966, Miss I. Embleton, Secretary.
Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications, Vols. I — XV.
The American Genealogist, 1950-1953.
Wisconsin Families, Wisconsin Genealogical Society, 1940-1941.
The Historical Magazine and Notes and Queries concerning the Antiquities, History and Biography of America, editor—Benjamin Richardson, New York, Vol. 2, 1858; Vol. 3, 1859; and Vol. 7, 1863.
Our Town—The Story of Diana, Lewis County, New York, Vols. 1-4.
The Kentucky Genealogist, editor—Martha Porter Miller, Wash., D. C., Vols. I-IX.
The Scottish Genealogist, Scottish Genealogical Society, Vols. 4-11.
The Virginia Genealogist, editors—William Perry Johnson & Russell E. Bidlack, Washington, D. C., Vols. I-X.
The North Carolinian, Raleigh, North Carolina, Vols. 1-4, 1955-1958 through 5-7, 1959-1961.
Rhode Island History, Rhode Island Historical Society Publication, Providence, Rhode Island.
Stewart Clan Magazine, editor—George Edson, Olathe, Kansas, Vols. 38—June 1967.
Genealogical Tips, Harlingen, Texas.
Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin, Vols. 1-20, editor—Mrs. C. C. Meyer, III.
The Hoosier Genealogist, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana, 1961-1967.
Alabama Genealogical Society, Inc. Publications, Vols. 17—
Thompson Family Magazine, editor—Mrs. Beverly M. Stercula, Fullerton, California, Vols. 1 through 1962.
Deep South Genealogical Quarterly, Mobile Genealogical Society, Inc. Mobile, Alabama, Vols. for years 1963-1967.
The Arkansas Family Historian, Arkansas Genealogical Society, Fayetteville, Ark., Vols. 1-5.
Stamford Bulletin, Stamford Genealogical Society, Stamford, Connecticut, Vols. 5-8.
The Kansas City Genealogist, Kansas City, Missouri, Vols. 1960-1967.
The Maryland and Delaware Genealogist, editor—Raymond B. Clark, Jr., Washington, D.C., Vols. 1-8.
The Local History and Genealogical Society, editor—John D. Thornton, Dallas, Texas, Vols. 1-4.
Ohio Records and Pioneer Families, editor—Esther Weygandt Powell, Akron, Ohio, Vols. 1-8.
Nebraska Farmer, Special Issue January 1959, McKelvie Publishing Company, Lincoln, Nebraska.
New Orleans Genesis, editor—Hewitt L. Forsyth, New Orleans, Louisiana.
The Wi-iyohi, South Dakota History Society Bulletin.

Newsletter, University of Kentucky Library Associates, Lexington, Kentucky, May 1960.
New York Public Library Bulletin, Vol. 65, Jan. to Dec. 1961.
University of Library Associates Newsletter, New York Public Library, May 1960.
The Sought, Genealogical Notes on Parrish, by Parrish.
Valley Leaves (Quarterly), Tennessee Valley Genealogical Society, Huntsville, Alabama, Vols. 1-3.
The Pedigree Searchlight, Detroit, Michigan, Vol. I, Nos. 1 and 2.
Newsome News, editor—Earl Newsom, No. 1, 1963.
Settlers of Northeast Alabama, Sept. 1962 and January 1964.
Confederate Echoes, Vol. I, Nos. 1-12; Vol. II, Nos. 1-12.
The Pioneers, editor—Mrs. Henry Martin, Birmingham Genealogical Society, Jan. 1961-December, 1962.
Deep South Genealogical Quarterly, Mobile Genealogical Society, Vols. 1-5.
The Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine, 1958-1960.
Southern Arizona Genealogical Society, editor—T. P. Salyer, Vols. 1-2.
The Guardian and Mercury, editor—W. A. Stewart, Vol. I, Nos. 1-5.
Pikes Peak Register, editors—Stephen W. and Roxanne H. Walker, Vol. I, 1964.
The Colorado Genealogist, Colorado Genealogical Society, Denver, Colorado, Vols. 14-28.
The Missing Link, San Joaquin Genealogical Society Bulletin, California, Sept. 1958, November 1959.
"Kern-Gen", Kern County Genealogical Society, Bakersfield, California, Vols. 1-4.
The Searcher Yearbook, Southern California Genealogical Society, 1964 and 1965, Vols. 1-4.
Life-Line—Surname Index, Riverside, California, Vols. 1 and 2, 1966, President's Report.
The Valley Quarterly, Vols. 1-5, San Bernardino Valley Genealogical Society, San Bernardino, California.
Surname Index, editor—Edwina Bierman, San Gabriel, California, Vols. 1961, 1963-1964.
Directory—Genealogical Societies and Periodicals in the United States, edited by Edwina Bierman, San Gabriel, California, 1965.
The Researcher—National Genealogical Newspaper and Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 6; Vol. 2, No. 1, 2, 3.
Orange County, California Genealogical Society Quarterly, Vols. 1 and 2.
Lost Leaves—from Southern California Trails, editor—Beverly Stercula. 1964-1965.
The Terra Bella News, Sequoia Genealogical Society, Terra Bella, Tulare County, California.
Balkan & Eastern European American Genealogical Society Quarterly, editor—Adam S. Eterovich, Vols. 2-3.
Mortui Vivos Dacent, Santa Clara Historical and Genealogical Society 7th Anniversary Edition, June 1964-Jan. 1966, editor—Josiah E. Dewey, II.
San Francisco Historic Record and Genealogy Bulletin, editor—Louis J. Rasmussen, Vol. 2, No. 16, April 1965.
SGVGS Newsletter, San Gabriel Valley Genealogy, San Gabriel, California, Vols. 1-2.
Haynes Eagle, editor—Frances Quinn, Vol. 1, No. 12.
Mohr News, editor—Gertrude C. Mohr, Llano, California, Vol. 1, No. 1.
Rose Family Bulletin, editors—Seymour T. and Christine Rose, San Jose, California, Vol. 1, No. 1.
Stephens-Stevens, Coppage, Pittsburg, California, Vol. 1, Nos. 2 and 4.
Sparks Quarterly, editor—Russell E. Bidlack of Sparks Family Association, Ann Arbor, Michigan, Vol. 5 whole No. 17; No. 1; Vol. IX, No. 1, whole No. 33.
Carolinas Genealogical Society Bulletin, editors—Mrs. Gordon Briscoe and

Mrs. L. C. Marsh, 1964-1967 and Yearbooks 1966-1967, 1965-1966; 1967-1968.

Strickland and Allied Families—Query and Answer Exchange, editor — Mary Barnett Curtis, Fort Worth, Texas, Vols. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

The Tallow Light, editor—Ralph L. Shroeder, Bulletin Washington County, Ohio Historical Society, Vols. 1-2.

Genealogical Newsletter, editor—Inez Waldenmaier, Washington, D.C., Vols. 5-9.

Genealogical and Related Materials in North Platte, Nebraska, editor—John F. Vallentine.

The Newslatter—Bi-Monthly Publication of the North Platte Genealogical Society, editor—Mrs. G. N. Simpson, Vols. I, No. 2, 4; Vol. 2, No. 1.

Weekly Query Index — Genealogist's Weekly Query Exchange, Lansing. Iowa, February 1957 through December 1961.

Hawkeye Heritage, by Mrs. Richard Knapton, Des Moines, Iowa, edited by Helen Hudson Boyt, Vols. 1 and 2.

The Illiana Genealogist—Quarterly Publication of the Illiana Genealogical and Historical Society, editor—James V. Gill, Danville, Illinois, Vols. 1965-1966.

The New Jersey Genesis, editor—Harold A. Sonn, Short Hills, New Jersey. Vols. 4, 5, & 6.

New Mexico Genealogist, editor—Dr. Albert R. Elwell, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1962-1967.

The Family History Magazine, editor—Irene Johnson, Albuquerque, New Mexico, Jan. 1962, April 1962, July 1962.

The Researcher, editor—Elizabeth Prather Ellsberry, Chillicothe, Missouri, May, July, Sept., October 1967.

The North Carolina Genealogy, Vol. 3, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, editor—W. P. Johnson.

The North Carolinian (Duplicate). editor—W. P. Johnson and Russell Bidlack, Vol. 2, Nos. 1, 3, 4.

Journal of North Carolina Genealogy, editors—W. P. Johnson and William Perry Vols. 1963, 1964, 1965 and 1966.

Michigan Heritage, editor—Dr. Ethel W. Williams, Kalamazoo Valley Genealogical Society, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1959-1964-1967.

Michigana—Bulletin of Western Michigan Genealogical Society, editor—Mrs. Lance H. Adams, Vols. 1958-1965; also *Index of Headhunters*, 1964-1966 and *Subject Index* March 1955-November 1963.

Flint Genealogical Quarterly, editor—Mrs. Walter Mayer, 1960-1967; also *Index* to Vol. VI, 1964 and *Index* to Vol. VII, 1965.

Genealogical Periodical Annual, editor—Ellen Stanley Rogers, published by Genealogical Recorders, Blandensburg, Maryland; *Index*, Vol. 2; *Index*. Vol. 3; and *Index* Vol. 4.

The Register, editor—G. Glenn Clift, Kentucky Historical Society, Vol. 58, No. 4, 1960.

Kentucky Ancestors, editor—Mrs. William Fitzgerald, Vol. 1, No. 4; Vol. 2, 1-4.

The Kentucky Genealogist, editor—Martha Porter Miller, Vols. 1-9.

Kansas Kin, editors Earl G. Darby and Earl H. Teagarden, Riley County, Kansas Genealogical Society, Manhattan, Kansas, Vol. 1-5; *Supplement to Directory of Ancestral Charts of Members*, May 1965; *Directory of Earliest Known American Ancestors*, 1967.

Treesearcher, editor—Mrs. Loyd Eller, Southwest Kansas Genealogical Society, Greensburg, Kansas, Vols. 1-9; 1967 Directory; Complete Index to Vols. 6, 7, and 8.

The East Kentuckian, editor—Henry P. Sealf, Prestonsburg, Kentucky, Vol. 2, Nos. 2, 3, 4; Gathering In, June 1966.

The Mirror, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 1961, Vols. 6-13.

Historical Almanac, Owenton, Kentucky, Dec. 1966; Jan.-Feb.-June 1967.

Rhode Island History, editor—Clifford P. Monahon, Providence, Rhode Island, Vols. 20-26.
The President's Letter, editor—George C. Davis, The Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence, Rhode Island, Vol. I, 1964; Vol. 2.
Golden Grains of Research, editor—Lenora Brakke, Genealogical Society of Montana, Billings, Montana, April 1960-April 1961.
Ancestral Notes from Chedwato, editor—Edna Townsend, Burlington, Vermont, Vols. 2-14; *Index* to Vol. 2.
Missing Links—Chedwato Service, June 1963.
Rogue Valley Genealogical Society, editor—Ruby Lacy, Ashland, Oregon, Fall 1966; Winter 1966; Spring 1967.
National Genealogical Society Quarterly, editor—Wm. H. Dumont, Washington, D.C. Vols. 1953, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967; *Index* to Vol. 51; *Index* to Vol. 52; *Index* to Vol. 53.
Yesteryears, editor—Francis V. Griffone, New York Regional History, Scipio Center, Vols. 6-10.
The Coat of Arms Quarterly, editor—Miss C. M. Eagan, published by the Heraldry Society, East Knoyle, Wiltshire, England, Vol. VI, Nos. 42-55; Vol. VII, No. 56.
Echoes, editor—Prentiss Price, from the East Tennessee Historical Society, Knoxville, Tennessee, Vol. 4-13; *Directory* 3rd Edition; *East Tennessee Historical and Genealogical Directory*, 1967.
Senftenegger Monatsblatt, F.A.S.G., editor—Karl Friedrick von Frank, published in Post Ferschnitz, Niederosterreich (Austria), Vol. 4, Vol. 5, and May-June of Vol. 6.
The Scottish Genealogist—Quarterly Journal of the Scottish Genealogical Society, Published by Society in Edinburgh, Scotland, Vols. 4-7; 8-11; Vol. 12, Nos. 1-5; Vol. 13, No. 2; Vol. 14, No. 1; Indices to Vols. 9-12, 1962-1965.
Car-Del Scribe, editors—Charles and Edna W. Townsend, published by Chedwato Service, Burlington, Vermont, Vol. BB, No. 165; Vol. BB, No. 365.
Oregon Genealogical Society Bulletin, editors—Genevieve B. York, President, Mrs. Wilbur (Daye) Hulin, published by Oregon Genealogical Society, Inc., Eugene, Oregon, Vols. 1-5; Annual Index for Vols. 1-4.
Oklahoma Society of Mayflower Descendants, "Mayflower Newsletter", editor—Lucinda B. Neff, Tulsa, Oklahoma, Vols. 10-13.
The Forum, editor—Clinton M. Helvey, Mount Hood Genealogical Quarterly, Molalla, Oregon, Vols. 1-8.
The Grafton Magazine, editors—George W. Ellis and Emma E. Brigham, Kansas State Historical Society, Vol. 1, incomplete, 1908-1909.
Daniel-Daniels Family Notes, editor—J. Harrison Daniels, Baltimore, Maryland, Vol. 2, No. 2; Vol. 3, Nos. 3, 4.
The Collector, editor—Mary A. Benjamin, New York, Vol. LXXIX, whole No. 799.
Bishop Families in America, editor—Ira Elmore Bishop, 1966, Homewood, Illinois.
Prater-Prather-Praytor-Preator Family Association Publication, editor—Kathryn R. Bonner, South Lyon, Michigan, Vol. 6, No. 3 and *Index*, Vol. 5.
Luker Newsletter Family Historical Society, editor—R. G. Luker, President, Vol. 1, No. 2; Vol. 2, No. 1.
Toler-Toller-Towler-To(w)ler Folks, editor—Viola Toler Diehnel (Mrs. R. J.) McCulloch, Oklahoma City, Vol. 1, No. 1, Sept. 1963.
Family History, editor—Cecil R. Humphrey-Smith, the Bi-Monthly Journal of the Institute of Heraldic and Genealogical Studies, England, Vol. I, No. 1, 3, 4.
The Heston Historian, editor—Vivian Douglas Heston, LaGrange, Illinois, Vol. I, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4.
The Magazine of American Genealogy, editor—Frederick Virkus, published by the Institute of American Genealogy, Chicago, Illinois, Nos. 1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, and 23.

Bulletin of the Seattle Genealogical Society, editor—Arthur D. Fiske, Vols. 3-13 and 15, Seattle, Washington.
The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, editor—Benjamin F. Shambaugh, by the State Historical Society of Iowa, July, 1932, Vol. 30, No. 3.
Annals of Iowa, quarterly, editors—Fleming Fraker, Jr. and Susanne Beisel, published by Iowa State Department of History and Archives, Des Moines, Vols. 35, No. 5; Vol. 37, No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; Vol. 38, No. 1, 2, 3, 4.
Journal of Iowa History, editor—William J. Petersen, published by State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, 1953-1961.
Historical Wyoming, quarterly, editor—Harry S. Douglass and Robert W. McGowan, published at Arcade, N. Y., Wyoming County Board of Supervisors, Vols. 17-Vol. 20.
Gens Nostra, editor—H. H. W. van Eijk, Maandblad der Nederlandse Genealogische Vereniging, Armsterdam, Netherlands, Vols. 15-22, also Index, 1958, 1959, 1956, 1963 and 1965.
Newsletter, Publications Committee, Milwaukee, Wisconsin State Genealogical Society, Vols. 6-14.
The Palimpsest, editor—William J. Petersen, State Historical Society of Iowa, Vols. 11-46 and Index, Jan.-Dec., 1956.
The Kansas Historical Quarterly, editor—Nyle H. Miller, published by Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, Vols. 27-33.
Coos Genealogical Forum, editor—Billie Sneed Webb, Coos Bay, Oregon, July of 1964.
(Allstates Research Company Murray, Utah, publishers of these six research publications).
The Arkansas Researcher, Vol. 2, No. 1 Sept. 1963.
The Georgia Researcher, Vol. 1, No. 3.
The Tennessee Researcher, Vol. 2, No. 3, Sept. 1963.
The Ohio Researcher, Vol. 2, No. 2, Sept. 1963.
The Missouri Researcher, Vol. 2, No. 1, Sept. 1963.
The Kentucky Researcher, Vol. 2, No. 2, Sept. 1963.
International Finders, editors—Fred Finter and Richard Neil Evans, International Genealogical Research Foundation, Provo, Utah, Vol. I, No. 1, June 1965; Vol. I, No. 2, Sept. 1965; Vol. I, No. 3, Dec. 1965; Vol. I, No. 4, March 1966.
Proceedings of the First Annual Genealogical Institute, Jan. 10-11, 1958, sponsored by Dept. of History and General Extention Division of Louisiana Genealogical and Historical Society, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.
The Genealogical Helper, editor—George B. Everton, Sr., Everton Publishers, Logan, Utah, Vols. 4-21 and Vol. 27, Index 1955.
Genealogical Register, editor—E. Russ Williams, publisher Louisiana Genealogical and Historical Society, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Vols. 6-13, also Index to 7 & 8, 9 & 10, 12 and 13.
The Record, editor—Arthur S. Maynard, New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, Vols. 76-93; also Index Vol. 80, 82, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92 and 93.
Ancestry, editor—Col. E. E. Dailey, Quarterly Bulletin of the Palm Beach County Genealogical Society, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1966.
Linkage for Ancestral Research, editor—Mrs. Frank N. Reeder, published by editor, Whole Nos. 1, and 2.
The Florida Genealogical Journal, editor—Mrs. W. R. Murrey, published by Florida Genealogical Society, Vol. 3, No. 2.
Happy Hunting Grounds (Early Keokuk County, Iowa, Marriage Records) editor—Mrs. Elmer Kay, published by Lee County Genealogical Society of Iowa, Vol. I.
Local Historical and Genealogical Society, editor—Mrs. Harry Joseph Morris, cooperating with Dallas Public Library, Dallas, Texas, Vols. 6-13.
"The Reflector" (Bulletin), editors—Raymond Wright, Leroy Hutton and others, Panhandle Genealogical Society, Amarillo, Texas, Vols. 2-9.
Bulletin of Local History and Genealogy, editor—Mrs. C. D. Leon, pub-

lished by The West Texas Genealogical Society, Abilene, Texas, Vols. 2-9.
Bulletin Central Texas Genealogical Society, Waco, Texas, Vols. 2-10.
Austin Genealogical Society Quarterly, published by the Education and Publicity Committee, Austin, Texas, Vols. 1-8.
North Texas Pioneer, editor—U. J. Dunn, published by The North Texas Genealogical and Historical Association of Wichita Falls, Texas, Vol. I, Nos. 1-12; Vol. 2, No. 1.
Stirpes, editors—Mildred Dulaney and Edna Perry Deckler, published by the Texas State Genealogical Society, Fort Worth, Texas, Vols. 1-7.
South Texas Genealogical and Historical Society, editor—Mrs. Louis C. Hill, published by S.T.G.H.S., Gonzales, Texas, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2, 3, 4.
Genealogical Tips, editor—Mrs. Fussell R. Heaner, San Benito, Texas, published by the Tip-O'-Texas Genealogical Society, Harlingen Public Library, Harlingen, Texas, Vols. 1-5; Cameron County Marriage Record, Sept. 1848-Nov. 24, 1855.
Cenotapp, editor—Mrs. Cliff Drake, published by the Hutchinson County Genealogical Society, Borger and Stinnett, Texas, Vols. 1-3.
The Genealogical Record, editors—Mrs. Beck Smith and James R. Mitchell also Ed. N. McAllister, published by the Houston Genealogical Forum, Houston, Texas, Vols. 2-9.
Our Heritage, editor—Mrs. James H. Clark, published by San Antonio Genealogical and Historical Society, San Antonio, Texas, Vols. 1-8.
Fort Worth Genealogical Society Bulletin, editor—Mrs. R. N. Grammer, published by Fort Worth Genealogical Society, Fort Worth, Texas, Vols. 2-10.
Daughters of the American Revolution Magazines from the Mrs. Virgil Browne Library through the Oklahoma Genealogical Society, Vols. 55-97.
Children of the American Revolution (D.A.R.) from the Mrs. Virgil Browne Library through the Oklahoma Genealogical Society, Vols. 39-52.
Tree Talks, Central New York Genealogical Society, Vols. 1-7; Index to 1961, New York State; Index of Townships and Counties; and Index to 1963, 1964 and 1966.
All Cousin Huntin', published by Central New York Genealogical Society, Dec., 1961, 1964, 1965 and 1966.
Genealogical Forum, editor—Marshall Wilson, Portland, Oregon, Vols. 5-16; Index for 5, 7, 15; Year Books, 1956, 1957-1958, 1958-1959, 1959-1960, 1960-1961, 1961-1962, 1962-1963, 1963-1964, 1964-1965, 1965-1966.
Index to Oregon Donation Land Claims (from the printed supplements to the Genealogical Forum of Portland, Oregon.
Partial List of Cemetery Records, Benton County, Oregon, published by Genealogical Forum of Portland, Oregon.
Guide to Location of Genealogical and Historical Data on Oregon Pioneers, Genealogical Forum of Portland, Oregon, Membership Information.
Genealogy: Heads of Families, Clay County Indiana, 1830.
Marriage Affidavits, Clay County, Indiana, to 1852.
County Records in the Genealogical Division of the Indiana State Library.
Compiled by Dorothy Riker and Carolynne Wendel.
Genealogy and Local History, Catalog 370, from Charles E. Tuttle Co., Inc., Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo, Japan.
"*Ansearchin*'" News, editor—Mrs. Harry E. O'Hara, published by the Tennessee Genealogical Society, Memphis, Tennessee, Vols. 1-4 (second edition); 7-14; also Index Vols. 8, 10, 11, 12, and 13.

ITEMS TRANSFERRED FROM CONFEDERATE ROOM, OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, TO LIBRARY

The Numismatist, Vol. 33, Nos. 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12—June 1917 to December 1917; Vol. 34, No. 1 January 1918—Total 7 copies.
Four Addresses by Miss Mildred Lewis Rutherford of Athens, Georgia.
"In Memoriam of William T. Patton."
"The Blue and the Gray"—75th Roundup.
"The Failure of the Confederacy—Was It a Blessing?" by James H. McNeilly, D.D.
Invitation to the Unveiling of the Stone Mountain Memorial Association of General Robert E. Lee and "Traveler."
Memories of the Old South by Emma C. Wescott, November 1912.
Memorial—General James A. Yeager of Tulsa, Oklahoma, December 31, 1928.
Two Hundred Old-Time Songs by Frank B. Ogilvie.
Reports of Confederate Home at Ardmore, Oklahoma:
First Biennial Report, 1911-1912—1 copy.
Second Biennial Report, 1913-1914—2 copies.
Third Biennial Report, 1915-1916—3 copies.
Fourth Biennial Report, 1917-1918—10 copies.
Confederate Memorial Literary Society, 1928, Year Book, Richmond, Virginia.
Report of the President-General to the 44th Annual Convention of United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1937.
Proceedings of Annual Conventions of the Oklahoma State Division of United Daughters of the Confederacy—Bound volumes:

Vol. 1: 1906-1912—1 copy.
Vol. 2: 1913-1917—1 copy.
Vol. 3: 1918-1922—1 copy.
Vol. 4: 1923-1926—1 copy.
Vol. 5: 1927-1930—1 copy.
Vol. 6: 1931-1934—1 copy.
Vol. 7: 1935-1938—1 copy.
Vol. 8: 1939-1942—1 copy.
Vol. 9: 1943-1950—1 copy.
Vol. 10: 1951-1955—1 copy.
Vol. 11: 1956-1959—1 copy.

Unbound single issues and years:
Convention Proceedings 3rd—September 1911—2 copies.
Convention Proceedings 4th—September 1912—1 copy.
Convention Proceedings 5th—September 1913—2 copies.
Convention Proceedings 6th—September 1914—2 copies.
Convention Proceedings 7th—September 1915—2 copies.
Convention Proceedings 8th—October 1916—2 copies.
Convention Proceedings 9th—July 1917—2 copies.
Convention Proceedings 10th—June 1918—3 copies.
Convention Proceedings 11th—August 1919—2 copies.
Convention Proceedings 12th—June 1920—1 copy.
Convention Proceedings 13th—July 1921—2 copies.
Convention Proceedings 14th—September 1922—2 copies.
Convention Proceedings 15th—September 1923—3 copies.
Convention Proceedings 16th—July 1924—3 copies.
Convention Proceedings 17th—June 1925—2 copies.
Convention Proceedings 18th—June 1926—2 copies.
Convention Proceedings 19th—June 1927—4 copies.
Convention Proceedings 20th—June 1928—1 copy.
Convention Proceedings 21st—October 1929—4 copies.
Convention Proceedings 22nd—June 1930—2 copies.
Convention Proceedings 23rd—June 1931—2 copies.
Convention Proceedings 24th—October 1932—1 copy.
Convention Proceedings 25th—June 1933—1 copy.
Convention Proceedings 26th—June 1934—1 copy.
Convention Proceedings 29th—June 1937—3 copies.

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publications Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are $5.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* Life membership is $100.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is $6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine (1937 to current number), $1.50. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA
1907

The CHRONICLES of OKLAHOMA

Summer, 1968

FORT RENO, INDIAN TERRITORY

Volume XLVI Number 2

Published Quarterly by the
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
Organized by Oklahoma Press Association, May 27, 1893

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Officers

GEORGE H. SHIRK, President
H. MILT PHILLIPS, 1st Vice President
FISHER MULDROW, 2nd Vice President
MRS. GEORGE L. BOWMAN, Treasurer
ELMER L. FRAKER, Administrative Secretary
Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

DIRECTORS

GOVERNOR DEWEY BARTLETT

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1969

Joe W. McBride, Oklahoma City — E. E. Dale, Norman
Henry B. Bass, Enid — R. M. Mountcastle, Muskogee
Nolan Fuqua, Duncan

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1970

Fisher Muldrow, Norman — Lou Allard, Drumright
Robert A. Hefner, Oklahoma City — LeRoy H. Fischer, Stillwater
Bob Foresman, Tulsa

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1971

Miss Genevieve Seger, Geary — H. Merle Woods, El Reno
H. Milt Phillips, Seminole — George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City
A. M. Gibson, Norman

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1972

Joe W. Curtis, Pauls Valley — R. G. Miller, Oklahoma City
Mrs. George L. Bowman, Kingfisher — W. E. McIntosh, Tulsa
Earl Boyd Pierce, Muskogee

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1973

W. D. Finney, Fort Cobb — James D. Morrison, Durant
Morton Harrison, Tulsa — John E. Kirkpatrick, Oklahoma City
Q. B. Boydstun, Fort Gibson

CHANGE OF ADDRESS—Send notice of change of address to Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma—73105.

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be addressed to the Editor, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* is published quarterly in spring, summer, autumn, and winter by the Oklahoma Historical Society with its editorial office located in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City.

The Oklahoma Historical Society distributes *The Chronicles* free to members. Annual membership dues are five dollars; Life membership, one hundred dollars. Membership applications and dues should be sent to the Administrative Secretary.

Second-class postage paid at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

The Oklahoma Historical Society assumes no responsibility for statements of facts or opinion made by contributors, in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.*

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

ELMER L. FRAKER, *Business Manager*

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE
JOE W. MCBRIDE, CHAIRMAN
EDWARD EVERETT DALE — H. MILT PHILLIPS
JOE W. CURTIS — LOU ALLARD
R. G. MILLER

Summer, 1968

Volume XLVI — Number 2

CONTENTS

Portrait of Governor Leon C. Phillips 123
By Herbert L. Branan

The Cheyenne Transporter 127
By Althea Bass

The Pursuit of Dull Knife from Fort Reno 141
By Peter M. Wright

Quantrill's Civil War Operations 155
By LeRoy H. Fischer and Lary C. Rampp

Quanah Parker's Narrow Escape 183
By Ronnie Tyler

Prairie Oil & Gas Company 190
By David C. Boles

Notes and Documents 202

The Brush Court in Indian Territory
Fourth of July Celebration, Fort Gibson, 1827

Book Reviews 212

Necrology 215

Minutes 216

Cover: Original photo of Fort Reno, Indian Territory about 1879.

(Portrait by R. V. Goetz, Artist)

LEON C. PHILLIPS
Governor of Oklahoma, 1939-1943

PORTRAIT OF GOVERNOR LEON C. PHILLIPS

By Herbert L. Branan

PRESENTED TO THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The following memorial on Governor Leon C. Phillips with introductory remarks was prepared and read by Honorable Herbert L. Branan at the Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society on April 25, 1968:

INTRODUCTION

I appreciate the opportunity to be here today and participate in the presentation ceremonies of the portrait of Governor Leon C. Phillips. First, I want to acknowledge the assistance and interest of Mrs. Marie Anderson McMillan in making preparations for this program. This portrait has been painted by Richard Goetz under the commission of Mrs. Helen Conklin Phillips, the surviving widow of former Governor Leon C. Phillips. She and Mr. Phillips, in their youth, attended high school in the same class in Arapaho, Oklahoma. She is the daughter of a Presbyterian minister and after her residence in Arapaho moved with her family to Shawnee, Oklahoma, where she completed high school, later moving to Ohio to attend college. It is under her auspices that this portrait is presented here today.

LEON C. PHILLIPS: A PORTRAIT PRESENTATION

Leon Chase Phillips was the 11th Governor of the State of Oklahoma and was the 9th individual elected to that office. He was inaugurated as Governor January 9, 1939, and ended his term January 11, 1943. He was born December 9, 1890, in Worth County, Missouri, and moved to Oklahoma at an early age. He attended the public schools of Arapaho, graduating in 1908, and went on to college to study for the ministry at Epworth University, a forerunner of the present Oklahoma City University. He studied two years for the ministry, changed to law and went to the University of Oklahoma where he graduated with a law degree in 1916. During his college years he interspersed several of them teaching school in order to maintain himself and to continue his education.

After serving in the armed forces in World War I he returned to Okemah to practice law. He served in a number of party positions and in 1932 was elected to the Legislature of which he was a member until elected as Governor in 1939. He was the first Governor of our State chosen directly from the Legislature.

It is a tenet of my philosophy of history that the temper of the times produces the men who are needed at the time for existing conditions and that leaders arise as a product of the society and culture which creates them. In the contemporary process of events, it is difficult to understand the historical mood and course of events much less to be effectual in molding the

direction of them. We are so much a part of what is taking place we are unable to see, and sometimes unable to know, all the elements undergirding the forces with which we must deal. We only feel these forces. He who can grasp the course and force of events with an understanding of their antecedents and with the courage and conviction of leadership can direct or turn them for good or for ill. If the times produce the leader, and if society backs his courage with its conviction, he is able to lead actively, consciously and with unswerving devotion to his objectives. As Thomas Carlyle thoughtfully said, "It is the property of every Hero, in every time, in every place and situation, that he come back to reality; that he stand upon things, and not the show of things. According as he loves, and venerates, articulately or with deep speechless thought, the awful realities of things, so will the hollow show of things, however regular, however decorous, however accredited by convention or conclaves, be intolerable and detestable to him." This was the character of Leon C. Phillips.

In March, 1958, on returnng from Okemah where I attended the final services for Governor Phillips, I wrote a letter to A. C. Martin, one of his devoted friends and in that letter I said, "As I sat in the church and looked over the crowd at the funeral, I had a variety of thoughts. The main one being that all of the group there found leadership in Red Phillips around which each of them could rally his own best efforts. That group, under his leadership, had the temerity to stand up against insuperable odds and they won out in the fight. If they had ever stopped to contemplate the magnitude of the task, they would never have begun." This was the type of leadership that Leon C. Phillips contributed to the State and this was the kind of followers he attracted to make that leadership effective.

He came upon the scene at a time of great depression in our history when our State and many of its subdivisions of local governments were practically bankrupt. When the most necessary of governmental functions and services were failing under the depressed conditions, he took over the leadership. In 1935 he was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives against the express wishes of the then chief executive. In 1937 he was defeated for the Speakership, but to bring it about, the administration in office had to use unmatched power, patronage and promises to do it. At the close of the session in 1937, as is usual in the closing hours of a Legislative session, the leaders were making goodbye speeches and pointing with pride to their achievements. It was an hour of hospitable relaxation and good feeling. In the course of calling upon various individuals for a final note of cheerful departure, Mr. Phillips was asked to

speak. He had held no official position in the leadership in that House, but in spite of it, he had retained the powerful leadership of an undaunted group that stayed by his side and formed a tight, effective minority. In those closing hours when his adversaries expected some final note of accord, a relaxation from his driving force, he did not permit them to enjoy such a moment. Deep within his religious nature that formed a part of all his undergirding welled up his Biblical learning and rising from his desk to create a tense moment, with his right hand raised and his finger pointing, he said, "The final decision on what you have done here has not been written nor have the people had the final say. I can only recall to you the words written by the moving hand on the wall at the feast of Belshazzar, "Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsen." ("Thou art weighed in the balance and found wanting.") From this point on he was destined to be elected the next Governor of Oklahoma, and so he was.

He brought sound, sensible and sober government to the State Capitol. He left a number of great monuments. The two greatest endure today and are without parallel in any of the fifty states. One of these monuments is the State Regents for Higher Education and the other is the Budget Balancing Amendment to our State Constitution, both adopted by the people in March 1941.

Thomas Carlyle has also said that one of the true measures of a man's greatness and usefulness is *what would be if he had not been.* When we consider the value of these two great additions to our State Constitution and to our system of government, we ponder what would be the chaotic situation today in higher education and the bankrupt situation in our State finances if he *had not been* and these measures had not become a part of our Constitution. The enactment of these two monumental measures illustrate the necessity of the persistent devotion Mr. Phillips maintained towards his objectives. The genesis of the State Regents for Higher Education was House Bill 686 introduced by him in the session of 1933 to create a statutory coordinating committee with powers to coordinate higher education and put some order into the system. It was enacted into law and is found at Page 374 of Session Laws of 1933. It was weak and ineffective, but Mr. Phillips kept the idea alive and before him so that when he became Governor it was a part of his program. It was his idea, fostered for eight years, that became in 1941 Article XIIIA of our Constitution, creating a unified system of higher education under the State Regents of Higher Education.

The Budget Balancing Amendment adopted in 1941 had its genesis in a simple resolution, HR 10, that I introduced in the House of Representatives on January 17, 1935. It planted

the seed for a balanced budget. It failed of adoption without roll call, but the force and courage of Governor Phillips brought it into being six years later as the Budget Balancing Amendment of 1941. Whatever else may be said of this man, these two things must ever be applauded. He knew State government. He knew and understood the people of this State. He knew what it took to bring about better government. He made enemies in the process, but he made followers and friends who stood with him. No other Speaker in our Legislature has ever faced the odds that he faced in 1935 and yet maintained his leadership purely by individual appeal and personal magnetism.

His philosophy of government was clear and any position he took was consistent. The finest characterization that can be given about him was that you never had to ask Governor Phillips twice his position on any relevant issue and seldom did you have to ask even once. There are many things that I could say and many things that could be written and will be said and written, but what I have said is only a summation abbreviated in order to lay the ground for presenting to the Oklahoma Historical Society and the State of Oklahoma this portrait of Governor Leon C. "Red" Phillips and this I do on behalf of its donor, Mrs. Helen Conklin Phillips.

THE CHEYENNE TRANSPORTER

*By Althea Bass**

In 1879 the Reverend Alfred Brown, principal of the Cheyenne-Arapaho Agency school for Arapaho children at Darlington, Indian Territory, organized an amateur entertainment there. His purpose, to raise funds for a magic lantern for the school, would hardly have given him claim to be remembered in Agency history; but the proceeds from the entertainment so far exceeded the cost of the lantern that he was able to buy a small Model job printing press and a few fonts of type as well, and thus to become the founder and first editor of a unique and valuable newspaper, the *Cheyenne Transporter*.

The first number of the *Transporter*, dated December 5, 1879, consisted of four pages, 5½ by 7½ inches in size. But even so small a publication was too much for a busy schoolteacher to carry on, and he soon turned over press and type to W. A. Eaton, an employee on the Reservation who was also a printer, and who promised to continue the newspaper. Eaton's first issue appeared as Volume II, Number I on August 25, 1880, enlarged to 11 by 16 inches and printed not from the Agency school building but from the attic of the saw mill; later, for a time, the sheet was still larger, and the number of pages, eight to ten with an occasional supplement, gave the subscribers no room for complaint.

The name was a suitable one, for Darlington, the site of the Agency for the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation, was a center for the frontier transportation of a large area. Stage routes ran in all directions; mail routes to outlying points centered there; and wagon trains carried freight from railheads to supply everything needed at the Agency and at Fort Reno nearby. The extent of freighting, largely by Indian teamsters, is evident from a news item in the *Transporter* for April 25, 1882:

> There is now on the road between this place and Arkansas City, an Indian train of about seventy-five wagons. They are loaded with flour. During the year these Indians have done all their own freighting, besides a great deal for the neighboring posts, and we have never heard of their stealing or losing any article by carelessness. They are prompt and reliable, and we hope the man who has the contract for transporting military supplies the coming year will give them a chance. When Indians are willing to work they ought to be encouraged to do so.

In its beginning the *Transporter* was unquestionably educational in its purpose. Eaton, in the first issue under his editorship, promised that the *Transporter* would appear regularly

*Althea Bass is the well known author of *The Cherokee Messenger* and other books and publications relating to early days in Oklahoma.—Ed.

CHEYENNE TRANSPORTER.

VOL. II. DARLINGTON, I. T., SEP. 10, 1880. NO. 2.

W. N. Hubbell & Co's Supply Store.

JUST RECEIVED

—BY—

W. N. Hubbell & Co.

A BRAND NEW STOCK OF

DRY GOODS,

CLOTHING,

Hats & Caps, Boots & Shoes, Etc.

ALSO A FRESH STOCK OF

Staple Groceries.

The Largest and Best Stock in the City. Call and Examine Goods and Prices.

Corner Main & S. . . . the Lot . . .

CALDWELL, KANSAS.

TO TRAVELERS.

J. H. SEGER

Is now running buckboards and hacks between

Darlington, I. T.

—AND—

Fort Eliott, Texas.

This route connects at Darlington with stages going South to the Wichita Agency, Fort Sill, Ebin Springs, Carrinzo Point and Caddo, connecting with the M., K. & T. to Denison, Sherman and Galveston, Texas; East, with Vanita, Indian Territory, and the M., K. & T. to St. Louis; North, with Caldwell, Hunnewell, Wellington, Winfield and Wichita, Kans.

Connects at Fort Elliott with stages going South to Fort Buseman and Fort Griffin, Texas, Las Vegas and all towns Southwest, West and Fort Dodge, Kans., and all points West and Northwest.

Leave Darlington going West Mondays, Thursdays and Saturdays; Leave Fort Elliott going East Sundays, Tuesdays and Fridays.

Charges, Reasonable.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

American residents at Rome propose erecting an Episcopal church to cost $75,000.

The health of the cattle now arriving at Chicago is better than has been known in several years.

Wheat harvesting is now all the rage in Dakota and Minnesota. The grain is splendid both in quality and quantity.

The crop of corn on the Washita is immense—it is estimated that many fields will average seventy-five bushels to the acre.

No person can be governed by jealousy, who is not egotistical and full of vanity. The man of broad quality will put it under his feet.

The gem fifteen puzzle has sailed from America to Paris, and the Parisians, already sufficiently crazy, will now go the entire figure.

Dr. Glenn, of California, has 60,000 acres in wheat this year. Only think what a quantity of bread that stands for, that is, if it is not a California story.

Corn of all kinds are very much . . . in Sedgwick, Sumner, . . . and adjoining counties in Southern Kansas by the long continued drouth and heat.

The Protestant movement in France is said to have received a great impetus from the reading of the Bible and other Protestant books by the 100,000 soldiers driven into Switzerland during the war.

The French government is making a strong effort to control the trade of Central Africa. Already large sums of money have been expended with this object in view, and further appropriation will be made if necessary.

At a wedding which took place at Port Huron, N. Y. recently, the bride was eighty-one and the groom sixty-nine years old. But what assurance have we that the divorce court will not be called into requisition.

Merchants can find no better way of making their business known than through an advertisement in the TRANSPORTER, which paper circulates where no other journal does and among a class of people who pay cash for what they buy.

The largest rattlesnake ever in Washington arrived at the . . . zoological institute a few days . . . from Florida. It is about . . . long twelve inches around the body and has twelve rattles . . . all. It is kept with chickens . . . and at . . . is placed taken out . . .

Reports from New York City say that trade has not looked so bright in many years as it does to-day. Reports of a like encouraging character come from all parts of the country, and we have reason to believe, that, notwithstanding the mouthings of soreheads and malcontents, an era genuine prosperity has commenced.

England is still having trouble about the importation of American beef, which is sold so cheap that it is driving the home product from the market and ruining the home stock raiser. Several attempts, by fair and by foul means, have been made to drive the foreign article from the market, but thus far these attempts have failed. One well laid scheme was to sell all diseased beef as American. But this was defeated by selling American beef from one place of delivery, and selling no other kind there. This soon proved the superiority of the American beef and showed, to England's discredit, where the damaged meat came from.

Information has been received at Washington that the Emperor of China has removed all restrictions and bars on the participation of Chinese merchants in foreign trade. These Chinese merchants are shrewd, enterprising, and have large capital. Now that they can trade for themselves they will cut a very important figure in American and European traffic with the Celestials.

A Scottish . . . inspector reports a very . . . ase in pauperism among . . . in certain counties. The . . . he attributes to the . . . y education laws of Scotland, . . . their are very strict requirements . . . one to attend school for a . . . length of time. This secures . . . education to all and does away with illiteracy. The United States might profit by the example.

. . . learn that another . . . has been committed . . . county, near Wellington. . . . and wife resided . . . of Enoch Capps, who . . . them. Waggoner had . . . that Mrs. Capps had . . . Capps and he . . . they drove to town . . . this knowledge, he . . . and threatened . . . When the men . . . and followed to . . . Loaves Wagoner . . . the carcasses . . . up to the . . . authorities.

There are five men to one woman in Louisville, Col. At Silver Creek the ratio is seven to one. The older cities in Colorado, such as Denver, Colorado Springs, Pueblo, Georgetown, Boulder and Golden, show a fair proportion of women.

We live in an enlightened land and in the broad sun light of the nineteenth century, but occasionally a relic of former barbarism comes to the surface. In Dublin county, Newhampshire, for instance, a man was fined one dollar and costs for taking a load of hay out of his barn, spreading it out to dry and then returning it, all on Sunday.

THE INDIANS RAISING STOCK.

The Indians are fast coming to see the importance of stock raising as an industry, and many of them have already laid the foundation for good herds. Certainly this country is better adapted to stock raising than to anything else, and the Indian is in his natural element more nearly when taking care of stock than in any other civilized pursuit. With a country and a people peculiarly adapted to the business, we see many good reasons for thinking that this will one day be an important stock district, and the Indian, civilized by the labor necessary in the care of his stock, will no longer be the nation's ward, but an independent, self supporting citizen. As remarked above, a number of herds have been commenced, and, considering the newness of the business, the defectiveness of the corrals and the Indian's natural tendency to go and come when he pleases, less trouble has been experienced than was expected, and the general result is far more satisfactory. The fear has been that they would get tired of their cattle and butcher them, but this has not been done to any great extent, nor is this result now anticipated. Something was said to one of the Arapahoes about killing one of his cows, but he would not listen to anything of the kind. He went on to show how many cattle would result from one cow in ten years. It was interesting to notice that his calculation was made with all the contingencies taken into account, and that he had the matter worked down about as fine as any white breeder could do it. Now, when the Red Man looks forward in this way, it is fair to presume that he will succeed and become wealthy. About 3,000 head of cattle are now owned by the Indians on this Reservation. The names of some of the most enterprising stock men are given below: Powder Face, Little Raven, White Bear, Left Hand, Heap-of-Bear Bear Shield, Jacob and Jesse.

(Oklahoma Historical Society)

CHEYENNE TRANSPORTER
Published at Darlington, Indian Territory

twice a month and would "aid in the civilization and advancement of the Indian." He urged:

> Subscribe for the *Transporter*. Besides giving the Indian news, we shall always give to the Stock Interests of the country that amount of space and effort which its importance demands, and cordially invite stock men to correspond with us . . . We have fixed the price of brand advertising so low that we believe this department will be liberally supported by the stock men, and a closer intimacy established between those parts of the country separated by long distances.

Eaton had laid in a large stock of cuts for cattle brands; the price for publishing the brand and receiving a subscription would be six dollars a year. Since some of the Indians had now begun to raise and market cattle and it was hoped that more would do so, this was a legitimate extension of aid in the civilization and advancement of the Indian, though it was hardly one that the Reverend Alfred Brown had anticipated.

The sole reason for the existence of Darlington was that it was the seat for the administration, by the Indian Bureau, of the affairs of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians who had been transplanted to the surrounding area by the Treaty of Medicine Lodge signed in 1867. The availability of timber, water, good farm land and, in the beginning, good hunting, made it a sensible choice. It was not far from the Chisholm Trail to the east and from a spur called the Western Trail to the west, and was on a route between the military posts and frontier towns of Kansas and those of Texas. To serve the interests of the Indians and to accommodate travelers, visitors, stockmen and the varied personnel connected with the Agency, a town of more importance than the average frontier settlement had grown up. The opening of Fort Reno in 1875, across the North Canadian River a mile and a half to the southwest, had brought a still wider variety of residents to the community. The place was a challenge to an alert editor.

In this first issue of the paper, Mr. Eaton reported that the Agent, John D. Miles, would start to Washington within a few days. Going by way of Carlisle:

> He will take with him fifteen Cheyenne, ten Arapahoe, fifteen Kiowa and Comanche, two absentee Shawnees and three Pawnee children, who will be placed in school at Carlisle. Arapaho Chiefs Little Raven, Yellow Bear and Left Hand, Cheyenne Chiefs Big Horse, Bob Tail, Man-on-a Cloud and Mad Wolf, Robert Bent Interpreter, and a lady assistant, are also of the party and will make the entire trip and return.

A month later, on September 25, 1880, there was news of Agent Miles and his party in the east. They had spent the 11th of September in Philadelphia, making a general survey of that friendly city — the Twelfth Street market, the churches, and

the public buildings — for the benefit of the Indians and attending a meeting of Philadelphians at 1122 Chestnut Street held in the interest of Indian education. There Agent Miles and Captain Pratt from Carlisle addressed the meeting, as did Chiefs Little Raven and Big Horse speaking through interpreters.

Usually such groups of Indian students rode in freighters' wagons as far as Caldwell or Arkansas City and there took the train for the rest of the journey. This way of travel saved all expense of reaching the railhead, since the Indians driving the wagons generally had little to haul northward except when there were fence posts or hides to sell in the Kansas markets. If expense had been no consideration, they might have had a more comfortable trip north, for travel by stage was available. The same page that told of the departure of the party for Carlisle announced that:

> Mr. Todd, the enterprising manager of the stage line between Caldwell and Ft. Sill, passed through the Agency on one of his flying visits last week. He goes over the line quite frequently and generally has just time to speak, but the condition of his stock and stages and the promptness with which he delivers mails and passengers attest that he is business all over. Mr. Todd also carries express matter at reasonable figures.

The issue of the *Transporter* for September 10, 1880, tells of other facilities for travel. John H. Seger, that tireless friend of the Cheyenne and Arapaho from the time of his arrival on Christmas Eve, 1872, until long after Reservation days were ended, "not content with the Darlington-Ft. Eliott mail line, and several minor contracts of different kinds, has taken the mail route (180 miles long) from Ft. Eliott to Wichita Falls, Tex. This he intends to stock up and put in good condition immediately." Buckboards on the Seger line were to run regularly three times a week each way, and passengers were assured of "very comfortable, quick and cheap conveyance." Dust and mud, heat and cold, rain and snow, rough roads and swollen streams were not implied in this advertisement, but anyone who had come as far as Darlington in those days was no doubt prepared to expect them.

"To travelers," Mr. Seger advertised in a later issue:

> John Seger is now running buckboards and hacks between Darlington, I.T. and Fort Eliott, Texas. This route connects at Darlington with stages going south to the Wichita Agency, Fort Sill, Elm Springs, Carriage Point and Caddo, connecting with the M.K.&T. to Denison, Sherman and Galveston, Texas; East, with Vinita, Indian Territory, and the M.,K.&T. to St. Louis; North, with Caldwell, Hunnewell, Wellington, Winfield and Wichita, Kans.
>
> Connects at Fort Eliott with stages going south to Fort Bascom

and Fort Griffin, Texas, Las Vegas, and all points Southwest; West to Fort Dodge, Kans. and all points West and Northwest.

Leave Darlington, going West, Mondays, Thursdays and Saturdays; Leave Fort Eliott going East Sundays, Tuesdays and Fridays. Charges, Reasonable.

The hours for arrival and departure were not given; it was sufficiently specific to name the day. A brief item in the *Transporter* for October 10, 1881, states that heavy rains had made the roads too muddy for the stage to travel, and the mails were brought from Caldwell, Kansas, on mules. Again, because the Cimarron River was out of its banks, stage and passengers were obliged to spend the night at Red Fork Ranch.

Darlington was a good place for the traveler who found his journey too wearing to recuperate before he went on his way. Cheyenne House advertised in the *Transporter* for October 25, 1880, a "Table always provided with the very best the market allows. Corral and stable attached. Special attention given to the wants of freighters, travelers, and transients generally."

A few months later another hotel, Darlington House, advertised that it offered board for one dollar a day, with a weekly rate of five dollars. Early in 1883 still another hotel was opened, with a laundry to serve the community. The proprietors of these hotels filled their ice houses with ice cut from the river in winter for use in summer, and cut hay in summer for their patrons' horses in winter. It was no idle boast that their tables were well set, for farms on the Reservation provided their kitchens with beef and pork, as well as melons and fruits and vegetables. On December 5, 1884, the *Transporter* reported that the hotel had given its guests a splendid Thanksgiving dinner. No turkey was on the menu, "but there are now fewer 'yaller-legged' chickens in the Agency than there were before that dinner was given."

From the beginning the editors of the *Transporter* lived up to their promises. Eaton's autobiographical sketch of the Arapaho chief Powder Face is as understanding an account of a Plains warrior's life as one is likely to find. Having scalped Indian and white enemies alike and had 55 war ponies shot from under him, he was now a planter of corn and a breeder of cattle, and he made his visit to the editor of the *Transporter* to arrange for the publication of his brand and pay for a subscription. His brand, the circle-bar-circle, appears in each issue following the account of this visit published on December 24, 1880.

For Indians and white men alike, this was the great era of the range cattle industry, and the *Transporter* realized some of

its small profits from publishing their brands. In the number dated July 25, 1881, we learn that Mr. V. J. Clark, of Corpus Christi, Texas, had been at Darlington on the 17th and 18th of that month. He was driving a herd of five thousand cattle for R. King, "the cattle prince of Texas," and was to deliver them to the Red Fork Ranch, a day's drive to the north. "Mr. Clark called at the *Transporter* office and made ye editor happy by subscribing for five copies of the paper, putting down the cash for the same." From that time on the paper carried the brand of R. King of Santa Gertrudis, Texas. This ranch has grown and thrived to this day, as have the family ranching interests of Montford Johnson and other advertisers of the 1880's.

Efforts to Christianize the Indians were well under way when the *Transporter* began publication. Various denominations had been represented at Darlington, but those of the Mennonites and the Episcopalians had been the most continuous, and news of their work appeared in nearly every issue. The Mennonites, after the destruction of their first mission by fire, built an imposing building of red brick with white stone trim, under the supervision of the Reverend S. S. Haury. Orphan children of the Arapaho tribe lived and were taught there. The farm and garden of this mission were models for all to see, and news of these activities, as well as accounts of Christmas entertainments and other social events there appeared in the *Transporter* columns frequently.

Long after Reservation days the fine, new mission building stood, a landmark on the rolling prairie and a reminder to Indians and white people alike of what it had once stood for at Darlington. On June 25, 1881, there is mention of the arrival of the Reverend Mr. Wicks from Paris Hill, New York, with three Plains Indians who had been trained under him for the work of the Episcopal Church among their people. One of them, the Cheyenne David Pendleton (Oakerhater), was to remain among his people there for the rest of a long life. From time to time items about David Pendleton appeared in the *Transporter*: Once, in the issue for June 25, 1881, he has conducted the first Christian burial service ever known among the Cheyenne, for one of his own people; again, he is building a house to the north of the Agency grounds; and again (this probably as a warning to all Indians with outlying homes), because of dry weather and strong winds he would do well to plow a fireguard around his property.

The editor of the *Transporter* reported, on August 25, 1881, an account of a visit with the Reverend Mr. Wicks:

> He proposes to go about the work in a thoroughly practical way . . . With the help of David Pendleton and Walter Matches, two Cheyenne

POWDER FACE, CHIEF OF THE ARAPAHO
In full dress, tribal regalia.

Indians, he finds out where the sick are and at once goes to the lodge, taking with him something for the bodily comfort of the sufferer, as well as much of good advice. He has induced a number of the most superstitious to seek the aid of the Agency physician and give up their own "medicine."

It was hardly to be expected that Government employees or missionaries and mission school teachers would understand the Indians' religion or sympathize with its practices. The aim of the Government was to stamp out heathenism, and only a few white people looked on Indian religious rites with objectivity. It is small wonder, then, to find in the August, 1881, issue, "We visited the Buffalo Dance Saturday . . . There were no accommodations for visitors, so we had to accommodate ourselves to a seat on the lawn. We saw the buffalo, the panther, the hunters, and finally we saw a counterpart of Dante's 'Vision of the Inferno.' The dance was up with a small edition of Donnybrook Fair." In the May 10, 1882, number the editor gave a lengthy and detailed account of the Cheyenne Buffalo Dance, referring to it as "the most remarkable piece of foolishness we have seen."

With this issue of the *Transporter* (May 10), a new editor had taken over. Mr. Eaton had sold the paper to George West Maffet, a printer from Anthony, Kansas, who had come to Darlington to act as bookkeeper for the trading house of T. Connel. He was a much liked young bachelor with a genuine interest in every part of the community life. He and the assistant he hired, Lafe Merritt, gave lively reports concerning schools, churches, travelers, social events and military happenings at Agency and Fort as long as the *Transporter* continued. In his first issue as editor, Maffet announced a new feature of the paper under the heading *The Drive*: "Below we give in detail the herds of cattle and horses passing up the trail from April 4th to date. Hereafter we will make this a special feature of the *Transporter,* and for that purpose have made arrangements with a special reporter located on the trail." The total number of horses reported was 5,500; of cattle, 8,896.

From the first George Maffet had taken a friendly and sympathetic attitude toward the Indians, an attitude ususual for anyone of Kansas background. In the issue for September 12, 1882, he wrote, "One of the most ludicrous sides of the Indian problem is now presented to the public in the exaggerated reports flying over the United States that the Cheyennes and Arapahoes had broken out and were raiding in Kansas." When the Agent made an investigation of the rumor he could learn of no Indians leaving the Reservation with hostile intentions. The Governor of Kansas sent his Adjutant-General down to where the Indians were supposed to be raiding, "but could find

no blood." A company of militia at Garden City prepared to send out companies of volunteers, and the cattlemen were prepared for violence. "To those living among the Indians," the *Transporter* commented, "the whole affair savors deeply of ridiculous farce."

Where the personal affairs of Indians were concerned, the attitude of the *Transporter* was particularly sympathetic, as this item from the issue of October 13, 1882, indicates:

> Upon an Indian grave in the cemetery on the hill can be seen a baby carriage, like those used by white children. In it is a bottle of medicine, a small pail full of water, a handkerchief and several playthings. It is the Indian belief that whatever is buried with their dead can be of use when they reach "the happy hunting grounds," and it is truly touching to run across this little baby carriage with its mute but plaintive story.

An item of June 27, 1883, relates, "Frank Billie Wolf Robe, a much loved Cheyenne boy who had been confirmed in the Episcopal Church, died at the age of seventeen and was buried from the home of the Reverend Wicks." He had asked for Christian burial, and especially asked that his father not kill his pony at the grave. "Jesus, my Savior, had no pony killed for him when he died, and I want to be like him," he had said.

When annuities were inadequate or delayed or cut off because the Indians refused to cut their long hair or send their children to school or discontinue their long hunting trips, the *Transporter* made emphatic protest. Such a situation is reported on January 11, 1881, when blankets, duck for tents, sheeting, coats, vests, pants, shoes and stockings were given out, but, the editors asserted, "the amount issued is but an aggravation." Again, in mid-January of 1883, "Hats, shoes, blouses, pants, men's overalls, vests, quilts and calico were passed out, as well as axes, axe handles and blankets, and the Indian employees and most of the Indian police were given an overcoat and an extra bolt of duck." The report concludes, "Of course these were not goods enough to make more than a partial supply for the tribe."

If disappointment was nearly always the mood at the annuity issue, the grass lease payments during the few years when the Indians leased much of their land to stockmen pasturing their herds there on their way to northern railheads were pure joy. For the semi-annual payment reported in the *Transporter* of May 25, 1885, $31,000.00 was distributed among the members of the two tribes, amounting to $6.25 per capita. Several days were required to complete the payments. "The distribution of the money is made on the Agency family ration tickets, upon which the women weekly draw their beef, flour, etc., and in the same manner they draw their grass lease money. After drawing their

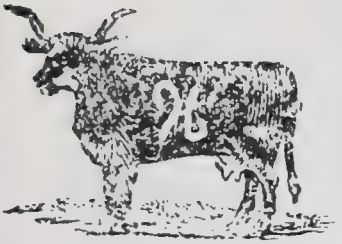
money many exciting times are had by the Indians changing and dividing their cash among themselves, after which they liberally patronize their traders." The jingle of coins in a beaded pouch meant a new red shirt or a fine felt hat for the men, bright shawls and ribbons and lengths of calico for the women, toys and candy and chewing gum and even picture books for the children. Who thought of saving grass lease money!

Advertising, other than that of cattle brands, was an important source of income for the *Transporter* from the beginning. Volume II, Number 1 carries a typical advertisement of traders' goods: "G. E. Reynolds & Co. Indian Traders Dealers in Dry Goods Clothing and Groceries, Have the largest and best selected Stock of General Merchandise ever brought to the West . . . A complete stock of Provisions, Boots & Shoes, Hats & Caps, Dress Goods, Tobaccos and Cigars, Hardware, Queensware, Drugs & medicines, Toys, Notions, &c."

Persuasive advertisements for patent medicines appeared in most issues. Dr. Bull's Cough Syrup, Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound, Hostetter's Celebrated Stomach Bitters and Allen's Lung Balsam all offered comfort to the ailing. The most extravagant claim of all was that for St. Jacob's Oil, "the great remedy for rheumatism, neuralgia, sciatica, lumbago, backache, gout, soreness of the chest, sore throat, quinsy, swellings and sprains, frosted feet and ears, burns and scalds, general body pains, tooth, ear and headaches and all other pains and aches."

Outstanding people at the Fort and the Agency are frequently mentioned: Dr. Hodge, the Agency physician who sometimes was "kept busy day and night, owing to much sickness among the Indians"; Lieutenant Waters, that genial quartermaster who never allowed his work of putting up buildings, quartering and feeding officers and men, building and maintaining a military bridge between Fort and Agency, keep him from rigging up a sleigh for the ladies to ride in when snow fell, or building a rink for roller skating, or taking out a hunting party to bring in deer and wild turkey for Thanksgiving and Christmas feasts. George Bent, (one half Cheyenne), son of the builder of Bent's Fort in Colorado and Cheyenne interpreter for the Agency, appears often in the news: His horse, Barney, has the pinkeye; his pet buffalo is visited frequently by Indians who "show it to their children as a specimen of the animal which but a short time ago was their main dependence for subsistence"; he has bought a new team of blacks for $500.00; he has built a model home of five rooms, surrounded by a white picket fence, with a bath room with tub and the latest heating apparatus; he has gone to Kansas (September 15, 1884) "pur-

WM. FEASS.



St Ken.o, I. T.
Smooth crop off each ear.
Horse brand same.
on left jaw
Proprietor Fort Reno Dairy.

Milk delivered morning and evening.

John Poisal,
Also JP connected and T on left hip & side. Pony brand connected JP left shoulder. Darlington, I. T.

WILLIAN CATTLE CO.

Otoe Vesley [illegible] Cattle Com. Supt.
Range Black [illegible] Horse brand C Monogram on hip. Horse cattle with different [illegible]

[illegible] & HOSMER.

[illegible], Kans.
Ponca, Okla.
Reno, Cold Water and Salt Fork, I. T.
Same [illegible]
Horse brand [illegible] hip

JAS. S. MORRISON,

Darlington, Ind Ty
Range on North Fork.
Horse brand same.
Tip of horn sawed.

George Bent,

Darlington, I T

Also ADA.

Powder

Face,

Darlington,

Ind. Ter.

W. B. HELM.

Hennessy, Kans.
Range same as Hennessy. Some with —— on left shoulder.
Also some cattle Branded with drawing Knife on both shoulders. Horse brand like this on right thigh

W. C. NEWTON,

[illegible], Chickasaw Nation, Indian Terry.
Range on Bitter creek.

(Oklahoma Historical Society)

CATTLE BRAND ADVERTISEMENTS
Cheyenne Transporter

posing to attend the fair at Wellington and other points, and above all, the Spanish bull fight at Caldwell."

For Indians and white people alike there was no want of entertainment reported in the *Transporter*. Taffy pulls, straw rides, roller skating parties once a week which were much enjoyed "now that the orchestra furnishes the skaters with music," and Christmas parties at schools and in missions and in private homes, all came in for enthusiastic mention by Messers Maffet and Merritt. The issue of July 10, 1882, gives an account of the kind of Fourth of July celebration that took place year after year. Everybody, young and old, white people and Indians, took part in or watched foot races, wheel barrow race, running long jump, running high jump, sack race, potato race, greased pig race, barrel race and tug of war, or ran horses, Indian ponies or mules in scheduled events. The account continues:

> Returning home after the races, the citizens of Darlington gathered, after dark, on the river common fronting Agent Miles' residence, and were treated to a grand pyrotechnical display. Bouquets of rockets, showers of stars, colored lights, Roman candles, flying pigeons, wheels of fire, balloons and various other beautiful displays of fireworks were set off in rapid succession and occupied the attention of the audience [among which was a crowd of delighted Indians] until a late hour. After a treat of lemonade, at the Agent's residence, the crowd dispersed, acknowledging that this had been the finest display of fireworks in the history of the Agency.

When editor George W. Maffet left the ranks of Agency bachelors and married Miss Lizzie Kable, the *Transporter* for June 13, 1884, reported that many carriages from the Agency came to the Cheyenne school, three miles to the north, where the ceremony was performed by the Reverend S. S. Haury. An immense floral bell hung from the ceiling of the mission room, while the presents were displayed in an adjoining room. The refreshments served were "in piles mountains high."

On January 11, 1883, the *Transporter* reported the musical entertainment given at Fort Reno by Captain and Mrs. C. O. Bradley as "an elegant affair in every sense of the word, with all the officers of the Post and their ladies and many citizens at the Fort and the Agency in attendance." This was the program they heard:

1. *Mardi Gras Quadrille — Misses Neely and Taylor*
2. *Song — Iron Blacksmith — Lt. Stevens*
3. *Duet — A Place in My Memory — Lt. and Mrs. Tilton*
4. *Anvil Chorus — Verdi — Miss Neely*
5. *Duet — Beautiful Moonlight — Miss Houston and Miss Taylor*
6. *Song — Three Fishes — Miss Campbell*

7. *Romance Op. 40 — Beethoven — Miss Maffet*
8. *Song — When the Tide Comes in — Mrs. Huston*
9. *Song — The Midshipman — Lt. Stevens*
10. *Duet — In the Cauld Blast — Misses Neely and Campbell*
11. *Quintette — Tenting Tonight — Mrs. Huston, Misses Neely and Taylor and Lts. Rogers and Stevens.*

Another social event of that same Christmas period of 1882, a *bal masque* given by the officers of the Fort on December 28th, is reported in the same issue as that of Captain and Mrs. Bradley's musicale. The ladies, well disguised, appeared in charming costumes, from that of "Mrs. Captain C. O. Bradley" who appeared as a nun, through the range of Spanish Senora, Mrs. Gamp, dominoes, flower girls, to twin Columbias "Gems of the Ocean," while the men ranged through the roles of Scottish chief, Spanish matador, Louis XIV, clown and Indian chief. On January 12, 1886, the *Transporter* gave an account of a grand ball given at the Post, a hop and a German combined. Major W. B. Barker awarded the favors in the German, having brought them from New York for the occasion.

Once in a while some less conventional entertainment took place, such as the brick-molding contest reported on September 24, 1881. Two Cheyenne — Starr and Scabby — who had learned their trade under Mr. Tieman at the brickyard, contested for the record as molders. The Agent offered a three dollar hat as first prize, and Mr. Tieman put up a pocket knife as second prize. The contest started at three in the afternoon, with a large crowd of Indian and white spectators; when it ended at four, Starr had molded 826 brick and Scabby 702. While it lasted, with off-bearers hard pressed to keep ahead of the moulders, the contest was better than a ball game or a pony race.

The inside pages of the *Transporter,* during most of its history, consisted of ready-print, in type so fine that it must have been all but impossible to read by the lamp-light of that day, but it was rewarding to the reader who persisted. There were recipes — orange salad, white soup, veal and ham pie — for the housewife, stories with titles such as *Adopted* and *Not Wisely but too Well* for those inclined to romantic and moralistic fiction, and articles on a wide variety of subjects such as the Moravians of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; the vaccination question; and the life and work of Ralph Waldo Emerson, William Dean Howells, Mark Twain, Sarah Bernhardt, Adelina Patti and Oscar Wilde came in for mention. These pages were windows to the outside world, for readers in the Indian country.

But change was in the offing. David L. Payne had, until

his death in the fall of 1884, led companies of his Boomers into the Indian Territory repeatedly, demanding that the land be opened to white settlement. Groups of men from the north made frequent raids into the Reservation, stealing timber and livestock and cutting the barbed wire fences put up by cattlemen who had leased grazing land. Bleeding Kansas was bleeding again, this time not for the freedom of the slaves but for free land and the extermination of the Indian, and there was some bleeding in Texas as well. Everyone had a grievance. Agent Dyer, unfamiliar with the ways of Plains Indians and frightened, called for troops to be brought in by forced march, and the military took over. The new Agent, Captain Jesse E. Lee, took over his assignment with efficiency and understanding; and the Indians, recognizing what the *Transporter* termed his "strong medicine," settled into their peaceful operations once more. White people on the Reservation justified their presence there and secured passes or left. In the investigation of everything at the Agency, the editor of the *Transporter* was required to explain his purpose there and to give bond for $10,000.00 as security for his performance "in the interest of Indian civilization."

Reservation days were nearing an end. Plans leading toward the Indians' acceptance of lands in severalty, with the remaining land to be opened to white settlement, were being considered in Washington as early as 1884. The strong rapport between Captain Lee and his Cheyenne-Arapaho charges and their growing conformity to government regulations were of no avail. The Captain, his mission accomplished, was moved on to another assignment, and the editors of the *Transporter,* after operating for a few months under their new license, discontinued publication.

One reason for the discontinuance may be guessed from an item in the issue for October 25, 1885: "Garrison news is as scarce as hen's teeth this week. It seems that everyone buttons up their lips lest they give away something secret when the 'Transport man' is around." Probably the officials at the Agency had become equally cautious and news generally harder to get. The last issue in the file of the Oklahoma Historical Society is that of August 12, 1886. Perhaps, like the Indians, the editors missed the strong medicine of Captain Lee when he left.

It is fortunate that, when George Maffet returned to Kansas, he took with him an almost complete file of the *Transporter,* and that his generosity prompted him eventually to give this file to the Oklahoma Historical Society. Here it remains, a detailed and truthful picture of a complex and varied community where Army Post and Agency, Indians and white men, cattle men and traders, missionaries and warrior chiefs lived together for a few years in a unique frontier harmony.

THE PURSUIT OF DULL KNIFE FROM FORT RENO IN 1878-1879

*By Peter M. Wright**

After the 1874-75 outbreak, the Southern Plains Indians remained peacefully on their newly assigned reservations while the Sioux of the Northern Plains continued their depredations. The discovery of gold in the Black Hills in 1874 made that area a coveted prize for the white man, which the Sioux refused to yield. In June, 1876, General George Crook engaged the Sioux in the valley of the Rosebud in Southern Montana. The Indians forced him back to await reinforcements. Eight days later, Brevet Major General George Armstrong Custer attacked a large village of Sioux and Northern Cheyennes[1] on the Little Big Horn River, Montana. The elite Seventh Cavalry lost two hundred sixty men that day.[2]

The Custer defeat cost the Indians a great deal. They won the battle, but lost the war, and this was the last of the Plains Indian wars. The troops harried the Sioux and Cheyennes of the north until they separated into small bands and were hunted down or driven into Canada.[3] In the peace that followed, the government decided that the Northern Cheyennes would be removed to the Indian Territory to join their southern kinsmen with whom they had not resided since 1832.[4]

The removal of the northern Indians began on May 28, 1877[5] with an escort of troops under the command of First Lieutenant Henry W. Lawton, Fourth Cavalry, from Fort Robinson, Nebraska. After seventy days enroute, the Northern Cheyennes

---

* This paper on the "Pursuit of Dull Knife" was prepared by Mr. Peter M. Wright from materials used in completing his work for the M.A. degree in history at the University of Oklahoma, in 1965, under Doctors Donald J. Berthrong, W. Eugene Hollon and Arrell Gibson. Mr. Wright served as an instructor at Southeast Missouri State College, and is presently the Assistant Field Director, the American Red Cross, at Fort Bliss, Texas.—Ed.

1 Northern and Southern designate geographical locations of one tribe —the Cheyennes. They should not be regarded as separate tribes, but bands of the same tribe living in different parts of the country.

2 William Brandon, *The American Heritage Book of Indians*, ed. Alvin M. Josephy (New York: American Heritage Publishing Co., Inc., 1961), p. 347.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 348.

4 George B. Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), pp. 398-400; Donald J. Berthrong, "Federal Indian Policy and the Southern Cheyennes and Arapahoes, 1887-1907." *Ethnohistory*, Vol. III (Spring, 1956), p. 138.

5 *Senate Report*, No. 708, 46 Cong., 2 Sess. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880), Vol. v. Hereinafter cited as *Senate Report*, No. 708.

arrived at Fort Reno, Indian Territory, on August 5, 1877, where the Post Commander, Major John K. Mizner of the Fourth Cavalry, enrolled them, men by name, women and children by number. The enrollment totalled 937. Fourteen men enlisted for ninety days military service as scouts. The army turned the remainder of the Indians over to the Agent at Darlington on August 7, 1877.[6]

The military escort did not disarm the Northern Cheyennes on their entrance into the Indian Territory. An agreement made when they surrendered guaranteed them their arms and a violation of this agreement would have been a serious breach of faith.[7] The Agent placed them in camp with the Southern Cheyennes, and a period of feasting and rejoicing followed to celebrate the reuniting of the nation.[8]

Although the Northern Cheyennes accepted their situation on the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation in the Indian Territory, they found that the climate and the food were not like those in the north where buffalo and elk were plentiful. Dull Knife, the leading chief, had not approved of moving south but the apprehension of danger from the band of Sioux led by Spotted Tail, as well as the United States government and aversion to being removed to the Missouri River, led the Northern Cheyennes to accept residence in Indian Territory. Dull Knife insisted that his band had been promised that they might return to Dakota to reside with the band of Sioux led by Red Cloud, if the southern reservation under the Darlington agency were not satisfactory. The Northern Cheyennes found little here to their liking, John Miles, the government agent at Darlington, felt that force was necessary to bring the discontented Northern Cheyennes—about one-half of the band—under control. The Dull Knife faction camped nine miles from the Agency.[9]

Members of the band continually expressed dissatisfaction with their situation and refused to engage in farming. They expressed their desire to return north to their old homes to reside

---

[6] *Ibid.; Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year* 1877 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1877), 85; William B. Morrison, *Military Posts and Camps in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Corp., 1936), p. 149, U. S. War Department, Office of the Adjutant General, Returns of Military Posts, Fort Reno, Indian Territory, MSS, August, 1877. Hereinafter cited as Post Returns.

[7] *Annual Report of the Secretary of War for the Year* 1878 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1878) ,p. 40.

[8] *Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1877, p. 85.

[9] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1878* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1878), 56-57; *Senate Report*, No. 708, v; Charles A. Eastman, *Indian Heroes and Great Chiefs* (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1924), p. 186.

with the Red Cloud Sioux, and made known the fact that they intended to leave the Darlington agency in the near future.[10] After many of them had died by the summer of 1878 the remainder of the band believed further retention in Indian Territory constituted a real grievance. They complained of the methods of issuing rations on the Reservation, and that the rations were insufficient and of poor quality; that the medical care was unsatisfactory, and that coffee and sugar had been withheld from them.[11]

The Northern Cheyennes prepared for the flight. The young men reportedly said: " 'We are sickly and dying here and no one will speak our names when we are gone — We will go north at all hazards and if we die in battle, our names will be remembered and cherished by all our people.' "[12]

Agent Miles knew of their plan to leave but not when they would leave. The Southern Cheyennes confirmed that members of the northern band were leaving on September 5, 1878. The Agent asked the military commander at Fort Reno to dispatch troops to halt and return the people with Dull Knife, Little Wolf, and Wild Hog, the principal leaders of the Northern Cheyennes. That same day, Major Mizner dispatched a battalion of cavalry composed of Troops G and H, Fourth Cavalry, under Captain Joseph Rendlebrock to carry out the mission. Captain Rendlebrock found the Northern Cheyennes were not in flight. They had only shifted their tipi village to a location farther from the agency. Major Mizner ordered Rendlebrock to set up a camp adjacent to the Dull Knife village, and report any movement away from the Reservation.[13]

Agent Miles ordered the Northern Cheyennes to return to the Agency on September 6, 1878 for re-enrollment. Only two or three Northern Cheyenne men came in and made excuses for the others. They informed Agent Miles that there was sickness among their people, and a few young men were absent hunting

---

10 George W. Manypenny, *Our Indian Wards* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke and Co., 1880), 335-37; Dennis Collins, *The Indians Last Stand or the Dull Knife Raid* (Girard: Press of the Appeal to Reason, 1915), p. 239.

11 James W. Covington, "Causes of the Dull Knife Raid—1878," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXVI (Spring, 1948), pp. 16-19; *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1879* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1879), p. 58.

12 John Miles, September 20, 1878, to John Mizner. Typescript copy found in Walter S. Campbell (Stanley Vestal) Papers, Box 120. University of Oklahoma Library. Hereinafter this collection is cited as Walter S. Campbell Papers.

13 Post Returns, September, 1878; William C. McFarland, September 6, 1878, to Joseph Rendlebrock. Found in *Report, Secretary of War, 1878*, p. 46.

who had promised they would report to him as soon as their people were all together. These delays continued until Sunday, September 8, when Miles ordered the agency physician, Dr. Lawrence A. E. Hodge, and the agency farmer, John A. Covington, to go to the Northern Cheyenne village to ascertain if sickness actually delayed their coming in for enrollment.

On the afternoon of the same day, Wild Hog, Crow Indian, Little Bear, Major Mizner, Dr. Hodge, and the agency officials met at Darlington. Miles requested that the Northern Cheyennes move their village to the agency for re-enrollment. Until this recount was made, he refused to issue them rations or supplies. He asked for ten hostages to assure compliance, but the Indians refused. Denied hostages, Major Mizner and Miles left the meeting with the understanding that the Northern Cheyennes would return to the Agency. The doctor reported that the sickness in the camp would not impede their moving. Reports reached Major Mizner that the Indian women had dug rifle pits and fortified their camp. Apparently he considered this a normal action, since Captain Rendlebrock and his battalion were camped near them.[14]

Captain Rendlebrock encamped four to five miles from the Indians. He was ordered not to molest them and to avoid any collision of a hostile nature. Also, his orders were to allow no portion of Dull Knife's camp to move in any direction except toward the Agency. Major Mizner was to inform him of any additional action to be taken. The Captain posted pickets during the early evening and settled down to wait for morning when the Cheyennes were to move into the Agency.[15] In case of noncompliance, he requested that Major Mizner dispatch an artillery piece to him to use in shelling the Indians' position to force a surrender. Mizner did not send the cannon.[16]

During the evening of September 9, 1878, the Northern Cheyennes began their move for freedom. The women drove the pony herd into camp and stripped the hides from the supporting poles of the tipis after it was dark. The frames left standing and the camp fires which were kept burning misled the pickets who watched the village from a distance. The Indians abandoned every non-essential item so that they could move out unencumbered.[17] One of the leaders, American Horse, refused

---

14 *Ibid.*, p. 44.

15 John Mizner, September 8, 1878, to Joseph Rendlebrock. Found in *Report, Secretary of War, 1878*, p. 46.

16 U.S., War Department, Office of the Adjutant General. Medical History of Fort Reno, Indian Territory, MSS, September, 1878. Hereinafter cited as Medical History.

17 Mari Sandoz, *Cheyenne Autumn* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1953), pp. 13-15.

to join the flight but a total of 92 men, 120 women, 69 boys, and 72 girls left their encampment at 10:00 p.m. They headed in a direction northwest up the North Fork of the Canadian River. American Horse and an Indian policeman of the Agency carried the news of the flight to John Miles just before 3:00 a.m. on September 10, 1878.[18]

Pursuit of the Northern Cheyenne

Captains Joseph Rendlebrock and Sebastian Gunther set out in pursuit at 8:00 a.m. on September 10 with Troops G and H. Fourth Cavalry. The pursuing force consisted of four officers and eighty-one enlisted men with pack animals and ten days rations. Their orders were to overtake and return the fleeing Cheyennes to the Agency.[19] Rendlebrock's battalion struck the trail of the Cheyennes north of Raven Springs around noon that day and instituted a quick pursuit until dark when a halt was called for the evening meal.[19a] After eating, the march continued until 10:00 p.m. camp was made again. The battalion made sixty miles the first day. Rendlebrock dispatched couriers to Camp Supply for additional cavalry to join him. He expected to overtake the Indians before they reached the Arkansas River now in flood stage which would delay the Indians in crossing.[20]

Major Mizner at Fort Reno notified the Department Commander, General John Pope, at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, who telegraphed information of the Cheyenne outbreak to the Division Commander, General Philip H. Sheridan, at Chicago, Illinois.[21] General Pope ordered Colonel John W. Davidson at Fort Sill to send cavalry from his post to Fort Reno to re-enforce the garrison there to control the Southern Cheyennes. Troop C, Fourth Cavalry, arrived at Fort Reno on September 16, after

---

18 Covington, "Causes of the Dull Knife Raid—1878," 20; *Report, Secretary of War, 1878*, p. 44.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 45; Post Returns, September, 1878; *Army and Navy Journal*, XVI (12 October 1878), p. 150.

19a "Raven Springs" is now known as "Left Hand Springs" in Blaine County, Oklahoma, about four and a half miles east of Greenfield, in the SW¼ of Sec. 32, T 15 N, R 10 W. This location is about twenty miles northwest of the Darlington Agency (Cheyenne-Arapaho), and on the old military road to Camp Supply.—Ed.

20 *Ibid.; Report, Secretary of War, 1878*, p. 45.

21 John Pope, 12 September 1878, to the Assistant Adjutant General, Military Division of the Missouri, Chicago, Illinois. Photostatic copy found in Walter S. Campbell Papers, Box 120. This is Major Mizner's telegram to General Pope, dated September 11, 1878, and forwarded by Pope to Sheridan.

a three-day march of seventy-five miles.[22] The Departments of the Missouri, Platte, and Dakota received the alert that the Indians were out. Plans were quickly developed to intercept and stop the Northern Cheyennes in the event they crossed the Arkansas River without being engaged.

Two points of interception were selected along the Kansas Pacific and Union Pacific, for the railroads gave the troops added mobility, an advantage over the Indians.[23] A detachment of one hundred infantry left Fort Leavenworth on September 12, for Fort Wallace to head off the Indians if they crossed east or west of this fort. Two troops of cavalry left Fort Hayes to take position at two well known Indian crossings on the Kansas Pacific Railroad, between Forts Wallace and Hayes. The troops sealed off any crossing of the Smokey Hill River. One company of infantry from Fort Dodge took a position on the railroad west of this post. Scouts combed the area around Dodge to give the earliest information possible on the location of Cheyennes. As soon as Rendlebrock's battalion came up, Lieutenant Colonel William H. Lewis, Nineteenth Infantry, would take command of the pursuit.

Also the garrison at Fort Lyon, Colorado, threw out a net east and west of that post. Additional cavalry started for Fort Dodge from Fort Elliott, Texas, under the command of Captain Clarence Mauck, Fourth Cavalry, to bolster the military establishment in Kansas. The War Department turned its full might against the hostiles and ordered all troops to attack them unless they surrendered and agreed to be dismounted and disarmed.[24]

On September 11, Captain Rendlebrock followed the trail

---

22 John Pope, September 7, 1878, to Philip H. Sheridan. Photostatic copy found in Walter S. Campbell Papers, Box 120. This troop remained at Fort Reno until November 26, 1878. Davidson had objected to the weakening of his garrison by the removal of this troop on the grounds that he feared an outbreak among the Kiowas and Comanches, but was overruled by General Pope who felt the situation at Reno was critical, calling for the immediate re-enforcement of the depleted garrison with additional cavalry.

23 Philip H. Sheridan, September 19, 1878, to Edward D. Townsend. Found in *Army and Navy Journal*, XVI (28 September 1878), 118; Bernard A. Weisenburger, *The Age of Iron and Steel*, Vol. VII of *The Life History of the United States*, ed. Henry F. Graff (New York: Time, Inc., 1964), p. 52. (The Military Map of the Indian Territory 1875—Lieut. Ruffner, Engineers, Dept. of the Missouri—gives the location of Turkey Springs at the head of Turkey Creek in T 28 N, R 18 W. Turkey Creek is now called Houston Creek which heads some ten miles due north of Freedom in Woods County, General Highway Map of Woods County, 1950.—Ed.)

24 John Pope, September 11, 1878, to Philip H. Sheridan. Photostatic copy found in Walter S. Campbell Papers, Box 120.

for another fifty miles, resting and continuing on September 12. The following day, the troops made the initial contact with the hostiles who had now doubled back on their trail and were fortifying a position at Turkey Springs, Indian Territory, ten miles north of Dry Cimarron River and thirty-five miles east of the Camp Supply on the Fort Dodge road.[25] The Northern Cheyennes had already begun depredations. On September 12, two young men, believed to be the nephews of Charles Colcord, were killed, and two horses, a mule, and harness were stolen by the Indians. Also, that same day, the Cheyennes killed a herder, John Evans, on Cavalry Creek. On the day that the cavalry units intercepted them, the Cheyennes killed two other men and were waiting for the troops.[26] The soldiers halted and held a parley with the Northern Cheyennes. An Arapaho scout, Chalk, rode forward and delivered Mizner's order for the Northern Cheyennes to return to the reservation. Several times the request to return was made, but the Indians refused to turn back. Chalk rode back toward the troops, and, at the same time, the Indians attempted an encircling movement about the troopers. Men of Troop G opened fire at about 10:00 a.m. and fighting became general. The troopers dug rifle pits to hold their position against the warriors.[27]

Captain Rendelbrock held the center with Lieutenants Abram E. Wood and Wilber Wilder on the right and left respectively. Firing became sporadic in the afternoon, and, at dark, the Indians retired and broke off the action. At 8:00 p.m., seven men attempted to reach fresh water, but the Indians drove them back to their entrenched position. The Cheyennes fired the prairie, but the fire did not reach the position of the troops nor stampede their mounts held in a ravine. On the morning of September 14, Captain Rendlebrock sent out a reconnoitering

---

[25] Philip H. Sheridan, October 4, 1878, to Edward D. Townsend. Found in *Army and Navy Journal*, Vol. XVI (September 28, 1878), p. 118; E. A. Brininstool, *Dull Knife* (Hollywood: Privately Printed, 1935), pp. 11-13.

[26] James Van Voast, October 29, 1878, report of Captain William G. Wedemeyer on Cheyenne depredations, to the Assistant Adjutant General, Military Department of the Missouri, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Typescript copy found in Walter S. Campbell Papers, Box 120. This report is divided into two sections: depredations North and South of the Arkansas River. It was made to ascertain the government's responsibility for losses incurred by private citizens from the Dull Knife raid. Mari Sandoz and George B. Grinnell state that the Indians did not depredate until after being fired on at Turkey Springs. However, this report refutes their view based on the testimony of the Indians. Before contact with the troops on 13 September, depredations had begun, and the Cheyennes actually turned back on their trail to engage the troops.

[27] Sandoz, *Cheyenne Autumn*, pp. 38-39; George B. Grinnell, *Fighting Cheyennes*, pp. 404-05.

party which the Indians engaged and drove back. The troopers suffered from lack of water. A detachment made a sally forward against the Cheyennes while the rest of the command led the horses to the rear and mounted preparatory for a retreat toward Camp Supply. The officers then ordered a charge out of the position then held, which drove the hostiles back a mile. After regrouping, a second charge drove off the Northern Cheyennes. The battalion retreated and reached fresh water. The wounded men with an escort set out on September 15 for Camp Supply.[28] Losses were three dead and three wounded troopers.[29]

Captain Rendlebrock split his command and sent Lieutenant Wood and forty men in advance. Lieutenant Wood was ordered to join Captain William C. Hemphill, Fourth Cavalry, in the Sand Creek area in Southern Kansas. Captain William Hemphill left Camp Supply on September 12 after Captain Rendlebrock's distress dispatch arrived, and started east to find Captain Rendlebrock's command. Hemphill picked up the Indians' trail and followed it until September 18. He found the Indians in force in the breaks of Sand Creek and attempted to draw them out without success. He estimated that over one hundred Indians were there, and he had only thirty to thirty-two effectives.[30] A brief skirmish ensued which lasted one hour. No troopers were killed but Hemphill withdrew to Bluff Creek and then headed into Fort Dodge where he arrived at 3:00 a.m. on September 19. Colonel Lewis held Hemphill's command at Fort Dodge until further orders could be received from Fort Leavenworth.[31]

Captain Hemphill's troopers and a company under Captain Charles E. Morse, Sixteenth Infantry, left Fort Dodge on September 19 by rail. Their combined commands included Company A, Sixteenth Infantry, and Troop I, Fourth Cavalry, and a party of Dodge City cattlemen.[32] They traveled west on the line of the Atchinson, Topeka, and Santa Fe to Cimarron, and then, on to Pierceville, where another force under Colonel Charles E. Smith, Nineteenth Infantry, was located. Since Colonel Smith had no information on the position of the Indians, the troopers returned by rail toward Cimarron and disembarked

---

28 *Ibid.; Army and Navy Journal*, XVI (October 12, 1878), p. 150.

29 Medical History, September, 1878. The men killed were Chalk, the Arapaho scout, Corporal Patrick Lynch, and George Sand, rank and unit unknown. The number of Indian dead is not ascertainable.

30 His force apparently numbered about forty men. Every fourth man held his and three other men's mounts in battle, and only three-fourths of the command were able to give actual battle.

31 William H. Hemphill, November, 1878, to John P. Hatch. Typescript copy found in Walter S. Campbell Papers, Box 118.

32 The number of civilian cattlemen is estimated at between thirty-five and seventy-five.

seven miles west of that point at 3:00 a.m. on September 20. This force crossed the Arkansas that same day five miles from Cimarron, with the cavalry in advance and with guides and flankers out. The command marched southwest until noon, and then, changed the direction of march to southeast. They arrived at Crooked Creek at 6:15 p.m., and camped for the night.[33]

On September 21, 1878, Hemphill and Morse moved toward Sand Creek, after being informed that the Indians were still in that area. At 11:30 a.m., a guide came up and reported that Rendlebrock and his troops were coming up, and the two forces joined together an hour later. As senior captain, Rendlebrock took command. At 4:30 p.m., the command arrived at Sand Creek, made camp, and prepared dinner, while the cattlemen left camp to scout for the Indians. One-half hour after they left camp, the troopers heard rapid firing in the direction they had gone. Everyone saddled up, and Troop G under Lieutenant Wood moved out first, with Hemphill and Gunther close behind. Rendlebrock remained in camp and ordered Captain Morse to prepare the defense of the camp as Lieutenant Wood joined the cowmen and engaged the Cheyennes. Captain Hemphill moved his company up and formed a skirmish line behind Lieutenant Wood whose detachment, covered by rapid fire from Hemphill's men, pulled back. The engagement ended with the retirement of the troops to their camp. Captain Morse put out "sleeping parties"[34] about the camp at a distance of three to four hundred yards to prevent a surprise attack.

On September 22, the command left camp at 7:00 a.m., and moved west until 9:30 a.m., when Rendlebrock halted on a plateau and ordered the infantry to the front. Groups of ten infantry and ten cavalry men were sent to the right flank, left flank, and rear. Skirmishing began with the Northern Cheyennes and the soldiers concentrated their fire on a stone work occupied by the Indians from which they were driven. The line of infantry advanced, occupied the former position of the Indians, a regularly laid stone structure about forty feet long and four and one-half feet high and engaged the Indians from noon until 4:30 p.m. Rendlebrock then moved the entire command to a new location near wood and water with Captain Morse's company acting as flankers for the withdrawal. As soon as the cavalry and wagon train moved off, the troopers in the skirmish line marched to the rear and then the right flank into camp.

---

[33] William H. Hemphill, November, 1878, to John P. Hatch; Charles E. Morse, September 27, 1878, to the Post Adjutant, Fort Dodge, Kansas. Typescript copy found in the Walter S. Campbell Papers, Boxes 118 and 120.

[34] Pickets of eighteen men.

Pickets were placed for the night and the days engagement ended.

Rations and ammunition reached the troops in the field the next day and they continued to pursue the Indians. Marching northwest to the Arkansas River, the troops reached the river after the Indians made their unopposed crossing on September 23. At 4:00 p.m. the same day, Lieutenant Colonel William Lewis arrived and took immediate command of the troops in the field. Since several of the wagons were now unusable, Captain Morse and his company went back to Fort Dodge. Lewis' command consisted of two companies of cavalry from Fort Elliott, Texas, and Captain James H. Bradford's company of the Nineteenth Infantry. After joining Rendlebrock's two troops of cavalry, and Hemphill's Troop I, Fourth Cavalry, Lewis moved off in a rapid pursuit of the hostiles with the intention of overtaking them and ending their flight.[35]

Colonel Lewis, an efficient and capable officer,[36] continued the pursuit of the hostiles so rapidly that the Northern Cheyennes selected a defensive position to stand off his attack. The last good place for the Indians to turn and make a stand was on the Punished Woman's Fork of the Smoky Hill River in central Kansas. The Cheyennes left their trail well marked to draw the troopers into a narrow canyon, between almost perpendicular walls of seventy-five to one hundred feet in height. A few well hidden rifle pits were placed just inside the entrance to the canyon. The Cheyennes planned to allow Lewis' command to enter the canyon, where it would be met by a volley of rifle fire from the rear, and Lewis would be caught in a cross fire and defeated.[37]

On September 27, the troops advanced toward the canyon, cavalry units in the lead, followed by the infantry in wagons, and baggage and supply wagons in the rear. The scouts with the column were about three hundred yards in advance of Colonel Lewis and the main column. No flankers were out, and the troops moved rapidly up the west side of Punished Woman's Fork, between the water and a marshy area. Lewis halted the cavalry and dismounted short of the advanced rifle pits of the Indians. The scouts pushed ahead, and, in the excitement, an Indian in

---

35 Charles E. Morse, September 27, 1878, to Post Adjutant, Fort Dodge, Kansas; William H. Hemphill, November, 1878, to John P. Hatch. Typescript copies found in Walter S. Campbell Papers, Boxes 118 and 120; *Army and Navy Journal*, Vol. XVI (October 12, 1878), p. 150. The troops arrived at the crossing place of the Indians on the 25th; however, the Cheyennes had crossed two days before.

36 John Pope, October 10, 1878, to William D. Whipple. Typescript copy found in Walter S. Campbell Papers, Box 121.

37 Grinnell, *Fighting Cheyennes*, p. 408; Sandoz, *Cheyenne Autumn*, pp. 71-77.

the advanced rifle pits fired at the scouts before they were in range. The troops now warned of the trap immediately ahead, mounted and fell back, seeking places to climb out of the river bottom and onto the open plain.

The troopers returned the fire and forced the Cheyennes in the first pit to abandon their position. The Indians retreated into the canyon where the remainder of the warriors were entrenched in a horseshoe shape around its edges. The wagons carrying the infantry and baggage rolled out of the river bottom and circled into a corral on the open prairie to avoid the possibility of an attack. At 5:00 p.m., the cavalry was ordered to dismount and continue a general fire, while the infantry moved in a skirmish line out around and above the Indians to find their horse herd. The soldiers discovered and fired into the herd, scattering the horses. As the afternoon lengthened, Colonel Lewis maneuvered his troops around the canyon, almost surrounded the Indian men, women and children in the trap planned for him. Colonel Lewis personally joined his troops to direct their firing.[38]

The infantry was above the Cheyennes and able to fire directly down on them. The troopers drove the Northern Cheyennes back to their last position, deep within the canyon. At one hundred fifty yards from the hostiles, Colonel Lewis' mount was shot in the flank, and his men urged him not to expose himself, but he continued to direct the firing from the midst of the hottest battle. He urged his men to the front until an Indian's bullet hit him about six inches below the groin on the left hand side of the leg, and came out the large muscle behind, nearly severing the general (femoral) artery. He bled profusely, and a strap was taken from his saddle, tied above the wound, and tightened with a pistol. A doctor and ambulance came up and carried him to the rear. After losing their commanding officer, the troopers ceased their offensive and pulled back. Colonel Lewis and his adjutant, Second Lieutenant Cornelius Gardener, Nineteenth Infantry, set out in an ambulance for Fort Wallace the next day. At 8:30 p.m., September 28, 1878, Colonel Lewis, already weak from a two week's siege of dysentery, died of excessive bleeding. Captain Clarence Mauck succeeded Lewis in command as the senior officer present.[39] This

---

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 77-80; *Army and Navy Journal*, Vol. XVI (October 19, 1878), p. 166.

[39] *Ibid.*, 160; Cornelius [Gardener] 10 October 1878, to the Assistant Adjutant General, Department of the Missouri, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Typescript copy found in Walter S. Campbell Papers, Box 120; *Harper's Weekly Magazine*, Vol. XXII (October 19, 1878), p. 827. See also death notice in the New York *Tribune*, September 30, 1878, p. 1.

was the last engagement between Northern Cheyennes and units from Fort Reno.

Captain Mauck continued to trail the Indians. He and his command, on September 28, moved north across the Smoky Hill River at Russel Springs, then turned east and crossed the Kansas Pacific railroad the next day. At this place, Mauck received forage, rations, and telegrams. Dull Knife's band was able to slip the net laid for them in the Department of the Missouri by traveling without rest for three days. They were sighted but not engaged on the North Fork of the Republican River in southern Nebraska.[40]

Meanwhile, General George Crook ordered Major Thomas T. Thornburgh, Fourth Infantry, to send out scouts toward the South Platte from Fort Sidney, Nebraska. Ranchmen were notified that the hostiles were in the area and that, ". . . liberal compensation would be paid for reliable information concerning the Cheyennes."[41] As the Northern Cheyennes moved through northern Kansas they depredated the entire country side. All whites encountered along the Sappa and Beaver creeks were killed, a repetition of the Henely massacre of 1875, but with different victims. Estimates of the number killed ran as high as forty people, and all property and livestock in the area was either taken, destroyed or run off. Many women were reported ravished though young children were spared. The people of Kansas had this raid burned into their minds and it engendered a fear of the Cheyennes that lasted for years.[42]

Conflicting reports locating the Northern Cheyennes reached Fort Sidney. They were placed somewhere between Julesburg, Colorado, and Ogallala, Nebraska, in the first days of October. At 10:30 a.m., on October 4, 1878, the Northern Cheyennes crossed the Union Pacific railroad five miles west of Ogallala. One hundred fifty troops moved east from Sidney, Nebraska, by train, and arrived at 4:00 p.m., at the Indians' crossing place and set out in pursuit at once, followed two hours later by Cap-

---

40 Grinnell, *Fighting Cheyennes*, p. 409; William H. Hemphill, November, 1878, to John P. Hatch. Typescript copy found in Walter S. Campbell Papers, Box 120.

41 John J. Bourke, October 15, 1878, to the Assistant Adjutant General, Department of the Platte, Omaha Barracks, Nebraska. Typescript copy found in Walter S. Campbell Papers, Box 120.

42 U.S., Army, Military Division of the Missouri. *Record of Engagements with Hostile Indians within the Department of the Missouri, 1868-1882* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1882), 79; W. C. Simmons, "An Address Made Before the Old Settlers' Association of Lawrence, Kansas, September 15, 1924," *Kansas Historical Collections*, Vol. XVI (1923-25), p. 521; George W. Martin, "Early Days in Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, Vol. IX (1905-06), p. 129n.

tain Mauck and his command. Mauck had sighted the Indians on October 3, when, on the Frenchmen's Creek, Mauck and his officers saw them through their field glasses at a distance of ten miles. Mauck followed Thornburgh for two days to a point on the South Platte where he received a dispatch from Lieutenant General Sheridan. The dispatch diverted him to Fort Sidney since Thornburgh's fresh troops were already in close pursuit. Captain Mauck and his command arrived at Fort Sidney on October 10, 1878, ending the pursuit of the Northern Cheyennes for Fort Reno troopers.[43]

Captain Rendlebrock returned south to Fort Reno by train via Omaha, Nebraska, Council Bluffs, and Kansas City,[44] reaching Fort Reno on October 20.[45] After resting at Fort Sidney, the detachment of Troops G and H of the Fourth Cavalry returned to Fort Reno as the escort to another band of Northern Cheyennes being held at that point and arrived on December 9, 1878.[46]

Captains Joseph Rendlebrock and Sebastian Gunther from Fort Reno were questioned about their conduct while at Turkey Springs. Major Mizner placed Captain Rendlebrock in arrest on February 1, 1879, and the arrest of Captain Gunther followed on February 23.[47] Troopers conveyed both officers to Camp Supply, where General Courts Martial convened to hear their cases the following month.[48]

Captain Gunther's trial began March 14, 1879, with Colonel Jefferson C. Davis of the Twenty-Third United States Infantry acting as presiding officer. The first accusation made against Gunther was that when his command charged and fought the hostiles on his direct orders, he fell back, abandoning his troops, and took refuge in the rear. The second charge specified that on the night of September 14, 1878, when the Indians fired a shot into camp and alarm given, he behaved in a cowardly manner and hid in the grass and bushes until the cause of the commotion was ascertained by his junior officers. The court martial found that he ordered the charge, but due to poor physical condition, turned the command over to a junior and retired to the rear, leaving the command, ". . . did not show any zeal that day."[49]

---

[43] (New York) *Tribune*, October 5, 1878, p. 1; William H. Hemphill, November, 1878, to John P. Hatch. Typescript copy found in Walter S. Campbell Papers, Box 121; *Army and Navy Journal*, XVI (October 26, 1878), p. 185.

[44] *Ibid.*

[45] Medical History, October, 1878.

[46] *Senate Report*, No. 708, 130; Post Returns, December, 1878.

[47] *Ibid.*, February, 1879.

[48] *Ibid.*, March, 1879.

[49] *Army and Navy Journal*, XVII (April 19, 1879), p. 652.

The court acquitted him of the second charge, and he resumed command of his troop at Fort Reno on April 11, 1879.[50]

Captain Rendlebrock's trial followed that of Gunther. The army charged him with misbehavior before the enemy, disobedience to the lawful orders of his commanding officer, neglect of duty, and drunkenness on duty. The court found him guilty and sentenced him to be dismissed from the service of the United States. President Rutherford B. Hayes remitted the sentence on the recommendation of the members of the court, the General of the Army, and the Judge Advocate General. The reason was Rendlebrock's age, his long and creditable service, and the fact that the defense showed in evidence that his physical condition made him unfit for the duties of an active campaign.[51] A retiring board summoned him to Fort Leavenworth and placed him on the retired list as of July 29, 1879. He left Fort Reno for the last time on August 2, 1879 for the Bush Hotel in Hoboken, New Jersey.[52]

The Dull Knife raid alarmed Kansas settlers. They insisted on the establishment of an additional military post in the Cheyenne and Arapaho country, and that larger military forces be maintained in the Indian Territory to restrain these Indians in the future. Governor George T. Anthony of Kansas, backed by the citizens of his state, pressed the military to act. On March 6, 1879, Colonel Richard I. Dodge and a detachment of the Twenty-Third Infantry arrived at Sheridan's roost from Camp Supply and, after crossing the river, established the desired encampment. The site became known as "Cantonment on the Canadian." Its geographical location was sixty miles up the North Fork of the Canadian River from Fort Reno on the south side of the river, and midway between Fort Reno and Camp Supply. The garrisoning of this site by six companies gave the Indian Territory an additional military post. The Cheyenne and Arapaho country now had a trichotomy of military establishments to contain the hostiles: Fort Reno, Cantonment, and Camp Supply.[53]

---

50 Post Returns, April, 1879.

51 *Army and Navy Journal*, XVII (July 12, 1879), p. 884.

52 Post Returns, August, 1879.

53 *Annual Report of the Secretary of War for the Year 1879* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1879), 84; (Dodge City) *Times*, January 4, 1879. Typescript copy found in Walter S. Campbell Papers, Box 120.

QUANTRILL'S CIVIL WAR OPERATIONS IN INDIAN TERRITORY

*By LeRoy H. Fischer and Lary C. Rampp**

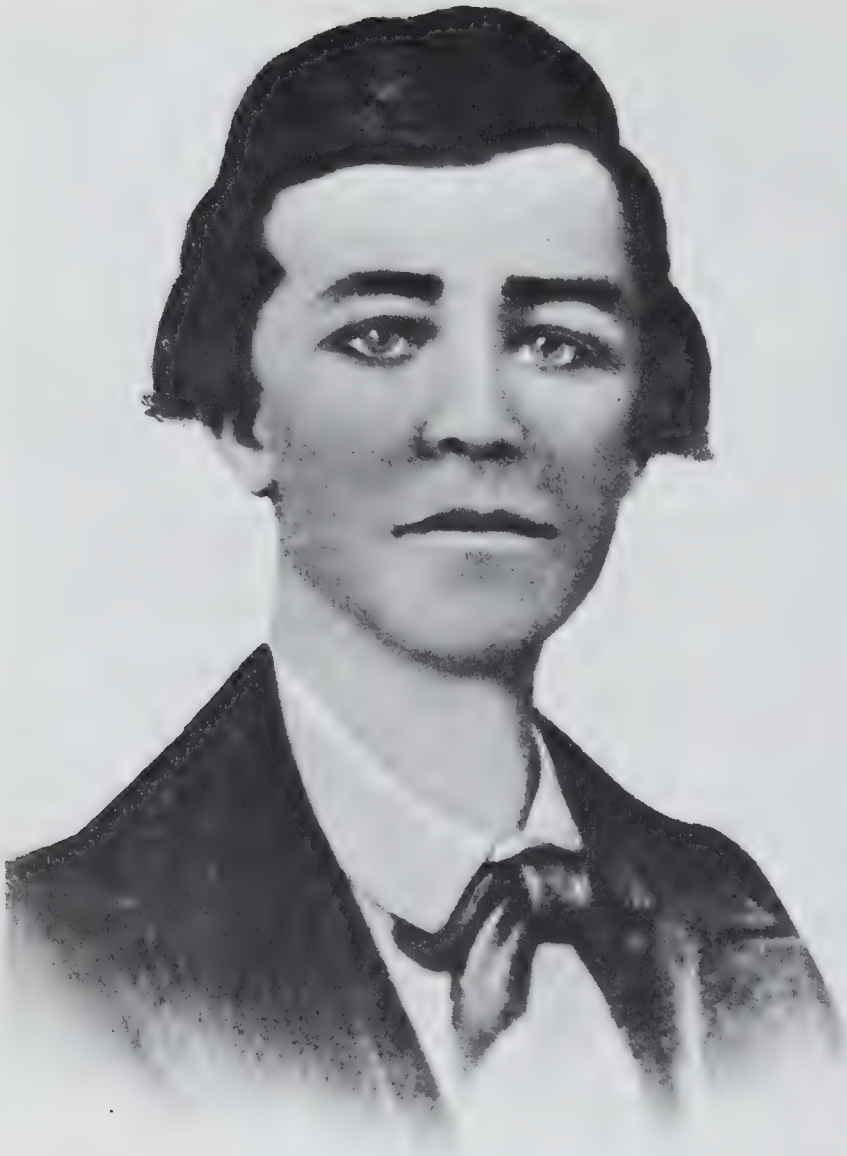
Federal Indian sentries from Fort Gibson standing guard at one of the fords on the Arkansas River immediately south of the fort were unusually alert during the daylight hours of April 22, 1864. Reports had come in that Confederate guerrilla forces numbering about eighty men would probably attempt to cross the river at that point during the day to ravage the countryside near the fort. The sentries had but few hours to wait, for the silence of the afternoon was shattered by rifle shots from across the river. The Confederate riders charged down the opposite bank and hurtled toward the small Indian patrol, firing their horse pistols and shouting at the top of their voices. Panic set in among the Federal sentries, and they mounted their horses and fired a few ineffective shots over their shoulders as they rode for Fort Gibson and safety. The guerrilla leader was William Clarke Quantrill, and once again he was pushing his way through the Confederate and Union controlled areas of Indian Territory. A number of bloody forays were made by this irregular Confederate guerrilla commander through Indian Territory during the Civil War.[1]

Quantrill was born on July 31, 1837, at Canal Dover, Ohio, one of eight children. He was the eldest child of Thomas Harry Quantrill, a school teacher and principal, and Caroline Clarke Quantrill. Young Quantrill was a bright pupil, but he caused much trouble and had to be punished often. One day his father, the principal of the Union School at Canal Dover, took him out and severely whipped him. Upon his return to the classroom, he was overcome with anger, his eyes glittering and tearless, his face pale. At the age of sixteen he was employed as a teacher in the Union School, but after a year, at about the time of his father's

---

* LeRoy H. Fischer is a Professor of History and Lary C. Rampp is a Graduate Teaching Assistant in History at Oklahoma State University. The preparation of this article was aided by a grant from the Research Foundation of Oklahoma State University, and this assistance is deeply appreciated and gratefully acknowledged by the authors.

[1] Curtis to Rosecrans, April 26, 1864, Curtis to Fisk, May 3, 1864, Blunt to Curtis, May 4, 1864, United States War Department, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (four series, 128 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Ser. i, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 3, pp. 301, 421, 447; Lary C. Rampp, "The Twilight of the Confederacy in Indian Territory, 1863-1865" (Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, 1968), pp. 72-73. Fort Gibson was renamed Fort Blunt in July, 1863, by the post commander, Colonel William A. Phillips, in honor of his district commanding officer, Major General James G. Blunt. The name Fort Blunt was discontinued soon after the close of the Civil War in 1865.



CAPTAIN WILLIAM CLARKE QUANTRILL
This Confederate guerrilla fighter frequently crossed Indian Territory enroute between Missouri and Texas.

death, he began teaching in a country school in Tuscarawas County, nor far from Canal Dover.[2]

While eighteen, young Quantrill left Canal Dover. He traveled to Mendota, Illinois, to accept a teaching position, but soon was employed by a local lumber yard as a laborer and a bookkeeper. It was in this position that Quantrill killed a man in the lumber yard office who he claimed was trying to rob him. Since there were no witnesses to the incident, Quantrill was released from custody. But public pressure forced him to move from Mendota. He settled briefly in Fort Wayne, Indiana, where he evidently did not work, failing to pay his room and board bill on the way out of town. Meanwhile, Quantrill had formed a partnership with Harmon V. Beeson and Colonel Henry Torrey. Both men were heavily indebted and were moving to Kansas Territory in an effort to get a new start by staking out large claims of rich farmland. Quantrill, on the other hand, was an ambitious person anxious to acquire wealth and property.[3]

Reaching Kansas Territory in March, 1857, Quantrill lacked only several months of being twenty years old. He was boyish in appearance, of light complexion, and seemed only sixteen. His hair was still very light, almost white, and had not yet taken on the reddish hue that later distingushed it. He was slender, somewhat feminine in appearance, and was handsome. His eyes and the way he sometimes formed his lips gave him a sinister look, which caused some men to dislike him. He was steadfast in method, had patience, and did not neglect details. He was affected by an inferiority complex that made him suspect people, even those who attempted to befriend him. He was described as being strange because of sadistic comments and attitudes. While walking along a river bank at Canal Dover accompanied by a young lady, he remarked as they strolled under an overhanging tree branch, "I could hang six men on that limb." His paranoic condition evidently gave him the desire to watch people or animals in great pain.[4]

During the cold Kansas Territory winter of 1857-1858, Quan-

---

[2] William Elsey Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars* (Cedar Rapids: The Torch Press, 1910), pp. 28-29,44; Carl W. Breihan, *Quantrill and his Civil War Guerrillas* (Denver: Sage Books, 1959), pp. 22-23; Albert Castel, "The Bloodiest Man in American History," *American Heritage*, Vol. XI, No. 6 (October, 1960), pp. 22-23; Quantrill's Confederate Service Record, The National Archives, Washington, D. C.

[3] Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, pp. 51-53, 54-55; Quantrill's Confederate Service Record, The National Archives, Washington, D. C.

[4] Breihan, *Quantrill and his Civil War Guerrillas*, pp. 25-26; Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, pp. 58-59, 62-63; Castel, "The Bloodiest Man in American History," *American Heritage*, Vol. XI, p. 23; Quantrill's Confederate Service Record, The National Archives, Washington, D. C.

trill began to steal blankets and provisions from Beeson and Torrey, his business associates. In an effort to hide his guilt, Quantrill complained the loudest against the unknown thieves and even played detective in order to catch the culprits. Being suspicious of his noisy talk, Beeson and Torrey checked around at the camps of settlers and found that he had been selling their blankets and provisions. But respect for the mother of Quantrill caused Beeson and Torrey not to bring criminal charges, and he was simply banished from camp and warned not to return.

Quantrill drifted nearby to Fort Leavenworth in Kansas Territory in the spring of 1858 and attached himself to an army supply train bound for Utah Territory. He spent a year in Utah and earned a reputation as a gambler before returning to Kansas Territory in July, 1859. Rumors of murders followed Quantrill and, meanwhile, he joined with a group of radical anti-slavery men in their activities on the Kansas-Missouri border. After more than two years in Kansas, Quantrill had accomplished nothing in the way of establishing a home or a decent reputation. He was, in fact, a vagrant and a criminal.[5]

When Quantrill returned to Missouri for a brief period early in 1861, Marcus Gill befriended him. Gill was moving to Texas and invited Quantrill to join him. Quantrill accompanied him, and on the way southwest they passed through the Cherokee Nation, located in the northeastern section of Indian Territory. Quantrill was not pleased with what he observed in Texas, and returned to the Cherokee Nation. Life among the Cherokees suited him, for law enforcement was more lax than in Kansas and Missouri. He was also pleased with the guerrilla combat techniques used by the Cherokees in controlling raids on their settlements by the Plains tribes. Quantrill lived in the home of Joel B. Mayes, a graduate of the Cherokee Male Seminary and a prosperous cattle producer who was elected Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation after the Civil War.[6]

With the outbreak of the Civil War, Mayes joined the Confederate army as a private in Company A of the First Cherokee Regiment. Quantrill accompanied Mayes to the Arkansas-Indian Territory border, where they took up with the force of Confederate Brigadier General Ben McCulloch en route to western Missouri. Circumstantial evidence suggests that Quantrill had not enlisted. He was present with Mayes's unit at the Battle of Wilson's

---

[5] Breihan, *Quantrill and his Civil War Guerrillas*, pp. 30-32; Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, pp. 72-195.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 198

JOEL B. MAYES

Quantrill lived in the home of Mayes at the opening of the Civil War and accompanied him to the Battle of Wilson's Creek in southwest Missouri.

Creek in southwest Missouri on August 10, 1861, but like most of the Indians, hung on the fringes of the fighting.[7]

Moving from Wilson's Creek, Quantrill followed Confederate Brigadier General Sterling Price and his three divisions of the Missouri State Guard north to the Missouri River. On September 2, 1861, near Fort Scott, Kansas, Quantrill was with Price when engaged at a location called Dry Wood Creek, Missouri. A Federal force under Colonel Thomas Moonlight brushed with the larger Confederate army under Price. Price hesitated to open a full scale attack because of the lack of adequate reconnaissance information concerning the size and intentions of the Union force. Until this information could be obtained, he assumed that the Union column was heavily supported. In this action Quantrill narrowly escaped injury when a nearby artillery piece was smashed by a direct hit and upended into the troops stationed as an infantry screen a little to the rear of the artillery piece. Quantrill later learned from a Federal prisoner that Colonel Moonlight had personally fired the salvo that had almost brought his life to an end. The audacity of the numerically inferior Union force made Price very cautious. He waited for his patrols to return with intelligence information, and when they did not, he ordered his columns into line to begin a careful retreat to the west. Quantrill accompanied the Confederate force as far as the Osage River in Missouri. His taste for regular soldiering had vanished, and he went to Jackson County in western Missouri.[8]

From the time Quantrill left Price's retreating Confederate force in September, 1861, until he returned to Indian Territory in the winter of 1862-1863, he left a trail of blood and plunder throughout western Missouri. Applying the skill he had learned from the Indians in guerrilla fighting, Quantrill soon gathered a band of army deserters, killers, and robbers ready to follow his orders. Quantrill had found his place in the border war, and while in Missouri developed further his techniques as an irregular Confederate guerrilla fighter. For months Quantrill ravaged the counties of Jackson, Lafayette, Johnson, and Cass. He termed himself a captain of Confederate Cavalry Scouts and

---

[7] John Bartlett Meserve, "The Mayes," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XV, No. 1 (March, 1937), p. 58; Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, p. 198; Albert Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill: His Life and Times* (New York: Frederick Fell, 1962), p. 64.

[8] For the Dry Wood Creek, Missouri, action, see *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. III, pp. 162-165, Vol. LIII, pp. 435-436; Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, pp. 198-200.

received at least $952.00 in salary from his government for his services. He even managed to draw some of his salary twice.[9]

With a band of about two hundred men, Quantrill traversed Indian Territory during the winter of 1862-1863 to quarter in northern Texas, where the grazing was adequate for his remuda of horses and the Confederate populaton was friendly. Returning to western Missouri in the spring or early summer of 1863, Quantrill continued his guerrilla attacks on the Federal minded settlers of the western section of the state. There is no evidence that he carried out guerrilla raids while passing through Indian Territory at this time or while spending the winter in Texas.[10]

On August 21, 1863, the Trans-Mississippi West was shocked by reports of the burning and sacking of Lawrence, Kansas, a strongly pro-Union settlement. Quantrill and his band had crossed from Missouri into Kansas and traveled forty miles through hostile territory without detection. Taking Lawrence by surprise, Quantrill was able to burn most of the town, kill 150 of her citizens, and wound thirty others, and make good his escape. Being hotly pursued by Kansas and Missouri militia, Quantrill dispersed his band and hid for several weeks in his old haunts in the dense forests of Jackson County, Missouri.[11]

The sacking of Lawrence and the murder of many of her citizens put Indian Territory on the alert. With nerves on edge, reports of the location of Quantrill and his band flooded the Union army posts of Fort Gibson, the stockade at Cabin Creek located near present day Spavinaw in Mayes County, Oklahoma, and all outposts on the Texas Road in Indian Territory. Particular warning was wired to all Union military posts along Quantrill's probable route of march, saying that his band intended to "kill, burn, and plunder everything on their way south." Fort Scott, Baxter Springs, and Fort Gibson were sent

---

9 *Ibid.*, pp. 200-205; Quantrill's Confederate Service Record, The National Archives, Washington, D. C.; Quantrill's leadership ability is evaluated in Albert Castel, "Quantrill's Bushwhackers: A Case Study in Partisan Warfare," *Civil War History*, Vol. XIII, No. 1 (March, 1967), pp. 45-46.

10 Wiley Britton, *The Union Indian Brigade in the Civil War* (Kansas City: Franklin Hudson Publishing Company, 1922), pp. 301.

11 Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, pp. 308-395; Britton, *The Union Indian Brigade in the Civil War*, pp. 301-302; Breihan, *Quantrill and his Civil War Guerrillas*, pp. 116-134; Schofield to Townsend, September 14, 1863, Ewing to Marsh, August 31, 1863, Clark to Ewing, August 30, 1863, Lazear to Ewing, August 27, 1863, Coleman to Ewing, August 30, 1863, Leland to Ewing, August 31, 1863, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. XXII, Pt. 1, pp. 572-575, 579-585, 585-587, 587-588, 589-590, 591-593.

QUANTRILL'S CIVIL WAR OPERATIONS IN INDIAN TERRITORY AND VICINITY

special messages of the impending danger, but they failed to reach the latter two posts.[12]

Traveling south along the Texas Road toward Indian Territory, Quantrill and his guerrilla raiders had a brush with the Federal commander of the Indian Territory military district, Major General James G. Blunt. On October 4, 1863, Blunt received dispatches stating that the Federal post at Fort Smith was being threatened by a superior Confederate force. Gathering his staff, he prepared to move his headquarters from Fort Scott to Fort Smith. His escort was taken from the Third Wisconsin Cavalry Regiment and the Fourteenth Kansas Cavalry Regiment and totaled slightly more than one hundred fighting men. Traveling forty miles in two days, Blunt arrived in the vicinity of Baxter Springs by noon of October 6.

Stopping at a point 400 yards from the Baxter Springs fortification, Blunt allowed his column to rest and gave time for his wagon train to realign and regain their interval. At this moment the attention of Blunt was called to a large body of men approaching from his immediate left front. This unidentified force was Quantrill's guerrilla command, which had just completed its first assault on the Baxter Springs fortification and was reorganizing for another attack. With this new threat, Baxter Springs was temporarily forgotten by Quantrill and his guerrillas as they prepared to repel an assault from Blunt. Quantrill ordered his command to advance and the entire line moved forward at a walk, keeping perfect alignment. Closing the distance to 300 yards, Quantrill estimated the approaching force at not more than 150 men. Soon Federal scouts from the Blunt column caused several of Quantrill's men to fire without orders. This sporadic fire had no effect except to drive the Federal scouts back to the safety of their own lines.

Blunt moved forward to survey the situation himself when the scouts reported that the enemy force was that of Quantrill and a firefight was going on at the Baxter Springs fortification. After advancing seventy-five yards, Blunt was halted by irregular pistol fire coming from the Confederate guerrillas. Returning to his escort, he was chagrined to see his entire force scattering in all directions across the plains to the east. leaving the wagon train and noncombatants to fend for themselves.

The guerrillas, seeing this rout, moved with a yell from a

---

12 Ewing to Weer, September 11, 1863, Brown to Ewing, September 11, 1863, Clark to Searl, September 14, 1863, McNeil to Schofield, September 15, 1863, Ewing to Marsh, September 16, 1863, Clark to Commanding Officer, Pleasant Hill, October 3, 1863, Schofield to Ewing, October 4, 1863, Clark to Ewing, October 4, 1863, *ibid.*, Pt. 2, pp. 524, 532, 534-535, 537, 598-599, 603-604.

walk to full gallop and proceeded to overtake and wipe out the military escort and civilians. Blunt himself barely escaped. The Federal loss was appalling, with over eighty killed and eighteen wounded. Quantrill lost only eleven men and just two were wounded.

This engagement at Baxter Springs—the first defeat Major General Blunt had suffered at the hands of the Confederates—sparked the only surviving piece of official correspondence submitted by Quantrill to Confederate headquarters. He signed the lengthy report as a self-styled "Colonel Commanding" and promised to follow up with a more detailed account of his summer activities. The fight at Baxter Springs had lasted from noon until dusk.[13]

Quantrill began to grow cautious as the Baxter Springs engagement came to a close. He called a conference with his officers to discuss the feasibility of another attack on the fort, but the fear of Federal reinforcements striking from the rear caused him to call off any further attempt to overrun Baxter Springs. Forming his men into column, Quantrill took up a line of march due south on the Texas Road.[14]

The guerrilla column penetrated the border of Indian Territory that same evening. The band continued south until they had crossed Cabin Creek, and from there they headed west and forded the Verdigris River. Maintaining this southwesterly direction, Quantrill crossed the Arkansas River eighteen miles west of Fort Gibson on October 10. It was here that they captured a small Federal patrol of twelve men stationed at the fort. The scout was on routine duty and had no idea that Quantrill and his guerrillas were in the area. All patrol members were Creeks assigned to the First Indian Home Guard Regiment stationed at Fort Gibson. To keep his presence in the Union-held areas of Indian Territory a secret, Quantrill ordered that the twelve mem-

---

13 Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, pp. 421-434; Britton, *The Union Indian Brigade in the Civil War*, pp. 308-310, 313-317, 320-321; Clark to Ewing, October 4, 1863, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. XXII, Pt. 2, pp. 603-604; Blunt to Marsh, October 19, 1863, Blair to Greene, October 15, 1863, Henning to Greene, October 7, 1863, Pond to Blair, October 7, 1863, Quantrill to Price, October 13, 1863, *ibid.*, Pt. 1, pp. 688-690, 690-693, 693-698, 698-700, 700-701; Rampp, "The Twilight of the Confederacy in Indian Territory, 1863-1865," pp. 46-51; William A. Settle, Jr., *Jesse James was his Name* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1966), pp. 25-26.

14 Blunt to Marsh, October 19, 1863, Blair to Greene, October 15, 1863, Henning to Greene, October 7, 1863, Pond to Blair, October 7, 1863, Quantrill to Price, October 13, 1863, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. XXII, Pt. 1, pp. 688-690, 690-693, 693-698, 698-700, 700-701; Schofield to Halleck, October 9, 1863, *ibid.*, Pt. 2, p. 622.

bers of the captured Federal patrol be led to a secluded spot and shot to death.[15]

Continuing in a southwesterly direction, the guerrilla column encamped for the night of October 11 on the North Fork of the Canadian River. It was at this location that Blunt's scouts, quietly trailing Quantrill at a distance since the Federal rout at Baxter Springs, returned to Baxter Springs.[16] Also near this campsite two Confederate scouts were captured. One managed to escape and was not retaken. The remaining scout was returned to the guerrilla camp for questioning by Quantrill. He learned from the captive that a large Confederate force, about battalion size, under the command of Brigadier General Douglas H. Cooper was encamped six miles distant at Camp Magruder near Perryville. This information came as a surprise to Quantrill, who did not believe that any Confederate troops would be that close. He called a conference of his subordinate officers, and it was decided that the captured Confederate scout would be returned to his command bearing a message telling the Confederate general of Quantrill's presence. One of Quantrill's officers, Captain William H. Gregg, was suspicious of the plan of sending the captured Confederate scout back to his command alone. He urged that a guard be sent to ensure the Confederate scout's good faith. The other company commanders said a guard would not be necessary and so none was sent. When the scout was told he was free to return to his command, he refused to leave, fearing the guerrillas would follow and kill him, but he was finally persuaded to return alone.[17]

To prevent a surprise attack from friendly or enemy troops that might be on patrol in the vicinity, Captain Gregg had his command sleep in line, keeping their horses tied close by. Quantrill's camp slept that night with each unit keeping its own organizational integrity. At dawn the alarm was sounded, warning of the approach of an unidentified force of cavalry. Within two minutes Gregg had his horses saddled and his men in column, rushing forward to offer battle.[18]

Colonel Daniel N. McIntosh, the commander of the approaching Confederate force, was simultaneously aware of Quan-

---

15 Blunt to Marsh, October 19, 1863, Quantrill to Price, October 13, 1863, *ibid.*, Pt. 1, pp. 688-690, 700-701.

16 Blunt to Marsh, October 19, 1863, *ibid.*, pp. 688-690; J. C. Hopkins, "James G. Blunt and the Civil War," (Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1952), pp. 110-114.

17 Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, p. 435. The location of Cooper's camp can be identified in Cooper to Kirby-Smith, October 9, 1863, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. XXII, Pt. 2, pp. 1037-1038.

18 Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, p. 435.

COLONEL DANIEL N. McINTOSH

This Creek leader of Confederate forces in Indian Territory guided Quantrill and his guerrilla unit to Brigadier General Douglas H. Cooper's camp.

trill's approach, and halted to move his men into combat formation. While aligning his troops, McIntosh heard one of the guerrillas to his front yelling "be d[amne]d if you hadn't better stop. This is Quantrill." McIntosh took an aide and moved forward with a white handkerchief as a flag of truce tied atop a weed stalk. After obtaining adequate identification from Quantrill, Colonel McIntosh explained to him that the scout Quantrill had captured and subsequently released had reported to camp but was so scared he had garbled the information. McIntosh explained that he thought Quantrill and his men were Federal partisans and was preparing to ride them down.[19]

From his position on the North Fork of the Canadian River, Quantrill broke camp and followed Colonel McIntosh to the nearby campsite of Brigadier General Cooper. While encamped with Cooper, Quantrill probably did not mention his recent raid on Lawrence, and if Cooper knew of it, he likely ignored the subject. Quantrill made no secret, however, of having killed 150 Federal Indians and Negroes to this point in Indian Territory since leaving Baxter Springs. He was careful, however, not to reveal the details of his bloody path.[20] After staying with Cooper for only a brief period, Quantrill and his men continued south on the Texas Road. Upon crossing the Red River at Colbert's Ferry, north of Sherman, Texas, the guerrillas put up a temporary winter camp for 1863-1864 on the outskirts of the town. Their permanent winter camp was soon established at Mineral Springs, fifteen miles northwest of the town.[21]

During the winter of 1863-1864 the Federal troops in Indian Territory were spread very thin. The campaigning in the East, especially around the city of Vicksburg and in the state of Pennsylvania, had caused a large number of Union units to be withdrawn from the trans-Mississippi area. Before long, as a result, Federal strategy in Kansas, Arkansas, and Indian Territory began to shift from the offensive to the defensive. Major General John M. Schofield, the Union commander of the Department of Missouri, instructed all commanding officers to maintain a defensive front and refrain from aggressive action unless an opportunity of certain victory presented itself. This lack of troops and the defensive strategy which resulted allowed Quan-

---

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 434-435; General Orders, No. 187, Headquarters, District of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, October 19, 1863, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 2, pp. 339-340.

[20] Quantrill to Price, October 13, 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. XXII, Pt. 1, pp. 700-701; Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill: His Life and Times*, pp. 153-154.

[21] Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, p. 436.

trill and other guerrilla fighters all the freedom of movement they could desire in Indian Territory.

The Confederates suffered the same problems as the Federal forces throughout the winter of 1863-1864. The active Union campaigning east of the Mississippi River had also caused the Confederate commanders west of the river to give up valuable units to the demands in the East. Being numerically and materially weaker from the beginning, the Confederates could do no more than harass the Federal security net that stretched across the northern bank of the Arkansas River in the Fort Gibson area.[22]

To add to the discomfort of the Union forces, reports drifted into Federal headquarters at Fort Smith, Arkansas, by the middle of November, 1863, that a large Confederate raid was being planned against Fort Gibson. Colonel Stand Watie was to be the leader of the Confederate expedition. The direct objective of the raid could only be surmized by the Federal officers and plans of defense made accordingly. Reports from spies confirmed that Colonel Watie was headed for Fort Gibson, and by destroying or capturing it, the Confederacy could recoup over half of its losses suffered during the previous summer in Indian Territory.[23]

By the middle of December, 1863, a combined force of Quantrill, Colonel William Penn Adair and Colonel Watie was ready to move toward the Arkansas River. For more than two weeks preparations for the raid had been in progress. Quantrill, who had been in winter camp near Bonham, Texas, moved up to the camp of Colonel Watie, located at North Fork Town in the Creek Nation, with his command of irregular guerrillas. Adair was ordered to cut short his scouting and report with his command to Watie and Quantrill immediately. By November 28, 1863, almost 3,000 men were assembled for the proposed raid.[24]

Under the leadership of Watie, the combined command crossed the North Fork of the Canadian River about December 16 and proceeded north on a course parallel to the Texas Road.

---

[22] Schofield to Townsend, December 10, 1863, Schofield to Grant, July 8, 1863, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. XXII, Pt. 1, pp. 12-17, 18-19; John M. Schofield, *Forty-Six Years in the Army* (New York: The Century Company, 1897), p. 70.

[23] Abstract from Record of Events, District of the Frontier, December 16, 1863, *Official Records*, Ser. 1, Vol. XXII, Pt. 1, p. 779; Burnett to Ewing, November 28, 1863, *ibid.*, Pt. 2, pp. 722-723; Sharon Dixon Wyant, "Colonel William A. Phillips and the Civil War in Indian Territory," (Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, 1967), pp. 55-56.

[24] Burnett to Ewing, November 28, 1863, Sanborn to Totten, December 25, 1863, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. XXII, Pt. 2, pp. 722-723, 751.

The next night the Confederate column secured an Arkansas River ford and moved on Fort Gibson. The objective of the raid was to capture livestock and to demoralize the civilians living around the post by threats, by looting, and by burning their homes and food supplies. The Confederate force pulled out of the area as soon as the Fort Gibson commander, Colonel William A. Phillips, led a force out of the post against them. The ensuing running skirmish to the Arkansas River cost the Federals two killed and two wounded, while the Confederate guerrillas lost a total of five in killed and wounded.[25]

On December 22, 1863, another expedition was attempted. Leaving their campsite at North Fork Town, the combined units of Watie, Adair, and Quantrill moved to recross the Arkansas River, bypassing Fort Gibson on the east. This maneuver was designed to throw a screen between the Federals at Fort Gibson and Confederate movements in Arkansas. Watie, in command of the guerrilla force, took 300 men, all of whom were well mounted, armed, and clothed, and moved across the state border into Arkansas near Fort Smith. His intentions were to raid along a north-south line parallel to the Cherokee Nation and the Arkansas state boundary. Watie then turned, retraced his steps south via the Wire Road toward Fort Smith, and burned all fixed Federal property along the way.[26]

The remainder of the command under Adair and Quantrill continued north along the Grand River, with the mission of drawing attention from the force under Watie. This command consisted of 1,000 men, 280 of whom were directly under the supervision of Quantrill. Soon after the fording of the Arkansas River by Adair and Quantrill, a firefight occurred between Union and Confederate scouts. Adair and Quantrill fell back, not being on a combat mission, and shifted their force east to the Illinois River and proceeded along it to a distance six miles from Cane Hill, Arkansas.[27]

By December 25, Watie had accomplished his objectives in Arkansas and rode with his command west to make contact with Adair and Quantrill. On the march back, many of Watie's Indian soldiers left the route of march long enough to pick up their families and move them for safety reasons below the Arkansas River into Confederate controlled territory. The united

---

[25] Sanborn to Totten, December 25, 1863, Sanborn to Totten, December 26, 1863, *ibid.*, pp. 751, 751-752; Abstract from Record of Events, District of the Frontier, December 16, 1863, *ibid.*, Pt. 1, p. 779.

[26] Sanborn to Totten, December 25, 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. XXII, Pt. 2, p. 751.

[27] Sanborn to Totten, December 25, 1863, Sanborn to Totten, December 26, 1863, *ibid.*, pp. 751, 751-752.

COLONEL WILLIAM PENN ADAIR

On several occasions during the Civil War Colonel Adair of the Confederate Cherokees carried on joint operations with Quantrill's guerrilla forces.

Confederate guerrilla expedition was south of the Arkansas River late on December 26, and for mobility purposes was soon wintering in a new camp established by Colonel Watie on the Canadian River near North Fork Town.[28]

Quantrill's arrival for seasonal encampment in northern Texas some weeks earlier, during the winter of 1863-1864, brought on an unusual reaction from the Confederate district commander, Brigadier General Henry E. McCulloch. The Confederate general's first reports were full of praise for the Confederate guerrilla, but also contained distaste for his methods. Subsequent reports about Quantrill grew more disparaging as rumors of the Lawrence raid and his murders of Indians and Negroes in Indian Territory reached McCulloch. He became highly critical of Quantrill as a man "whose mode of warfare is but little, if any, above the uncivilized Indian." As a result McCulloch recommended to his commanding officer, Lieutenant General Edmund Kirby-Smith, that Quantrill be ordered to stay away from Confederate units and give their areas of operation a wide berth.[29]

Kirby-Smith, in charge of the Confederate Trans-Mississippi Department, had an opposite opinion of Quantrill and his guerrillas. The official reports that came to Kirby-Smith's attention gave him the impression that Quantrill was merely a little more ruthless than regular Confederate soldiers. Kirby-Smith recommended to McCulloch that he use Quantrill in separate operations designed to capture or break up numerous bands of Confederate deserters that plagued the Northern Subdistrict of Texas. Kirby-Smith believed that these guerrillas were best suited for the job because they were from another state and would have no ethnic ties with the deserters. Because of the suffering Quantrill and many of his band had experienced at the hands of the Federals, Kirby-Smith reasoned, they would be anxious to perform irregular guerrilla duty for the Confederacy. Kirby-Smith also thought that this same factor was the reason both Quantrill and his men gave no quarter in battle. Thus authorization was given to Brigadier General McCulloch to feed and arm Quantrill's force, and the guerrilla chief himself was ordered to report to Kirby-Smith in person at the next break in his activity.[30]

Quantrill went immediately to see Lieutenant General Kirby-Smith at Shreveport, Louisiana, and after a short confer-

---

28 *Ibid.*

29 McCulloch to Turner, October 22, 1863, McCulloch to Turner, November 1, 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 2, pp. 348, 378-379.

30 Kirby-Smith to McCulloch, November 2, 1863, Cunningham to McCulloch, November 19, 1863, Kirby-Smith to McCulloch, November 21, 1863, *ibid.*, pp. 382-383, 430, 430-431.

ence returned to Texas. His departure from Shreveport on November 19, 1863, was accompanied by a memorandum to McCulloch instructing him to use Quantrill, but to be cautious in the placement of trust in him and his assignment to deal with Confederate deserters. Kirby-Smith knew he had irritated McCulloch by instructiong him to use Quantrill instead of shooting him. The Trans-Mississippi commander explained to McCulloch that although a ruthless fighter, Quantrill had his uses as an irregular guerrilla. While Kirby-Smith expressed his utmost confidence in McCulloch, he ordered him to use Quantrill in searching out Confederate deserters.[31] Though many Confederate officers did not like Quantrill because of his ruthless methods of warfare, McCulloch was the first to take action against him. McCulloch brought into the open his tacit dislike of the guerrilla leader.

Meantime, a large raiding force of Federal Indians and Kansans struck through the Confederate areas of Indian Territory in late December, 1863, and succeeded in penetrating as far south as Gainesville, Texas. Quantrill and his entire command of about 200 men were instructed by McCulloch to move immediately from their winter camp near Bonham and make contact with the Union invaders plundering the Gainesville area. McCulloch intended to use these hard fighting guerrillas to make up for inferiority in numbers. The Federal column was estimated as high as 400 men, almost twice the number commanded by Quantrill. When Quantrill arrived in the vicinity of Gainesville, he learned that the Union troops had made a hasty retreat across the Red River and were moving back through the Confederate controlled areas of Indian Territory to the Arkansas River and Fort Gibson by way of the Texas Road.[32] This Federal raiding party was undoubtedly a reconnaissance in force sent out by the Fort Gibson commander, Colonel Phillips, because early in February, 1864, he launched a major invasion of Indian Territory south of the Arkansas River. This expedition followed the approximate path of the Union raiders of December, 1863.[33]

With the retreat of the Federal reconnaissance patrol, Quantrill and his guerrillas returned to their winter camp near Bonham.[34] Soon after his return to Texas, Quantrill moved his headquarters to nearby Mineral Springs. This move was probably made to gain access to better fodder for his horses and to tighten discipline by taking his men away from the town of Bonham.

---

31 Cunningham to McCulloch, November 19, 1863, Kirby-Smith to McCulloch, November 21, 1863, *ibid.*, pp. 430, 430-431.

32 McCulloch to Turner, December 22, 1863, McCulloch to Turner, December 23, 1863, Bourland to McCulloch, December 24, 1863, Turner to Alston, December 25, 1863, *ibid.*, pp. 526, 528, 531-532, 533.

33 Blunt to Thayer, February 8, 1864, Donaldson to Wood, March 11, 1864, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 2, pp. 272, 570.

Dissension arose among Quantrill's guerrillas shortly after their arrival at Mineral Springs. The long period of inactivity and lack of discipline following the Lawrence raid was beginning to tell on Quantrill and his men. Quantrill went through a period of withdrawal from his officers and men, and he did not associate with anyone except his mistress, Kate Clarke. The strange actions of Quantrill caused his lieutenants George Todd, William "Bloody Bill" Anderson, and Kit Dalton to complain that his moods were causing him to lose the respect of his men.[35] Little disagreements began to flare into major feuds, and Quantrill commenced to lose some control of his officers and men. "Bloody Bill" Anderson married against the wishes of Quantrill, who wanted him to wait until the war had ended. Anderson took his followers and set up headquarters in nearby Sherman, Texas, placing guards on the outskirts of the town to prevent a surprise raid by Quantrill.[36]

When in February, 1864, Colonel Phillips and his Federal force moved more than 160 miles into Confederate held Indian Territory without major opposition, Quantrill and his band were not ordered to join with other Confederate forces converging at Fort Washita to defeat the Union invaders. It is doubtful if Quantrill would have obeyed such an order, for he likely feared a military defeat due to insufficient weapons and dissension within his band. Such a loss would ruin his prestige as a leader.[37]

Confederate authorities began to regret their association with Quantrill's guerrilla force. Wearing parts of Federal uniforms, his guerrillas frequently pillaged northern Texas and areas across the Red River in the Chickasaw Nation. They robbed people regardless of their loyalty to the Confederate States or the United States, and often raided in small groups with or without Quantrill's authorization. On one such expedition into Indian Territory, Quantrill and a group of his men stopped at Colbert, located on the Texas Road in the southeast corner of the Chickasaw Nation. He apparently was foraging for his guerrilla band wintering in northern Texas. Quantrill, wearing the cap of a Federal army uniform and riding a spirited black horse, ordered his men to dismount at the Isaac Albertson farm home,

---

34 Blunt to Curtis, March 21, 1864, Phillips to Thayer, February 7, 1864, *ibid.*, pp. 685, 272.

35 Breihan, *Quantrill and his Civil War Guerrillas*, pp. 140-141. For more information on Captain Kit Dalton, see his colorful, but biased, autobiography, *Under the Black Flag* (no place, no publisher, no date), *passim*. This source is useful in understanding the rapport between Quantrill and his followers.

36 Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, p. 439.

37 Maxey to Kirby-Smith, February 26, 1864, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 2, pp. 994-997; Rampp, "The Twilight of the Confederacy in Indian Territory, 1863-1865," pp. 62-63.

occupied by Confederate sympathizers. Quantrill demanded dinner for his men, and the frightened women of the household prepared the best food available. Conversation was held to a minimum while the men hurriedly ate. Quantrill's gesture of appreciation was a silk handkerchief tossed to a young woman of the family. He then ordered his men to mount their horses and without delay round up the farm's cattle and horses, which he commandeered before returning to northern Texas.[38]

On another expedition Quantrill's men killed a Confederate officer, a Major Butts, who lived in the Chickasaw Nation due north of Sherman, Texas. Quantrill and Todd asserted that the perpetrators of the crime should be court-martialed, but both refused to surrender the guilty men when it turned out that the killers of the Confederate major were in their personal units. Internal strife and bickering among Quantrill and his leaders reached a peak by late winter, 1864. Their lawlessness grew so overt and brutal that McCulloch called Quantrill to his headquarters near Bonham on March 30 of that year.[39]

Suspecting trouble over the killing in Indian Territory, Quantrill assembled his entire command and headed for Bonham as ordered. He left Todd and eight men at the Mineral Springs camp to keep it secure. Arriving at Bonham, Quantrill reported immediately to McCulloch's headquarters, located in the city courthouse. Quantrill was informed by McCulloch in person that he was under military arrest for his connection with the murder of Major Butts. As a Confederate officer, Quantrill was put on parole, and out of courtesy invited to dinner by McCulloch. Quantrill indignantly refused McCulloch's invitation and was left under heavy guard in the general's bedroom on the second floor of the courthouse. Using the pretext of being thirsty, Quantrill stepped across the room to get a drink of water from a pitcher. As he passed by the bed, he grabbed his belt and pistols which the guards had carelessly placed there. Quantrill disarmed the sentries and ran down the stairs, where he encountered and disarmed two more guards. Running to the street, the guerrilla leader shouted for his men to mount their horses and flee, for they were prisoners. Quantrill and his men headed for Colbert's Ferry, the Texas Road crossing of the Red River. He dispatched

---

[38] Interview of Muriel H. Wright with Mrs. Sally Potts Collins, Colbert, Oklahoma, September 10, 1921, Editorial Office Files, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Mrs. Collins was the young woman to whom Quantrill tossed the silk handkerchief. The Isaac Albertson home, still standing, is one of the oldest houses in the Chickasaw Nation. The substance of this incident was published in Muriel H. Wright, *The Story of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City: Webb Publishing Company, 1929-1930), p. 154.

[39] Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, pp. 439-441.

one rider on a fast horse to the guerrilla camp at Mineral Springs with instructions for Todd to bring the remaining men and all the ammunition they could carry. Todd was to rendezvous with Quantrill on the Sherman-Bonham road, heading north.[40]

Quantrill reached Colbert's Ferry without incident. Todd was delayed when he ran into Anderson, who was scouting for McCulloch, on the Sherman-Bonham road and was forced to take to the woods north of the road. Skirmishing ensued between the units of Todd and Anderson, and each side received one man wounded.[41]

Quantrill formed his men into a combat line on the Indian Territory side of the Red River. When the pursuing party from McCulloch's headquarters came into view, he informed them that if they attempted to follow further, his command would fight to the last bullet or until every guerrilla was killed. The Confederate regulars pointed out that the authority of Brigadier General McCulloch ended at the Red River and that the pursuit would not be continued into Indian Territory.[42]

The chase stopped, Quantrill put his weary men into column and turned north up the Texas Road to Boggy Depot. While in transit, Quantrill came upon the camp of Brigadier General Cooper, located a few miles above the spot where the guerrillas has crossed the Red River in flight. Joining the Confederate command, Quantrill's force completed the march with Cooper, who was also headed for Boggy Depot. Quantrill agreed to assist Cooper with an attempt to capture Fort Smith. After refitting his command at Boggy Depot, Quantrill continued through the Choctaw Nation toward the Arkansas River and the Federal post of Fort Smith. Quantrill believed it expedient to help the Confederate general, at least until safely within the boundaries of Arkansas. He crossed the Arkansas River on April 6, 1864, a little below Fort Smith. He stayed in the vicinity of the Arkansas River for several weeks but made no attempt at even harassing the fort. Brigidier General Cooper had been duped.[43] Near the Creek Agency, however, not far from Fort Gibson, Quantrill and

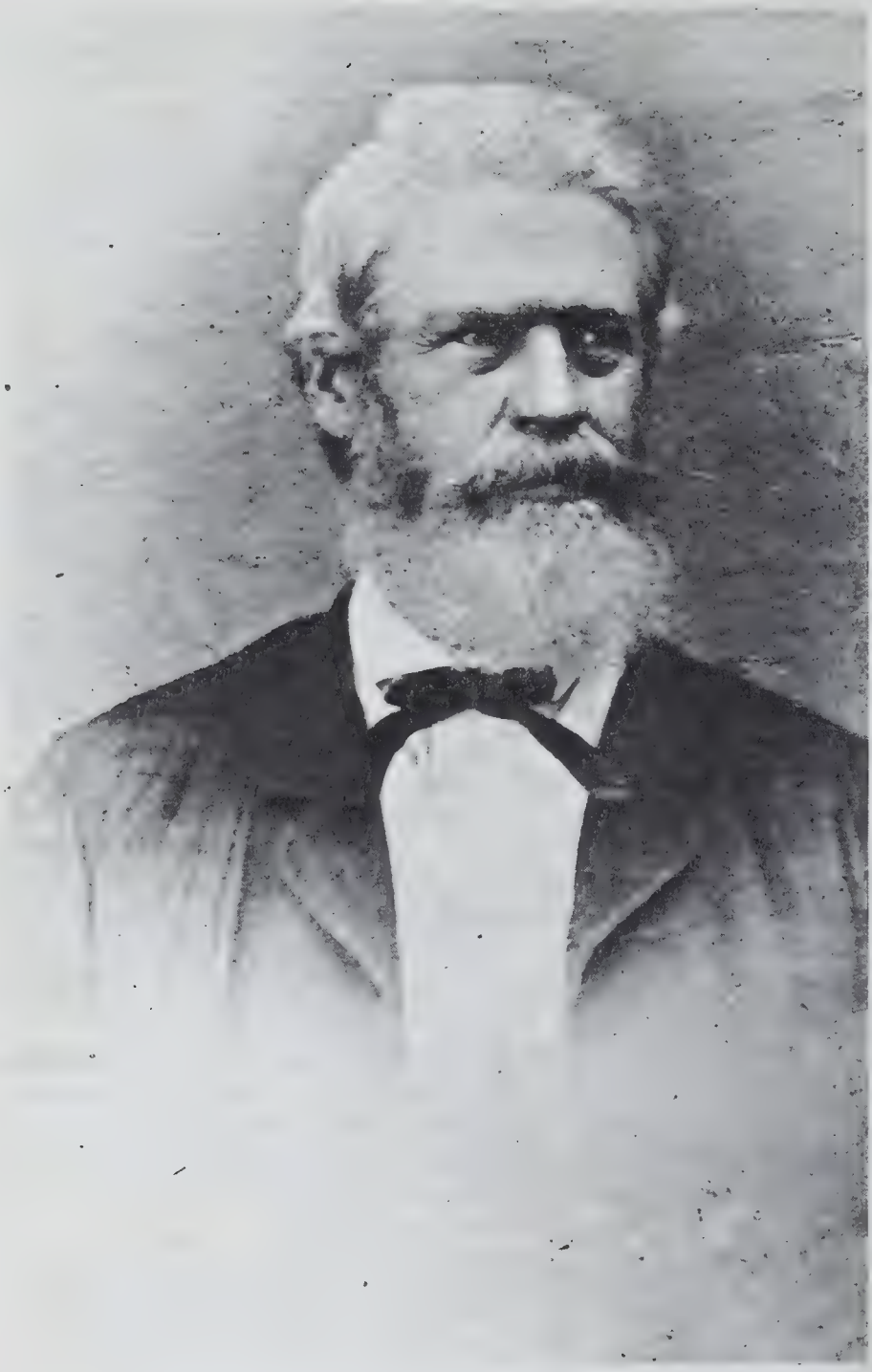
---

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 442-444.

[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 441-443; Breihan, *Quantrill and his Civil War Guerrillas*, p. 143.

[42] Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, pp. 444-445.

[43] Harrison to Sanborn, April 9, 1864, Sanborn to Rosecrans, April 10, 1864, Sanborn to Burch, April 10, 1864, Sanborn to Ray, April 10, 1864, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 3, pp. 109, 120-121, 122; Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, p. 445.



BRIGADIER GENERAL DOUGLAS H. COOPER

Twice during Confederate operations in Indian Territory Cooper was duped by Quantrill.

his command killed eight Federal Creek male civilians and a small boy.[44]

Though Quantrill was discredited in Texas and hunted by Confederate authorities, his usefulness was not at an end in Indian Territory. In the first week of April, 1864, Confederate Colonel Adair and a force of 500 men received orders from Brigadier General Cooper to prepare for a move into the Cherokee Nation. Although Cooper believed that sending Adair north of the Arkansas River would result in weakening his command, Adair convinced Cooper that he could be back by May, thus gaining his approval. Brigadier General McCulloch in this circumstance requested that Quantrill be taken along, hoping to get rid of him once and for all. Needing all the forces he could get, Cooper sent for Quantrill, planning to send him west of Fort Gibson to push the Plains Indians into Kansas, where they would play havoc with the Federals.[45]

Colonel Adair launched his raid on April 17. Posted near Fort Gibson, he sent scouts to pinpoint all of the Union forces in the immediate area. Quantrill had not reported to Cooper and was probably in the Choctaw Nation when he received word that Cooper wanted to see him. Fearing arrest and extradition to Texas, Quantrill turned north and headed for the Missouri border, bypassing Adair's camp on the night of April 17. Adair sent a party of Seminoles to work out an agreement with Quantrill, who wanted nothing to do with the Confederate raiding party. Adair obviously thought Quantrill was headed north as a result of Cooper's orders. Adair's command was 325 men strong and Quantrill had only about 150 men.[46]

The guerrilla chieftain tried to cross the Arkansas River above Fort Gibson. He engaged the Federal guard stationed there and forced them to retreat. Upon breaking contact with Quantrill's forces, the sentries hurried to Fort Gibson to report the skirmish to Colonel Phillips. He sent out a strong mounted force to renew contact with the Confederates. Finding Quan-

---

[44] Watie to Watie, April 24, 1864, Edward E. Dale and Gaston Litton, eds., *Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokee History as Told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), p. 156.

[45] Cooper to Maxey, April 2, 1864, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 3, pp. 746-747; Britton, *The Union Indian Brigade in the Civil War*, p. 382; Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* (4 vols., New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1929), Vol. I, pp. 359-360; Rampp, "The Twilight of the Confederacy in Indian Territory, 1863-1865," pp. 72-73.

[46] Gallaher to Kaufman, April 23, 1864, Adair to Watie, April 17, 1864, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 3, pp. 272, 776-777.

trill's band a few miles above where they had crossed the Arkansas River, the Federal cavalry charged and forced them back across the river. While Adair raided in eastern Indian Territory and western Arkansas, Quantrill made a successful crossing of the Arkansas River further downstream and moved into southwest Missouri. He operated in the area for about a month, robbing, stealing, and killing all Union prisoners that fell into his hands. By May 7, Quantrill had started for Bonham, Texas, and his base camp located near there, believing that Brigadier General McCulloch had dropped the charges against him. His opinion was probably true, because he entered Texas and returned to his old camping area near Bonham with no mishap from Confederate authorities. With Quantrill and his men below the Red River, the Federal districts of Arkansas and Missouri were able to report all quiet. The April-May, 1864, foray through Indian Territory was Quantrill's last raid within its borders.[47]

Quantrill had been rapidly losing the respect of his officers and men due to the lack of a desire to fight. Todd was elected captain of the guerrilla band, leaving Quantrill without a command. Only by an agreement with Todd was Quantrill allowed to remain with the guerrilla company when it returned to Jackson County, Missouri, late in the spring of 1864. Enroute north a segment of Quantrill's force, unauthorized by Quantrill, struck Boggy Depot, a Confederate supply base in the Choctaw Nation, killing one of the guards and wounding another.[48]

With the war going from bad to worse for the Confederacy, Quantrill made two attempts to regain his lost prestige. He planned to take his reorganized guerrillas to Washington, D. C., to assassinate President Abraham Lincoln. Quantrill sent out a call to his loyal followers to meet in Lafayette County, Missouri, but over four weeks elapsed before his guerrilla command was assembled and ready to move. Nothing came of this plan, and finally, in December, 1864, he turned toward Kentucky to make an effort to recoup some of his lost prestige. Killing and pillaging as he ravaged the border area, Quantrill was eventually shot down in Spencer County, Kentucky. He died on June 6, 1865, at the

---

[47] Cooper to Maxey, April 2, 1864, Adair to Watie, April 17, 1864, Gallaher to Kaufman, April 23, 1864, Sanborn to Greene, April 25, 1864, Curtis to Halleck, April 25, 1864, Curtis to Townsend, April 25, 1864, Curtis to McKean, April 25, 1864, McKean to Curtis, April 25, 1864, Hampton to Blair, April 25, 1864, Curtis to Rosecrans, May 4, 1864, Sanborn to Greene, May 7, 1864, *ibid.*, pp. 746-747, 776-777, 272, 288-289, 290, 301, 502; Britton, *The Union Indian Brigade in the Civil War*, pp. 382-383; Thoburn and Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People*, Vol. I, pp. 359-360.

[48] Watie to Watie, April 24, 1864, Dale and Litton, eds., *Cherokee Cavaliers*, p. 156.

military prison in Louisville, soon after the close of the Civil War.[49]

Meanwhile, in Indian Territory in early August, 1864, a remnant of Quantrill's band, about sixty-five men, had camped at Flat Rock Ford, seven miles northwest of Fort Gibson. At dawn 300 Federal soldiers reinforced by 150 Kansas partisans attacked the guerrilla camp. Retreating hurriedly, the guerrillas left their dead and wounded on the field. One of the wounded was Jesse James. He had been with Quantrill since the Lawrence raid and had built quite a reputation as a killer. Left for dead, James crawled to a nearby farm where he was found and nursed back to health by John A. Rudd. James continued his life of crime until 1882, when he was finally gunned down.[50]

Pressured by mounting Federal strength, the guerrilla bands, including the remnants of Quantrill's force, broke up into smaller units until finally they went out of existence as fighting units. Some fled to the hills for safety to wait out the war while others, such as William H. Gregg and Cole Younger, entered the regular Confederate army to fight.[51]

As for Quantrill, he had been no more severe with captured Federal forces in Indian Territory than other Confederate units operating in the area, such as those of Brigadier General Watie and Brigadier General Cooper. Prisoners of the Confederates in Indian Territory were usually executed soon after capture, and likewise Union forces operating in Indian Territory ordinarily killed most Confederate captives. The Confederate government in Richmond would not authorize guerrilla companies, and similarly Federal officials considered guerrilla activity contrary to the rules of civilized warfare. Thus Union military leaders decreed that prisoners identified as guerrillas be hanged. In reply, Confederate guerrilla bands gave notice that they would bring destruction to the areas in which they operated by burning, looting, and murdering those loyal to the United States.[52] Within

---

[49] Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, pp. 452-459, 471-483; Albert Castel, *A Frontier State at War: Kansas*, 1861-1865 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1958), pp. 229-230; John P. Burch, *Charles W. Quantrell* (Vega, Texas: no publisher, 1923), pp. 223-228. Burch traces the activities of the guerrilla faction that split off from Quantrill and returned to Indian Territory while their leader went to Kentucky. Quantrill's name was actually William Clarke Quantrill, not Charles W. Quantrell, as Burch indicates in the title of his book.

[50] Carl W. Breihan, *The Complete and Authentic Life of Jesse James* (New York: Frederick Fell, 1953), pp. 84-85.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 85; Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, p. 447; Settle, *Jesse James was his Name*, p. 26.

[52] Virgil Carrington Jones, *Gray Ghosts and Rebel Raiders* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1956), p. 76.

JESSE JAMES

During the Civil War James was seriously injured while serving with a remnant of Quantrill's Confederate guerrilla forces near Fort Gibson.

this context Quantrill carried out his guerrilla operations in Indian Territory. But his indiscriminate brutality with Federal supporters was not approved by Brigadier General Watie, who said: "I have always been opposed to killing women and children although our enemies have done it, yet I shall always protest against any acts of that kind.[53]

Quantrill's Civil War operations are usually associated with the states of Missouri and Kansas, but he was also active in Indian Territory. He crossed and recrossed the area a number of times during the war. Although the historical record is vague at times on his Indian Territory operations, some conclusions may be drawn. It is likely that several Federal patrols did not come back because they were wiped out by him or by segments of his command. His reputation for ruthlessness and revenge paralyzed with fear the Union forces and their commanders in Indian Territory and prevented more offensive military activity. Upon receiving reports of his actions in Indian Territory, Federal patrols, scouts, and sentries were increased at all forts and fords, thus taxing further the inadequate Union manpower resources in the area. Quantrill has often been accused of fighting Federal and Confederate forces indiscriminately, but at no time in Indian Territory did he personally lead an attack on Confederate forces. Although the Confederates could usually not rely on him during military operations in Indian Territory, he was useful to their purposes. He assisted materially by spreading fear and confusion among Federal forces and sympathizers. Even though he did not alter its outcome, he helped to shape the course of the war in Indian Territory.

---

[53] Watie to Watie, April 24, 1864, Dale and Litton, eds., *Cherokee Cavaliers*, p. 156.

QUANAH PARKER'S NARROW ESCAPE

*By Ronnie Tyler**

For years hostile Comanche and Kiowa Indians raided in the staked plains of north Texas, capturing livestock wherever they could and spreading terror among the unprepared settlers. They fought to keep the white hunter from the buffalo, to keep the white rancher from the land. But in 1874-75, after General Ranald S. MacKenzie had destroyed native resistance, the government placed the Indians on a reservation, and by 1886 difficulties between white men and Indians had diminished considerably.[1]

Because of the work of a few influential men, border tension had been reduced. One such person was the Quahadi (from Kwahadi) Comanche chief Quanah Parker, who once had been the leader of one of the most feared tribes in the Southwest. From the moment of his surrender in 1875, however, Quanah had adopted civilized habits and become one of the most respected figures on the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita reservation.[2]

Although the Comanches did not adopt the Anglo-American culture as readily as their chief, no serious problems appeared likely as long as he maintained their respect and coaxed them toward civilization. At Quanah's suggestion, for example, the Indians raised livestock and leased large tracts of reservation land to Texas cattlemen.[3]

Because of his position, Quanah frequently visited Fort Worth representing the Comanches in various enterprises. He became close friends with such famous cattlemen at W. T. Wag-

---

* Mr. Ronnie C. Tyler prepared this article on Quanah Parker while working toward the Ph.D. in Latin American history at Texas Christian University. He did the research on his subject at the Amon Carter Museum of Western Art and the Public Library in Fort Worth; the University of Texas in Austin; and the Indian Archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society, in Oklahoma City. He is now on the faculty at Austin College, Sherman, Texas, as an instructor in Latin American History.—Ed.

1 Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Comanches; Lords of the South Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952), pp. 316, 327; Ernest Wallace, *Ranald S. MacKenzie on the Texas Frontier* (Lubbock: West Texas Museum Assn., 1964), p. 170; Rupert N. Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1933), pp. 394-397.

2 Zoe A. Tilghman, *Quanah, the Eagle of the Comanches* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Corp., 1938), pp. 68, 99-100, 127-128.

3 William T. Hagan, "Quanah Parker, Indian Judge," *Probing the American West*, eds. K. Ross Toole, John Alexander Carroll, Robert M. Utley, and A. R. Mortensen (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1962), pp. 71-73; Wallace and Hoebel, *The Comanches*, pp. 347-348.

goner, Samuel B. Burnett, and Cal Suggs, and thoroughly enjoyed his trips to "Cow Town." To Waggoner and his brother, such meetings were opportunities to influence the chief, and they lavished gifts upon him: a $1,000 carriage, fine suits, and entertainment. It was such a trip, however, that ended in grief and almost the death of Quanah.[4]

Quanah arrived in Fort Worth on Saturday, December 19, 1885, accompanied by his uncle, Yellow Bear.[5] In addition to purchasing wire and fencing material for their pastures, the Indians planned to discuss overdue rent from leased reservation land with Captain J. Lee Hall, agent for the Kiowas, Comanches, and Wichitas. After the pair registered at the most modern hotel in the city, "The Pickwick," Yellow Bear retired and Quanah left with George W. Briggs, the foreman of the Waggoner ranch.[6]

When he returned in approximately two hours, Quanah noticed nothing unusual. He went to bed, but apparently did not shut off the valve on the gas light completely, for after a short time coal gas fumes awakened him. Not realizing that gas was dangerous, he pulled the cover over his head and fell asleep. He became so sick, however, that he awoke again and aroused his

---

[4] Tilghman, *Quanah*, pp. 128-129; Interview with George W. Briggs, June 17, 1937, in "Indian-Pioneer History, XVI, 6-11, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society.

[5] *Fort Worth Daily Gazette*, Dec. 20, 1885, p. 8. Many sources indicate that Yellow Bear was the father of Weckeah, Quanah's second wife, See Tilghman, *Quanah*, pp. 73-74; Clyde L. and Grace Jackson, *Quanah Parker, Last of the Comanches: A Study in Southwestern Frontier History* (New York: Exposition Press, 1963), p. 132; *Fort Worth Daily Gazette*, Dec. 21, 1885, p. 8; *The Dallas Morning News*, Dec. 21, 1885, p. 3. This, however, is not true. Old Bear was the father of Weckeah (Quanah's first wife) and Yellow Bear was his brother. Thus Yellow Bear was Quanah's uncle by marriage. Interview with Gillette Griswold, Director, Fort Sill Museum, April 6, 1966. Mr. Griswold obtained his information principally from interviews with Quanah's remaining daughter. At this time Yellow Bear was approximately fifty and Quanah was thirty-six. See "1879 Comanche Census," pp. 98-99; "July, 1885, Comanche Census," pp. 2-4, in Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society; *Fort Worth Daily Gazette*, Dec. 21, 1885, p. 8. This information agrees with the latest estimate of Quanah's birth date. Mr. Griswold said that plans have been made to change the date on Quanah's grave stone to show 1849 as the year of his birth. Some sources also indicate that Yellow Bear was a chief. Neither is this so. He was a member of Quanah's band. See the "1879 Comanche Census" and the "July, 1885, Comanche Census."

[6] *Fort Worth Daily Gazette*, Dec. 21, 1885, p. 8; *The Dallas Morning News*, Dec. 21, 1885, p. 3; Interview with George W. Briggs. Briggs stated that his employers designated him to stay with the Indians and "provide them with entertainment and . . . keep them in a good humor."

uncle, only to find that he too was ill. Both men were soon unconscious[7]

Fate and circumstances combined to prevent anyone from discovering the pair until Sunday afternoon, almost thirteen hours after Quanah had turned off the flame. One of the boarders, awakened by gas fumes, reported a leak at approximately 6 a.m. But the night janitor, T. B. Ellis, made a cursory search and found nothing. He failed to check the contaminated room, however, because Captain G. C. Hudgins, the hotel owner, had lived there, and he did not know the captain had moved. When Quanah and Yellow Bear did not come down for breakfast, another employee checked on them. Looking through the keyhole, he saw the unconscious Yellow Bear, but unfortunately assumed that the red man was sleeping off a drunken spree. Captain Hudgins finally became suspicious when the two did not appear for lunch. He opened the room and found them both on the floor—Yellow Bear, crouched near the bed, appeared dead, but Quanah had fallen near a window and was still gasping for breath.[8]

The situation was potentially explosive: If both men died, the Comanches might not understand that it was an accident. Hudgins immediately summoned two nearby doctors, Hays W. Moore and Elias J. Beall, and moved the braves out into the street for fresh air. Yellow Bear did not recover, but after giving a few hypodermic injections, the doctors pronounced Quanah out of danger. Captain Hall took Yellow Bear's body to Fakes and Company. A hastily assembled coroner's jury, directed by Justice of the Peace J. F. Zinn, ruled that Yellow Bear died "by inhalation of gas" because someone "failed to turn off the gas" and blew out the light.[9]

---

[7] *Fort Worth Daily Gazette*, Dec. 21, 1885, p. 8; Dec. 22, 1885, p. 5; *Fort Worth Evening Mail*, Dec. 21, 1885, p. 1; *The San Antonio Daily Express*, Dec. 22, 1885, p. 4; *The Dallas Morning News*, Dec. 22, 1885, p. 3.

[8] *Fort Worth Daily Gazette*, Dec. 21, 1885, p. 8; *The Dallas Morning News*, Dec. 21, 1885, p. 3; Dec. 22, 1885, p. 1; *Fort Worth Evening Mail*, Dec. 21, 1885, p. 1; *The Galveston Daily News*, Dec. 21, 1885, p. 1; *The San Antonio Daily Express*, Dec. 22, 1885, p. 4; *Corpus Christi Caller*, Dec. 27, 1885, p. 1; *Austin Daily Statesman*, Dec. 22, 1885, p. 1.

[9] *Fort Worth Daily Gazette*, Dec. 21, 1885, p. 8; Dec. 22, 1885, p. 5; *The Dallas Morning News*, Dec. 21, 1885, p. 3; Dec. 22, 1885, p. 3; Dec. 23, 1885, p. 1; *Fort Worth Evening Mail*, Dec. 21, 1885, p. 1; Dec. 22, 1885, p. 1; *The Galveston Daily News*, Dec. 21, 1885, p. 1; *The San Antonio Daily Express*, Dec. 22, 1885, p. 4; Interview with Judge Irby Dunklin in "Research Data: Fort Worth and Tarrant County," (Texas Writers' Project) II, 527, in Southwest Collection, Fort Worth Public Library. Judge Dunklin said that he was walking downtown and saw a crowd gathering. When he got to the hotel he saw two Indians lying naked in the street and men trying to revive them.

Still there was danger that the Comanches would misunderstand. Quanah had been a friend of the white man for almost ten years, and many of the more radical band chiefs had begun to distrust his leadership. They accused him of working hand-in-glove with the ranchers. Tabananeka, an equally important chief, often disagreed with his policy. After hearing various prophecies of a return to former greatness, several other Indians had become dissatisfied on the reservation and began to gather around a rabble-rousing Kiowa chief, Sun Boy, who encouraged insubordination to the agent. Of them, Quanah wrote, "it seems to make no difference what I start to do, some of the Kiowas or Tabanaca [*sic*] object . . . to it." When Quanah revived the following day, he too feared that his tribesmen would not believe him, and requested that a copy of the inquest—with a mammoth seal—be sent to the Indian agency for display. According to Briggs, the chief also got a lawyer and took depositions from those who knew about the incident.[10]

On Tuesday, Hall, Captain E. F. Ikard, and Burnett accompanied Quanah to Harrold, Texas, the northernmost terminal of the Fort Worth and Denver Railroad. Still fearing for the chief's health, the agent left him in the care of Doctor N. B. Gearhart, and returned to Fort Worth. Messengers had already notified the relatives of Yellow Bear in the Indian Territory of the tragedy.[11]

A group of only twenty-five to fifty Indians met the dead brave at Harrold, although several sources stipulated a much

---

10 Quanah Parker to Captain J. Lee Hall, July 9, 1885, in the Quanah Parker papers Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society; U. S. Congress, House, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 49th Cong., 2nd sess., H. E. D. No. 1, Pt. 5, p. 346; Dora Neill Raymond, *Captain Lee Hall of Texas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1940), pp. 239-242; *Fort Worth Daily Gazette*, Dec. 22, 1885, p. 5; Dec. 23, 1885; p. 8; *Fort Worth Evening Mail*, Dec. 21, 1885, p. 1; *The Galveston Daily News*, Dec. 21, 1885, p. 1; *The San Antonio Daily Express*, Dec. 23, 1885, p. 1; Interview with George W. Briggs.

---

11 *The Dallas Morning News*, Dec. 21, 1885, p. 3; Dec. 23, 1885, p. 1; *Fort Worth Daily Gazette*, Dec. 22, 1885, p. 5; Dec. 23, 1885, pp. 2, 8; Dec. 24, 1885, p. 8; *Fort Worth Evening Mail*, Dec. 22, 1885, p. 1; *Corpus Christi Caller*, Dec. 27, 1885, p. 1; *Graham Leader*, Dec. 31, 1885, p. 1; Dr. N. B. Gearhart to Capt. J. Lee Hall, Dec. 24, 1885, in the Quanah Parker papers, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society. A messenger left Harrold with news of the tragedy at 11 a.m. on December 21 and the Indians arrived at approximately 3 p.m. on the 22nd.

larger number.[12] Because of respect for Yellow Bear, the group including several Indian women, observed some of their mourning customs, and residents of the village heard wailing and mourning while the Indians were still a long distance from town. The Comanches loaded the body in a wagon and took it to Curtis Mound for a traditional burial.[13]

Quanah undoubtedly was relieved when he saw that the Comanches apparently accepted his version of the accident. Still he elected to spend the night at the Indian headquarters where he revealed his newly acquired respect for gas lamps by leaving the light on all night. Emerging from his room the next morning, he was dressed in the full regalia of a chief and returned to the reservation in Indian Territory to accept the judgment of his people.[14]

This small incident has confused historians for several years, perhaps because of a reliance upon personal interviews made decades later, rather than upon written, factual accounts.[15] Quanah's original biographer, for example, cited the date as 1886, while the chief was in Fort Worth for the Fat Stock Show. If this referred to what is today the Southwestern Exposition and Fat Stock Show, which Quanah visited frequently, it is incorrect, because the Exposition did not begin until 1896.[16] Several other

---

12 George W. Briggs, in his interview, said that some 5,000 Indians came to Harrold to escort Yellow Bear's Body back to the reservation. Clyde L. and Grace Jackson, *Quanah Parker*, pp. 132-133, cited 2,000 as the number. According to Captain Hall, there were only 4,147 Indians on the entire reservation. U. S. Congress, House. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, H. E. D. No. 1, Pt. 15, p. 309; and the *Fort Worth Daily Gazette*, Dec. 22, 1885, p. 3; *The Dallas Morning News*, Dec. 23, 1885, p. 1; *The Galveston Daily News*, Dec. 23, 1885, p. 1; *Fort Worth Daily Gazette*, Dec. 23, 1885, p. 2; *Graham Leader*, Dec. 21, 1885, p. 1.

13 Identical accounts appear in *The Dallas Morning News*. Dec. 23, 1885, p. 1; Dec. 24, 1885, p. 1; and *The Galveston Daily News*, Dec. 23, 1885, p. 1; Dec. 24, 1885, p. 4. A copy of the first article appears in the *Corpus Christi Caller*, Dec. 27, 1885, p. 1. Also see the *Fort Worth Daily Gazette*, Dec. 23, 1885, p. 2; and the *Graham Leader*, Dec. 31, 1885, p. 1, for similar reports on the arrival of the Indians. For an account of Yellow Bear's burial, see Jonnie R. Morgan, *History of Wichita Falls* (1931), pp. 84-86.

14 Raymond, *Lee Hall*, pp. 237-238.

15 Tilghman, *Quanah*, p. vi; Clyde L. and Grace Jackson, *Quanah Parker*, note on p. 133.

16 Tilghman, *Quanah*, p. 133; Oliver Knight, *Fort Worth, Outpost on the Trinity* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953), pp. 101-102.

authors repeated this error, while still others suggested additional erroneous dates.[17]

There is, however, a more complex problem. Most historians have assumed that either Quanah or Yellow Bear blew out the light, information which does not agree with Quanah's description of the accident.[18] Before interviewing the chief, reporters incorrectly theorized that Yellow Bear blew out the lamp. After the interview, however, the *Fort Worth Evening Mail* announced in headlines that "Quanah killed Yellow Bear." Quanah stated that he lit the light upon entering the room, then extinguished it when he retired.[19] Had Yellow Bear blown out the lamp before he went to bed, the room probably would have been full of gas when Quanah returned. But Yellow Bear was not a likely victim of such an accident, because Quanah had explained how to turn off the lamp before he left.[20] The idea that Yellow Bear blew out the flame was nothing more than the official speculation of the coroner's jury and reporters.[21]

The decision of the Comanches to support Quanah in this incident was important, because his influence on the reservation

---

17 Knight, *Fort Worth*, p. 137, cited 1878 as the date. Clyde L. Grace Jackson cited 1886 as the date of the incident, as did Zoe A. Tilghman. See Grace Jackson, *Cynthia Ann Parker* (San Antonio: Naylor Co., 1959), p. 121; Clyde L. and Grace Jackson, *Quanah Parker*, pp. 132-133; and Tilghman, *Quanah*, p. 133. Jonnie R. Morgan, *Wichita Falls*, pp. 84-86, cited 1901 as the approximate date. Various interviews in "Research data Fort Worth and Tarrant County," reveal even more erroneous dates: 1882, in II, 527; 1878, in V, 1869-1870; the 1880's, in XI, 4050, 4083, and XVIII, 6922-6923. B. B. Paddock, *History of Texas, Fort Worth and the Northwest Texas Edition* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1922), II, 873-874; J. W. Wilbarger, *Indian Depredations in Texas* (Austin: Hutchings Printing House, 1889), pp. 344-346; and W. S. Nye, *Carbine & Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill*, (2nd ed.; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942), p. 308, all mention the incident, but give no date. Margaret Waldraven-Johnson, *The White Comanche: The Story of Cynthia Ann Parker and Her Son, Quanah* (New York: Comet Press Books, 1956), p. 30, cited 1887 as the date. Raymond, *Lee Hall*, p. 237, correctly cited December, 1885.

18 Tilghman, *Quanah*, p. 133; Knight, Fort Worth, pp. 101-102; Jackson. *Cynthia Ann Parker*, p. 121; Clyde L. and Grace Jackson, *Quanah Parker*, pp. 132-133; Wilbarger, *Indian Depredations*, pp. 344-346; Raymond, *Lee Hall*, p. 237. The account as given in Wilbarger is slightly misleading. He cited a "recent" issue of the *Fort Worth Daily Gazette*, then took the bulk of his quote from the *Fort Worth Evening Mail*, Dec. 21, 1885.

19 *Fort Worth Evening Mail*, Dec. 21, 1885, p. 1; *Fort Worth Daily Gazette*, Dec. 21, 1885, p. 8; Dec. 22, 1885, p. 5; *The Dallas Morning News*, Dec. 21, 1885, p. 3; Dec. 22, 1885, p. 3; *The San Antonio Express*, Dec. 22, 1885, p. 4; *Austin Daily Statesman*, Dec. 22, 1885, p. 1; and Interview with George W. Briggs.

20 *Fort Worth Daily Gazette*, Dec. 22, 1885, p. 5.

21 *Ibid.; The Dallas Morning News*, Dec. 22, 1885, p. 3; *Fort Worth Evening Mail*, Dec. 21, 1885, p. 1.

and his relationship with the Indian agents continued to improve. When, in the following year, the government established the Indian Court at Anadarko, the agent asked Quanah to serve as one of the first judges. Continuing in that position until January, 1898, he was even more influential in civilizing his tribesmen.[22] At his death in 1911, Quanah was a famous, respected, and wealthy man.

22 Tilghman, *Quanah*, pp. 192-193.

THE PRAIRIE OIL & GAS COMPANY 1901-1911

*By David C. Boles**

Before 1900 virtually all crude oil production had been centered in the Appalachian and Lima-Indiana fields. The situation changed because of major discoveries of oil deposits in Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas. Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), which controlled approximately eighty-four percent of the production in the East in 1900, arrived upon the scene of the Mid-Continent oil field in its early development.[1] From the Mid-Continent fields came a flood of new protests against pipe line practices which operators in the eastern fields had failed to remedy by legislation.

In 1895, The Forest Oil Company, a subsidiary of Standard Oil, acquired the interests of James M. Guffey and John Galey, who the year before had found oil while seeking oil and natural gas near Neodesha, Kansas.[2] With the acquisition of approximately forty wells from Guffey and Galey. The Forest Oil Company became active in the production of oil. Nearly two years later. The Standard Oil Company (Kansas) built a 500 barrel per day refinery at Neodesha, Kansas, which was the first refinery in the Mid-Continent area.[3]

Neither of these companies provided an adequate basis for expansion in Kansas because of their limited charters. A third company, the Kansas Oil & Gas Company, was created on December 17, 1900.[4] On January 15, 1901, The Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) amended the charter of the new concern, changing its name to The Prairie Oil & Gas Company.[5] This was an attempt at clarification since Standard owned an oil company in West Virginia with a similar name.[6] The Prairie located its

---

* David C. Boles has contributed this article on the history of the Prairie Oil & Gas Company, prepared in connection with his work toward the Ph.D. degree at the University of Oklahoma.—Ed.

1 John Mclean and Robert William Haigh, *The Growth of Integrated Oil Companies* (Boston: Harvard University, 1954). p. 71.

2 Arthur M. Johnson, *American Petroleum Pipelines* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1956), p. 211.

3 Carl Coke Rister, *Oil Titan of the Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949), p. 36.

4 Charter, Kansas Oil & Gas Company, December 17, 1900. Office of the Secretary of State of Kansas, Topeka. A copy of the charter can be found in the office of the Secretary of State of Oklahoma, Oklahoma City.

5 Charter, Prairie Oil & Gas Company, January 15, 1901. Office of the Secretary of State of Kansas, Topeka. A copy of the charter can be found in the office of the Secretary of State of Oklahoma, Oklahoma City.

6 Ralph W. Hidy and Muriel E. Hidy, *Pioneering in Big Business, 1882-1911.* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955), p. 394.

central office in Independence, Kansas, and the town became the focal point for its operations.

The Prairie was chartered to own and operate producing properties and to buy, sell, and transport oil through pipe lines.[7] The small pipe line systems started by its predecessors were extended, and in 1903, a six-inch line was laid to connect new pools at Chanute and Humboldt with the refinery at Neodesha.[8] This was the beginning of a trunk line system destined to become the largest in the United States. Between 1895 and 1905, the Prairie purchased all oil offered by the Kansas producers, and attitudes toward the Prairie were most cordial.[9] By paying for the oil promptly and at a reasonable price, the Prairie stimulated the search for new oil deposits in Kansas. Through manipulation of the price paid for crude oil, Standard had been able to control the production of oil in other oil fields, and this policy seemed to be working in Kansas.[10]

This period of friendly attitudes was to be short, because to the dismay of many Kansas producers, Standard started to turn its attention to the new activity in Indian Territory. With this shift of interest, the Prairie attempted to obtain permission from the Department of the Interior to lay a pipe line across the Indian Territory to transport this new oil to Neodesha.[11] Until April, 1904, all of the oil produced in the Osage reservation was shipped by train to the refinery at Neodesha at a cost of twenty-two cents per barrel. In April, the Prairie completed a pipe line to Caney, Kansas, enabling the Oklahoma producers in the Osage Territory to unload their barrels at this station for a cost in railroad transportation of only sixteen cents per barrel.[12] The Oklahoma producers were pleased with this development.

After an extended wait, the Prairie received permission from the Department of Interior on July 21, 1905, to lay the pipe.[13] During this year, a line was completed to the Bartlesville area, and this proved to be a very successful venture for the Prairie. The Oklahoma fields soon started to outproduce their Kansas counterparts. In an effort to keep abreast with this ever multiplying production, new pipe lines were constructed

---

7 Charter, Prairie Oil & Gas Company, January 15, 1901.

8 Paul H. Giddens, *Standard Oil Company (Indiana)* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1955), p. 66.

9 *Ibid.*

10 Johnson, *American Petroleum Pipelines*, p. 212.

11 U. S., *Statutes at Large*, Vol. 33, pt. 1, p. 65.

12 *Annual Report, Department of Interior*, 1905, p. 298.

13 T. J. Flannelly to the Honorable Corporation Commission, August 24, 1927. The original may be found at the Oklahoma Corporation Commission, Oklahoma City.

by the Prairie from the Red Fork and Cleveland fields to the storage farm at Humboldt, Kansas.[14]

In 1904, the Prairie completed additional pipe lines and storage farms in an attempt to continue buying all available crude oil. The refinery at Neodesha increased its capacity from 500 barrels per day to 2,500, and when this proved inadequate, the Prairie was forced to look for another outlet. The Standard Oil Company (Indiana) had just completed a refinery at Sugar Creek, near Kansas City, Missouri, and the Prairie built a trunk line from its storage farm at Humboldt to this plant. This was the first trunk line to branch out of the Mid-Continent field. Until mid-1904, most of the oil obtained by the Prairie was handled by these two plants, but during the latter part of the year, production of oil increased to 19,000 barrels per day and again there was a need for an outlet.[15] In December, 1904, a trunk line was begun that would extend from Sugar Creek to Whiting, Indiana. It reached its destination in June, 1905, enabling Standard to pump crude oil from the Mid-Continent to the Atlantic. The cost of the Prairie line was estimated at $16,000,000.[16]

During January, 1905, the Prairie began storing over 25,000 barrels of oil per day. Soon it had 8,000,000 barrels in storage.[17] The Prairie's various storage farms curtailed a certain amount of risk since a fireproof storage tank had not been invented. Through frequent electrical storms in Kansas and Oklahoma, the Prairie lost a large quantity of crude oil. Until February, 1905, it purchased all the oil offered by the Kansas producers, but at this point, production was higher than demand and the market price of crude oil began to drop. Then came the first major protest against the Prairie and its practices.

As long as business was going well for the producers, there was little or no criticism by the independent producers. When the price declined because of the influx of Indian Territory oil, they started to examine the Prairie's practices. In Kansas, the Prairie and its predecessors established a dual pricing system for the oil received from the Neodesha area. Oil purchased from south of Neodesha was given a higher price than that from the north.[18] The producers could see no reason for this difference in price, but Standard justified it by saying that oil received from the southern fields better suited their use. Besides

---

[14] Giddens, *Standard Oil Company (Indiana)*, p. 67.

[15] Harold F. Williamson, *et al.*, *The American Petroleum Industry*, Vol. 2 (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1963), p. 91.

[16] Giddens, *Standard Oil Company (Indiana)*, p. 69.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 67.

[18] Rister, *Oil! Titan of the Southwest*, pp. 39-40.

the differential in prices, there had been a three cent charge enforced against impurities which the independents claimed did not exist, and a one-half to one cent charge for "steaming," a method to move oil in an easier manner.[19]

Among the measures adopted by Standard managers to control petroleum prices were changes in product classification. In Kansas, the Prairie designated three grades, roughly on the basis of gravity, and scaled prices accordingly. After November 10, 1904, Mid-Continent oil was purchased by gravity valuation. All oil above thirty-two Baumè received a given price, and all oil below this rating was given a reduction of five cents per barrel for every one-half degree below this rating.[20] Prairie officials objected to the new pricing technique but were overruled by officials of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey). The Prairie's officials thought this would bring renewed criticism upon their policy which it did.[21] Although producers disliked it, a better method of pricing was not found for another decade.

In Kansas, the producers believed they could escape the power of the Prairie by shipping their crude oil to Kansas City and Omaha as fuel oil. The railroads raised their rates and the producers saw themselves caught in a conspiracy by big business.[22] This left the oilmen in Kansas only two choices: sell to the Prairie at a low price or retain their oil in storage tanks.

Other changes in the Prairie's purchasing techniques reflected the shifting relationship between production of crude oil and available storage capacity. The Prairie tried to justify its position by saying it could not handle all oil produced in Kansas and Oklahoma, and that it had never intended to do so.[23] This caused a strained relationship between the Prairie and the producers. The Kansas producers held mass meetings in Peru, Chanute, and Independence to establish a company which would enter all phases of the petroleum industry with the hope of running Standard out of the state.[24]

The producers needed capital to support their project, and they turned to the State of Kansas for funds. The idea became part of the Republican platform in the 1904 election thus introducing the question of a state-owned refinery into the campaign. In compliance with his party's platform, Governor Edward W. Hock reviewed the problems facing the oilmen in his

---

19 *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.
20 Hidy and Hidy. *Pioneering in Big Business, 1882-1911*, p. 397.
21 Johnson, *American Petroleum Pipelines*, pp. 212-13.
22 Rister, *Oil! Titan of the Southwest*, p. 41.
23 Hidy and Hidy, *Pioneering in Big Business, 1882-1911*, p. 397.
24 Johnson, *American Petroleum Pipelines*, p. 212.

inaugural address.[25] In the address delivered to the legislature, he said:[26]

"Monopoly destroys competition, and that is all socialism does, considered from an industrial standpoint. Rather, therefore, than to permit the great monopolies to rob us of the benefits of the vast reservoirs of oil which have been stored by the creator beneath our soil, I am inclined to waive my objection to the socialistic phase of the subject and recommend that establishment of an oil refnery of our own in our state for the preservation of our wealth and the protection of our people."

The legislators listened attentively. At the opening of the legislative session, there were many plans, suggestions, and bills offered to help the oilmen in their fight against Standard. The first to win approval was Senate Bill 30, introduced on January 12, 1905, by Senator Sam Porter of Montgomery County. Its title was "An act to provide for the construction, maintenance, and operation of a state oil refinery and to provide the necessary funds for such construction, maintenance, operation, and management thereof under state control."[27]

While this bill was being considered, the oil producers were issued an invitation to attend a meeting of the newly formed "Chautauqua County Oil Producers Association" in Topeka. The meeting was called "to discuss the present conditions and future prospects of the petroleum industry of this state, and to take such united action as may then and there be believed proper and necessary." Every oil producing area in the state was represented at this conference.[28]

The Association presented five resolutions to the Legislature. They asked for construction of a state-owned refinery and requested legislation making pipe lines common carriers, setting maximum freight rates on oil, prohibiting rebates and discrimination in the price of refined oil, and establishing a state inspector to test the gravity of oil. All legislation was enacted except the last resolution. All the laws pleased most of the oilmen.[29] Although the oilmen wanted all five resolutions acted upon, the legislative sessions being limited in duration by law accomplished much. Its action was applauded by many groups since it was the

---

25 Inaugural Address of Governor Edward W. Hock, 1905, p. 6. The original may be found at the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

26 *Senate Journal, Proceedings of the Senate of the State of Kansas*, 14th Biennial Session, 1905, p. 16.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 138.

28 William E. Connelley, "The Kansas Oil Producers Against the Standard Oil Company," *Collections* of the Kansas State Historical Society, Vol. 9, Topeka, 1906, p. 95.

29 *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

first time that a state had taken any noteworthy action against the Standard Oil Company.

With the introduction of this bill, a great deal of activity was precipitated among the oil interest. It became a battleground between conservative and liberal groups. The controversy over the act centered on the large sum of money involved in its provisions. It called for an appropriation of $400,000 for building and operating a refinery to be located at Peru in Chautauqua County.[30] The supporters of the act believed its passage would drive Standard from the state. The opposition realized the refinery would bring little relief since it could handle only about one-twelth to one-tenth of the state's oil production.

The opposition, led by W. S. Fitzpatrick, president of the Kansas Senate, questioned the validity of the measure. The argument went to the Supreme Court of Kansas for a ruling. On July 7, 1905, the Supreme Court rendered part of Senate Bill 30 null and void.[31] The section invalidated by the court was the one that dealt with a state-owned refinery. It was said to be in conflict with the constitution of Kansas. Fitzpatrick, it must be noted, was in 1909, to become a member of the legal staff of the Prairie Oil & Gas Company.[32]

Socialism is not a political or economic characteristic normally associated with the people of Kansas. During the period of populism, state ownership of property was not a degenerate factor in the minds of many agrarians and small townsmen in the middle-west. It was also the period of trust-busting and the development of public sentiment in opposition to large corporations. Ida Tarbell and President Theodore Roosevelt had leading roles in this development with their comments against these large financial organizations. The effect of their comments on the American people cannot be evaluated precisely. Still they must be mentioned when we are talking about the uproar against big business.

The Prairie's method of purchase and transportation differed from that used in the eastern fields. In all pipe line activities, the company had been careful to preserve its status as a private carrier. Avoiding use of eminent domain, it had purchased or leased all of its rights of way.[33] It ran only the oil its agents pur-

---

30 *Senate Journal, Proceedings of the Senate of the State of Kansas*, pp. 230-31.

31 *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of the State of Kansas*, Vol. 71, 1906, pp. 832-36.

32 William E. Connelley, *The Oil Business As I Saw It* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1954), p. 23.

33 Hidy and Hidy, *Pioneering in Big Business, 1882-1911*, p. 397.

chased and took possession of the oil when it entered the plants. The price the Prairie paid to producers was extremely fair. Producers could select the company's posted price within two months of acceptance of their oil, or else they could accept the price of the first business day thereafter.[34] The Prairie retained its private carrier status until Kansas in 1905, and the federal government in 1906, made pipe lines common carriers.

In Indian Territory the Prairie strove to accommodate the overflowing supply by laying a new gathering lines. Even though Oklahoma oil contained a higher Baume rating than Kansas oil. Oklahoma producers received an average of about forty-one cents per barrel while Kansans were given about sixty-two cents per barrel.[35] When oilmen questioned the Prairie's price policies, the company attributed them to the high cost of transportation. The explanation failed to satisfy the producers.[36] The only oddity in these figures is that oil had been shipped from the early fields near Bartlesville to Caney for only sixteen cents a barrel. By merely comparing figures, it would appear that the price of transportation was approximately the same with or without the extension of the trunk line. The pipe line provided the most convenient method because the gathering lines took it directly from the well or the storage tank. The Oklahoma oilmen hoped that after statehood legislators would control oil pricing.

With the price of crude continually dropping, the producers expected a proportional decrease in the price of refined oil. The decrease did not occur, and producers could see no justification. Their resentment of the Prairie increased. On October 2, 1906, C. C. Coleman, Attorney General of Kansas, filed suit against The Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) for violating Kansas anti-trust laws.[37] Similar outcries had occurred in other states. These protests against Standard had motivated Congress in 1905 to pass a resolution calling for the investigation of the relation of Standard to the oil fields in Kansas. This led to a complete investigation of Standard Oil and its affairs in all areas of the oil business.[38]

The findings made by the United States Bureau of Corporations were very revealing. They stated that transportation was the most dominant aspect of the oil business. It constituted a large percentage of the total cost of the finished product and

---

[34] Williamson, *et al.*, *The American Petroleum Industry*, p. 90.

[35] "Oklahoma, As Seen by Joe Chapple," *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine*, Vol. 6 (April, 1908), p. 43.

[36] Hidy and Hidy, *Pioneering in Big Business, 1882-1911*, p. 398.

[37] Giddens, *Standard Oil Company (Indiana)*, p. 99.

[38] *Congressional Report of the House of Representatives*, 58th Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. 34 (1905), p. 2666.

was an important aspect in regulating competition. Once constructed, the commissioners of the Bureau of Corporations pointed out, the pipe line company could not shift its lines if production in a field decreased. The costs and risks for a pipe line company were great especially if it guessed incorrectly on a few fields.[39]

Criticism of its policy did not stop the Prairie from continuing an active role in the mid-west petroleum business. In 1906, to facilitate the movement of oil, the Prairie built a second trunk line from its Humboldt storage farm to Griffith, Indiana. Throughout half its length, the new pipe line contained the first twelve-inch pipe for such a purpose. The line was constructed in such a superb manner that it could handle fifty thousand barrels every twenty-four hours. Daniel O'Day, manager for all trunk lines constructed by the Prairie, died in 1906, but his effort had created the longest pipe line in the world. The entire line stretched from the Glenn Pool fields in Oklahoma to the Atlantic Coast.[40]

Despite the efforts of the Prairie and other corporations, production in the Mid-Continent field exceeded transportation and refining facilities from 1901 to 1911. The flow of oil from the wells in Indian Territory mounted suddenly by 1907 to 45,933,000 barrels, and by 1911, it reached 57,348,000 barrels.[41] Even with the Prairie's connection with eastern refineries and the completion in 1907 of two trunk lines by its major pipe line rivals, not more than approximately two-thirds of the production in 1909 could be handled. Wooden and earthen tanks provided but temporary and unsatisfactory means of holding the surplus production.

There were many reasons for overproduction. One was the "get rich quick" philosophy of those who believed that the more oil a person could produce, the richer he would be. Others believed that once a well was shut down it would not flow again. Wastage was greater because conservation practices were as yet undeveloped.

New regulations issued by the Secretary of Interior's office further increased activity among oil producers in Oklahoma. Most of the oil was discovered on land owned by Indians, many of whom were wards of the United States. In order to protect their interests, a new regulation was put into effect stating that

---

39 *Report of the Commissioner of Corporations of the Petroleum Industry*, Vol. 1 (1907), pp. 196-200.

40 Hidy and Hidy, *Pioneering in Big Business, 1882-1911*, p. 391.

41 Williamson, *et al.*, *The American Petroleum Industry*, p. 93.

any land leased from the Indians must have drilling activity within the first year or the lease would be forfeited. The regulation caused the production of excess petroleum, regardless of supply, storage, or price.[42]

A few years later, the Prairie was disappointed when a law passed by the new State of Oklahoma prohibited piping natural gas out of the state. The law was passed to bring new industry into the state, because many Oklahomans felt that with the availability of low cost natural gas, industries would move into the state. Their reasoning proved to be unrealistic as the new appeal did not bring new industries into the state. Rather it caused instead a considerable amount of waste. Since there were few profitable outlets for this gas, it was allowed in most cases to seep away.[43]

The first major protest in Oklahoma against the Standard Oil interest was brought about by the leasing of Osage lands. In 1896, the Department of Interior had given a blanket lease for the entire reservation to Edwin B. Foster. In 1903, Congress gave the Department of Interior power to renew leases and subleases for an additional ten years. In March, 1905, the renewal of the leases occurred.[44]

Lease renewal brought bitter protest from people in the Oklahoma Territory. Many felt they had been denied the right of obtaining potential oil producing property. Oklahoma citizens, they believed, would have superior right to acquire all land after statehood. They also believed that the profits from this land were going to big foreign businesses and not to the local people. It was maintained that many companies, especially the Prairie, had claimed more land than they were justly entitled. It was charged that their agents had each claimed 4,800 acres while legally each corporation was entitled to only 4,800 acres.[45] The protests reached deaf ears in Washington and were soon forgotten when production continued to increase.

During July, 1908, the second major protest in Oklahoma against the Prairie's actions began with an injunction issued by allowed the right of eminent domain in the state of Oklahoma.[46] Charles Haskell left the state to attend a meeting of the Democratic party in Denver, Colorado. The injunction was designed to stop the Prairie from building additional gathering lines in

---

[42] *Senate Journal, Proceedings of the Senate of the State of Oklahoma*, 1st Biennial Session, 1907, p. 77.

[43] *Senate Journal, Proceedings of the Senate of the State of Oklahoma*, 1st Biennial Session, p. 83.

[44] U. S., *Statutes at Large*, Vol. 33, p. 1061.

[45] *Times-Democrat*, May 1, 1906.

the state. Since the Prairie was a foreign company, it was not allowed the right of eminent domain in the state of Oklahoma.[46]

West used two articles from the Hepburn Act to support his case: No public corporation shall own land except such that is necessary for the conduct of its business as a public service corporation, and no public service corporation shall conduct business that brings it in direct competition with a like business conducted by its patrons.[47]

The injunction was unpopular with Governor Haskell and many of the state's oil producers. The latter's attitudes stemmed from the fact that without the Prairie's purchasing power, they had no means of selling their crude oil.[48] The Governor, on the other hand, had little feeling for the independent producers. Apparently he was disturbed only because West had not consulted him before issuing the injunction.

When Governor Haskell returned to the state, he asked that the injunction be withdrawn, but West refused. The Governor then filed a motion with the district court to have the suit against the Prairie withdrawn. The point to be decided was whether the attorney general might bring suit independent of the governor. The governor's motion was overruled by Judge A. H. Houston on July 30, 1908, in the District Court of Logan County.[49] The decision did not meet with Governor Haskell's satisfaction, and he asked the Supreme Court of Oklahoma for a Writ of Prohibition. The court issued the Writ of Prohibition allowing the motion of dismissal to be decided by the members of the Supreme Court.[50]

Governor Haskell's action was greeted with disapproval by the editor of the *Daily Oklahoman,* Omer K. Benedict. Benedict wrote on July 30, 1908, "Probably for the first time in the history of court practice, a third party (and that party being the governor of the commonwealth) has appeared in the supreme court of the state and asked for a writ."[51] These editorial attacks continued daily. After publishing an article entitled "Who is the Liar," Benedict was arrested for criminal libel on a complaint made by Governor Haskell. Benedict had posed the question of who was lying—the governor or the paper—in their dispute. He stated that the governor had no legal right to make private agreements with Prairie's officials. These agreements protected

---

46 *Lexington* (Oklahoma) *Leader*, July 8, 1908.
47 *Ibid.*, July 17, 1908.
48 *Vinita* (Oklahoma) *Weekly Chieftain*, July 17, 1908.
49 *Ibid.*, July 30, 1908.
50 *The Daily Oklahoman*, August 1, 1908.
51 *Oklahoma City Times*, July 29, 1908.

the Prairie.[52] Haskell received much criticism after Benedict's arrest. One attack came from the Democratic National Committee which said that any elected public official should be able to accept criticism without taking radical action.[53]

On September 4, the Governor and the Prairie won a victory by the unanimous decision by the Supreme Court. This decision upheld the right of the governor to order a dismissal of the suit filed by the attorney general to oust the Prairie from the state.[54] West asked for an appeal and was refused.[55] This supposedly brought an end to another major outcry against the Prairie. After consideringg the building of a refinery near the Gulf of Mexico for many years, the officials of Standard Oil decided in 1908 to erect a new plant at Baton Rouge, Louisiana. It was to be connected to the Oklahoma fields with the construction of a trunk line. During 1909, the Standard Oil Company of Louisiana was created, and it began immediately to build a 30,000 barrel refinery. The refinery was completed in 1910, and it provided yet another outlet for crude oil coming from the Mid-Continent fields.[56]

In 1910, the Prairie, in an attempt to satisfy certain groups in the state, formed a local company called the Oklahoma Pipe Line Company.[57] Through its new subsidiary, the Prairie completed its pipe line development to Baton Rouge, and the major struggles were over.

The Prairie produced a relatively small proportion of the petroleum extracted from the Mid-Continent fields because it was restrained by legal limitations and its deliberate policy. Its first annual production in Indian Territory, that in 1905, amounted to 101,000 barrels, but its volume rose to 5,230,000 six years later. The Prairie's best year in Kansas was in 1904, when it produced 116,000 barrels. During the years 1901-1911, the Prairie produced less than six percent of the total oil from the Mid-Continent fields.[58]

The Prairie's position resulted from its extensive piping and storage facilities which were the largest in the world. A contemporary observer noted: "Of what value would be the oil,

---

52 *Ibid.*, August 19, 1908.

53 *Ibid.*, August 21, 1908.

54 *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of the State of Oklahoma*, Vol. 21, 1908, p. 217.

55 *Lexington Leader*, November 13, 1908.

56 Williamson, *et al.*, *The American Petroleum Industry*, p. 95.

57 Charter, Oklahoma Pipe Line Company, March 15, 1910. Office of the Secretary of State of Oklahoma. Oklahoma City.

58 Williamson, *et al.*, *The American Petroleum Industry*, p. 93.

however continuously it might flow, if there were no way of transporting it or selling it for storage."[59] The Prairie made the region's crude oil worth a fortune to the producers by providing this outlet. It did so at a cost of several million dollars which was an expenditure possible only for a powerful corporation. The protests that arose from various groups were in some cases valid, but even though it gained fantastic profits, the Prairie brought the petroleum market to the area. Without the Prairie, the growth of the Mid-Continent field would have been delayed for several years.

---

[59] Charles N. Gould, "Oil and Gas in Oklahoma," *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine*, Vol. 5, (January, 1908), p. 47.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

The Brush Court in Indian Territory

An account of a traveling U.S. Court, known as "The Brush Court," was told in an interview with Harry H. Adams of Muskogee, Oklahoma, on January 12, 1938, to James S. Buchanan, an investigator of Indian Territory history. The manuscript of this interview with Mr. Adams is found in Volume 99 of "Indian and Pioneer History," (Foreman Collection) Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society:

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT OF HARRY H. ADAMS

I was born October 1, 1879 at Nashville, Illinois. My father was David Adams, Irish, his father migrating to this country from Ireland. My mother was Henryetta Akins Adams.

In 1889, when I was ten years of age my parents moved to the Indian Territory, stopping at Muskogee. Soon after coming to Muskogee my father was appointed Deputy United States Marshal under T. B. Needles who was the first United States Marshal appointed in this district of the Indian Territory. Father served as deputy under Chief Needles, then S. M. Rutherford during his term, then under Leo E. Bennett until he resigned the service in 1907, serving a total of eighteen years in the service of the United States as Deputy Marshal.

After coming to Muskogee, I attended school at the Harrell Institute. Professor Brewer was the principal and Mrs. C. L. Jackson, now of Muskogee was the music teacher.

Later I attended the W. T. C. U. school for boys situated just east of what is now 'C' Street between Broadway and Okmulgee.

About 1893 I went to work in the Muskogee post office as clerk under F. C. Hubbard, postmaster; also under Frank Berry who succeeded Mr. Hubbard as postmaster. Leaving the postal service, I accepted a position in W. C. Jackson's jewelry store which was located on Main Street south of Broadway, a one story building. After about two years with W. C. Jackson, I went to work in M. L. Bragdon's Drug Store which was also situated on Main Street between Broadway and Okmulgee. I remained with Mr. Bragdon about a year, then returned to the post office as clerk under Frank Berry, postmaster, also under H. T. Estes who succeeded Frank Berry as postmaster.

Leaving the post office, I accepted a position as bailiff in the Federal Court under Leo Bennett in 1898 where I served in different capacities until Statehood in 1907.

The Brush Court

In 1898 when the Frisco Railroad was building between Sapulpa and Oklahoma City there was a great deal of trouble through that part of the Territory, crimes ranging from misdemeanor to murder. Muskogee being the closest Federal Court, in most cases the aggrieved parties would not go to the trouble of traveling to Muskogee to secure a warrant for the arrest of the offending parties, they would take the matter in their own hands, which in many cases resulted in killing. Conditions grew from bad to worse until United States Marshal Leo E. Bennett

went to Washington and obtained permission from the Attorney General to establish a traveling court as it seemed impossible to bring the troubles into court.

All preparations were made and a caravan equipped for the expedition, consisting of wagons for baggage and equipment, chuck wagon, hacks and buggies for transportation and saddle horses for the posse of Deputy Marshals. When the caravan was completely equipped and all arrangements were made, we left Muskogee in August.

Included in the personnel of this "Brush Court," as it was named due to its transient and various locations, was the United States Commissioner, Dave Yancey presiding as Judge, as at that time in the Territory the United States Commissioner had authority to try criminal cases; Leo E. Bennett, United States Marshal with the following deputies; Bud Ledbetter, Lon Davis, Bill Barker, my father, Dave Adams, and myself; a Negro cook by the name of Bill Wright, who incidentally was a former bugler of the old 10th Cavalry; and a Negro teamster whose name I cannot remember.

Leaving Muskogee we took a westerly direction and after a hard days travel we camped the first night on Mountain Creek near the old "Spike S" ranch. The next day we proceeded to a place on Polecat Creek where we made camp near Sapulpa, from where we had been receiving many complaints of law violations. The officers made a raid in Sapulpa, breaking up and cleaning out several questionable places and gambling joints and making several arrests. No trials were held there as all parties made bond. Leaving there our next stop was just west of Kellyville where we camped about three days while the officers were scouting the vicinity and at the same time waiting for a big stomp dance that was to take place at the old Tuskegee stomp ground on Little Deep Fork southeast of Bristow. Breaking camp near Kellyville, we made it to Tiger Jack's place south of Kellyville that evening where we spent the night. Starting the next morning we made Jesse Allen's ranch southeast of Bristow for dinner. Leaving Jesse's place we proceeded to a place near the Tuskegee stomp ground, arriving there late in the afternoon and making camp about three quarters of a mile from the stomp ground and on the opposite bank of Little Deep Fork. Outposts were immediately established in the vicinity of the camp and during the evening each straggling Indian who approached the camp was taken into custody and detained in camp until that night so as to prevent them from informing others of our presence in the vicinity.

That night at the proper time we made a raid on the stomp

ground and due to a complete surprise, the raid was a success and resulted in the arrest of nine people for whom we had warrants. The next day we held court in the camp on the bank of Little Deep Fork and all prisoners who were found guilty were bound over, and due to the lack of facilities for confining the prisoners, we would shackle them and chain them to trees and tent posts. We were in that camp five days and the posse was busy scouring that part of the country for parties when we had warrants and occasionally bringing in other prisoners for trial.

There was a gang known as the Hughes gang led by three brothers by the name of Hughes who had been giving trouble in that vicinity for some time. About three o'clock one morning Bud Ledbetter, Lon Lewis, Jesse Allen and Tiger Jack left camp on the trail of the Hughes gang. Between daylight and sunup the officers contacted the gang, supposedly coming in from one of their raids, the officers commanded their arrest which immediately resulted in a gun battle and the death of one of the Hughes brothers, another brother was brought in by Jesse Allen and later in the day Bud Ledbetter and Lon Lewis came in together with another member of the gang. Later while we were at Bristow, the other and only one of the Hughes brothers who was at liberty made his appearance there in an effort to contact his brother who was in jail there, which resulted in his arrest.

After the general cleanup of the vicinity on Little Deep Fork we broke camp and proceeded to the little town of Bristow which was only a shack and tent town at that time. The Frisco was building through there and the track was not yet completed into Bristow. As our caravan approached Bristow from the south there was a general exodus of gamblers, bootleggers and general riff-raff from the side on the north of the shacktown. We made camp on the most desirable location on the east side of the right-of-way.

The posse raided the place immediately upon our arrival, not missing a tent or shack, making three arrests and capturing many gambling devices of various descriptions, of which we built several bonfires at different places in the one street of the tent town. The next day we held court, and at the same time the posse made a raid on a construction gang that was building the Frisco track into Bristow. When the posse approached the camp about half of the gang fled to the brush, however, they made two or three arrests. The next day the posse adopted greater strategy and surrounded the construction camp before they learned of our presence.

After surrounding the camp they closed in from all sides

not permitting a chance of escape in any direction. In this raid there were three more arrests made, including one Negro that was wanted for murder, who was later tried and sentenced to Fort Leavenworth prison for life. By the time we left Bristow we had about thirty prisoners, all chained to trees about the camp.

During the time we were in camp at Bristow the only one of the Hughes brothers of the Hughes gang that escaped in the gun battle near Tuskegee stomp ground came to Bristow in an effort to see his brother who was there as a prisoner. He was immediately arrested and placed with the other prisoners.

Before leaving Bristow we were compelled to hire another team and wagon for transportation of the large number of prisoners we had collected.

Leaving Bristow we proceeded in the direction of old Mounds, camping that night on Polecat Creek between Bristow and Mounds. Incidentally that night was the first and only rain we experienced during the expedition, and the only inconvenience it caused was that we had to chain the prisoners in the tents that night.

Breaking camp at Polecat Creek early the next morning we experienced a slow and tedious trip over rough and muddy road or trail until late in the afternoon when we reached old Mounds, which at that time was located several miles north of the present site of Mounds at the north entrance of the pass where the old road passed between what was called Twin Mountains. We camped there that night and after another days journey we arrived at Buford Miller's ranch which was located on Duck Creek about fifteen miles west and a little south of where the town of Haskell now stands. We were in camp there three days, during which the two wagons with the necessary guards brought the prisoners to Muskogee. As soon as the wagons and guards returned we broke camp and moved to Okmulgee where we spent about five days.

We established our camp on the little creek which was then north of the little town of Okmulgee, though now the town has grown past it. At that time there was a Negro postmaster at Okmulgee against whom there was an indictment for selling whiskey. Dr. Bennett, Chief United States Marshal, came to my father while at Okmulgee and asked father if there was anyone in the outfit that could relieve the postmaster in case the warrant was served and the Negro could not make bond. Father referred Dr. Bennett to me, due to my experience in the post office at Muskogee, so Dr. Bennett instructed Father to execute

the warrant. Father then called me into his tent and told me to get ready to go to town as he had a mission for me to perform. I cleaned up and reported to him. He handed me the warrant and told me to serve it on the postmaster and if he could not make bond I would relieve him as postmaster at that place until another could be appointed. That did not please me as I did not want to stay at the place. I proceeded to the post office and served the warrant and had quite a talk with him, as I was going to perfect some plan if possible to avoid being kept at Okmulgee. After a lengthy conference the postmaster and I went to the Parkinson Mercantile Company where we contacted Mr. Parkinson and prevailed upon him to make the postmaster's bond.

Mr. Parkinson was rather reluctant about making the postmaster's bond, but I put up a very impressive plea for the Negro on the grounds that I thought it was all a political frame-up against the postmaster because he was a Negro. Finally Mr. Parkinson consented and I appeared before the "Brush" court with the prisoner and a satisfactory bond. I didn't stay at Okmulgee as postmaster.

After cleaning out Okmulgee by raiding several places, closing up places of vice, whiskey and gambling joints and making several arrests we broke camp and started for Muskogee with the mission of "Brush Court" completed.

After returning to Muskogee with the "Brush Court" expedition I went to work in the Muskogee post office where I remained one month, then went to work in the United States Marshal's office under Dr. Bennett where I remained until Statehood in 1907. In December, 1907, I went to Seattle, Washington, where I lived until January, 1921, at which time I returned to Muskogee where I have since made my home. July 22, 1922, I again entered the service of the United States Marshal's office as deputy marshal in which capacity I served until September 16, 1923. Since that time I have been employed in the civil service as guard in the Federal Building at Muskogee.

My father served as a United States Deputy Marshal continually from April 20, 1889, until 1907, being in the service eighteen years.

General John Nicks Appointed Vice President of the Day Celebrating the 4th of July at Fort Gibson, 1827

Fort Gibson celebrated the "51st Anniversary of our Independence"—July 4th, 1827—with General John Nicks serving as Vice President of the day. A Resolution providing for the ap-

pointment of General Nicks is found in a faded document — the original — recently given to the Oklahoma Historical Society through the Editorial Office by Mrs. Melvin Smith of Siloam Springs, Arkansas:

Fort Gibson 14 June, 1827

Sir —

At a meeting of the Officers of this Post, held on the 4 inst. for the purpose of making preliminary arrangements, to celebrate the 51st Anniversary of our Independence, the following resolution was unanimously adopted. Resolution. That General John Nicks be appointed Vice President of the Day.

We have the Honor
to be Yours

General Jno. Nicks

B. Bonneville)
P. M. Butler) *Committee*
Thos. Johnston)

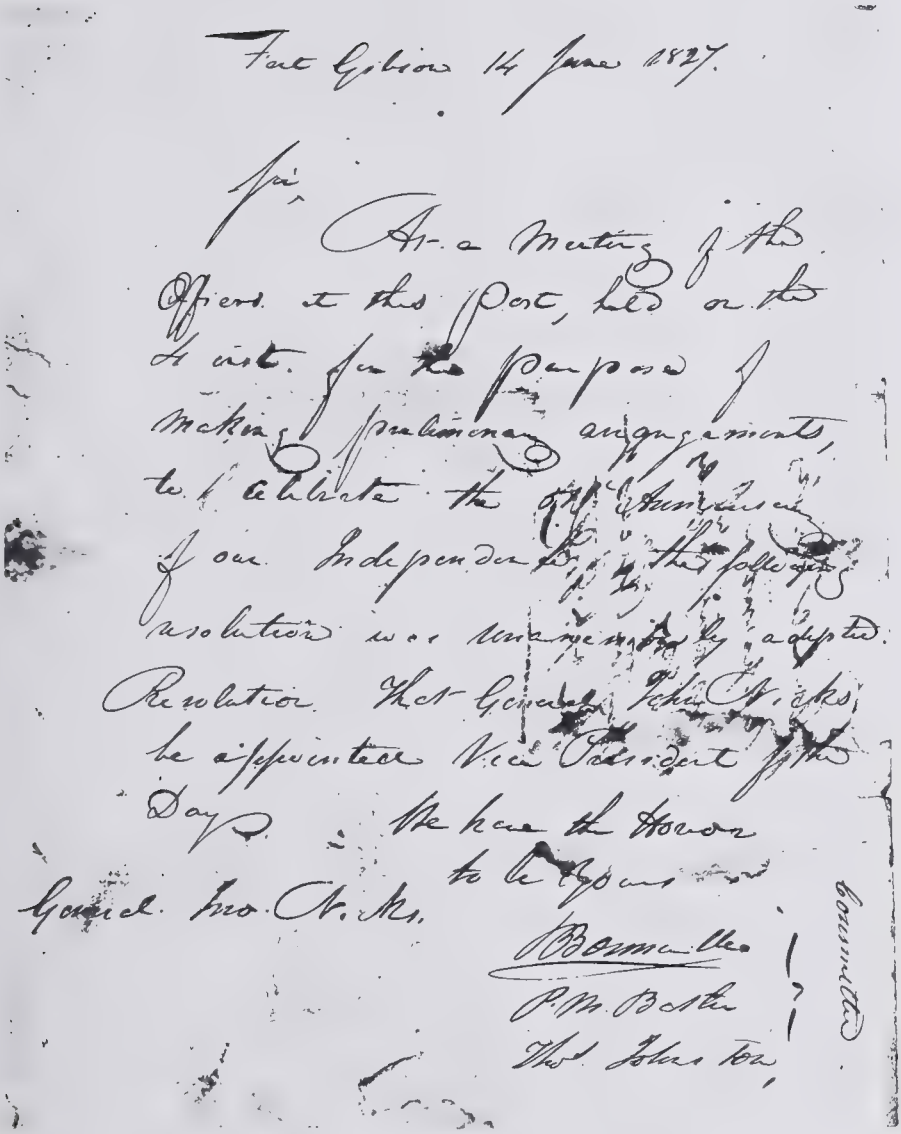
General John Nicks, to whom this communication is formally addressed, was a rugged character on the Arkansas frontier, "noted for his strong common sense and sterling courage." He was once visited at Fort Gibson by Washington Irving who later wrote that the General had made a fortune of $20,000 and that "Old Genl. Nix used to say God made him two drinks short."

The celebration mentioned as the "51st Anniversary of our Independence" is described in the sketch, "General John Nicks and his wife, Sarah Perkins Nicks," by Caroline Thomas Foreman published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. VIII, No. 4 (1930):

. . . Nicks and his partner John Rogers did a prosperous business . . . evidenced by the fact that the steamboat *Superior,* 100 tons, Captain Charadon, arrived from New Orleans, May 30, 1826 with a large keel boat in tow, loaded with stores for them at Cantonment Gibson. They also conducted a trading store at Fort Smith and the steamboat *Highland Laddie,* Captain McCallam, "19 days from New Orleans," brought a full cargo in May, 1827, principally for General Nicks, Sutler at Cantonment Gibson . . .

The 4th of July was celebrated at Fort Gibson with a banquet at which thirteen toasts were drunk. Many men celebrated in this section responded to toasts: among them Colonel Nicks, Captain Nathaniel Pryor, Captain Pierce M. Butler, John Dillard, and Col. A. P. Chouteau. Life was very monotonous at this western post but there were a few diversions, which included a race track at Fort Gibson. Colonel Chouteau had a private track at his baronial estate on Grand River where races were run and he entertained the army officers lavishly.

Poker parties were frequent and betting was high. On one occasion Colonel Nicks returning home after two or three nights of prolonged



Fort Gibson 14 June 1827.

Sir

At a Meeting of the Officers at this Post, held on the 4th inst. for the purpose of making preliminary arrangements, to celebrate the approaching Anniversary of our Independence, the following Resolution was unanimously adopted.

Resolution That General John Nicks be appointed Vice President of the Day. We have the Honour to be Your Obt. Servts.

Genl. Jno. Nicks.

Committee
P. M. Boisse
Thos. Johnston

FORT GIBSON, JUNE 14, 1827

Letter with Resolution appointing General John Nicks Vice President for the celebration of the 4th of July.

playing, attempting to crawl through a window to his bedroom was commanded to throw up his hands. The valiant Sarah was sitting up in bed with a gun leveled at her husband and she demanded that he explain his conduct in sneaking into her room like a thief.

The three signatures of the Committee members on the Resolution shown here are of young Army officers who became noted in western history. Thomas Johnston, a native of Pennsylvania and a graduate of West Point in 1818, died after eighteen years service as an Army officer, part of this time spent at Fort Gibson.

P. M. Butler, better known in history as Pierce Mason Butler, was born in 1798, a native of South Carolina who was commissioned lieutenant in the U.S. Army through the interest of Senator John C. Calhoun in 1818. He is reported as the Army officer in charge of erection of the first buildings at Fort Gibson, soon after the site of the Post was selected in 1824, and occupied by a detachment of the Seventh Infantry out of Fort Smith, under the command of Colonel Mathew Arbuckle. Butler had been commissioned as captain by 1827 when the road between Fort Smith and Fort Gibson was completed under his direction. This was the first military road in Oklahoma, a highway 16 feet wide extending west from Fort Smith 56 miles. Captain Butler retired from Army service in 1829, and returned to civil life in his native state where he became a banker, served as trustee of South Carolina College, and was elected governor in 1836. Two years later he was appointed as U.S. Agent to the Cherokees, and returned west to the region of Fort Gibson where he was prominent in Indian affairs especially in promoting the search for the noted Sequoyah, inventor of the Cherokee alphabet. Butler was superseded by President Polk's appointment of a new Cherokee Agent in 1845. Two years later, as leader of the South Carolina Palmetto Regiment, Colonel Butler was fatally wounded in the bloody battle of Churubusco in Mexico. He is described in his biography by Caroline Thomas Foreman (*The Chronicles*, Vol. XXX, No. 1- 1952) as a man "tall and distinguished in appearance," one of "broad social interests," a description that fits him even when as a young captain he signed as a member of the Committee to celebrate the 51st Anniversary of Independence at Fort Gibson.

Of all the members of the Committee who signed the Resolution addressed to General Nicks, B. Bonneville was the most famous in the romantic history of the West. He was a native of France who came to America as a lad with his refugee family, his father an editor of a French newspaper who had denounced Napoleon Bonaparte in editorials. Young Bonneville graduated from West Point in 1813, having received appointment to the

Academy through the influence of his father's friend Marquis de Lafayette and other mutual friends. As Captain, Benjamin B. L. Bonneville was well known at Forts Smith and Gibson. In 1831, under an order from the War Department, he headed an exploring expedition at his own expense in the West, and was gone so long his name was dropped from the Army rolls. He was reinstated with his commission by recommendation from President Jackson. Captain Bonneville served in laying out a new military road from Fort Smith to Fort Towson in 1837, along the Arkansas line. He was a celebrity to the end of his days at Fort Smith (1878). One of his biographers who knew him says that he was the real "Pathfinder" in the West. His notes of his expedition to the West were the basis of the well known book, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville,* by Washington Irving. Maps and a survey report of the Canadian River country in 1830 by Captain Bonneville are found in *The Chronicles,* Vol. X, No. 3 (1932), with an introduction and notes by Grant Foreman.

A second rare document given to the Historical Society by Mrs. Melvin Smith shows the signature of Thomas Gist, written on July 28, 1828, in the "Territory of Arkansas, County of Lovely, Nicks Township." Parts of present Sequoyah and Cherokee counties in Oklahoma at that time were included in "Lovely County," which was organized as a county of Arkansas Territory in 1827, in October following the 4th of July celebration at Fort Gibson. The Arkansas Legislature had appointed General John Nicks as one of the commissioners to select the site of the county seat. The location was named Nicksville in honor of General Nicks, and a postoffice was established here on April 25, 1827, with one John Dillard as postmaster. The postoffice was discontinued a year later, and the log cabins at Nicksville were occupied by the missionaries and school children of Dwight Mission when the Cherokees moved to this new country from Arkansas in 1830. This location in present Sequoyah County is still that of Dwight Mission, one of the well known historic sites in Oklahoma. The Cherokees were assigned this part of the country by the Treaty of 1828, from which time the western boundary of Arkansas was farther east and Lovely County ceased to exist. The old document here appoints Alonzo C. Sadler with the power of attorney over 320 acres claimed by Thomas Gist in this region:

(M.H.W.)

Territory of Arkansas
County of Lovely

Know all men by these presents that I, Thomas Gist of the county and Territory aforesaid have made, constituted and appointed and by these presents do make constitute and appoint Alonzo C. Sadler to be my

sufficient and lawful attorney for one and in my name to release and to convey to himself the said Alonzo C. Sadler or such person or persons as he may deem meet; three hundred and twenty acres (or two quarter sections of land) which I am entitled to by reason of my having been a settler in that part of the Territory of Arkansas which by the first article of the treaty between the United States and the Cherokee Indians West of the Mififsippi [Mississippi] ratified the 23rd day of May 1828, has ceased to be a part of said Territory. Whenever the Patent shall isfue from the President of the United States, and upon such conveyance, convenient and proper deed or deeds with such covenant or covenants of warranty quit claim or otherwise as my attorney shall deem expedient in due form of law as my deed or deeds to make seal, deliver and acknowledge and suitable acquittance and acquittances in my name and stead to make seal and deliver to himself or any other person and generally giving to my attorney full power touching the premifses to execute, proceed and finish all things in as ample a manner as I might do if personally present hereby ratifying and confirming all lawful acts done by my said attorney in virtue hereof. In testimony wherof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 28th day of July 1828.

In Presence of
[Mstr Aron] Adair
Minitree Catron

Thomas Gist (Seal)

Territory of Arkansas)
County of Lovely)
Nicks Township)

This day personally appeared before me a justice of the peace within and for the Territory County and Township aforesaid the above named Thomas Gist and acknowledged the above power of attorney to be his act and deed for the purposes therein mentioned and contained in testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand this twenty eight day of July one thousand Eight hundred and twenty Eight.

R. S. Gibson
Justice of the Peace

BOOK REVIEWS

The Mississippi Valley Frontier. By John Anthony Caruso. (Bobbs-Merrill, New York. 1966, Pp. 423. $8.50)

Nearly half of the continental United States is influenced in some way by the Mississippi River and its tributaries. The influence of the early explorers to this vast region has also been felt.

The Mississippi was explored by Europeans as early as 1541 and the author traces the paths of the French voyageurs, missionaries, and famous and infamous explorers from the small lakes of northern Minnesota to the swamps of Louisiana. This was the age of French exploration and settlement for these were the men who mapped out trade routes, founded settlements, and established contact with unknown Indian cultures.

Professor Caruso devotes six of the first seven chapters to the customs and manners of the principal Indian tribes living on the west bank of the river in frontier times. The Sioux, Osage, Sac and Fox, Chippewas, Quapaws and Caddoes are dramatically presented in their ancient valley homes.

The author has developed a new perspective and he has painted a gigantic picture with an intimacy of detail. Whether writing of European explorers or Indian cultures, he has written with a sparkling style.

Chapter notes are necessary and the author has the reader with plenty. He is most generous with his source information. A selected bibliography of primary and secondary works is long and extensive.

The Passing of 3-D Ranch. By Lon R. Stansbery. (Buffalo-Head Press, New York, 1966. Pp. 92. $8.50.

This 60,000 acre ranch in the southeast corner of the Osage Nation had magnificent hills, wonderful prairies and creeks of cool, sparkling water filled with fish. Just a stone's throw from the City of Tulsa, it was land leased by Tom Wagoner, one of Texas' best known cattlemen. In the spring of 1889, he drove 15,000 head of cattle from the Otoe Reservation thus starting one of the largest ranches in the Osage.

The 3-D passed out of existence because it was ruined for grazing by the discovery of great quantities of oil. The rancher's paradise passed into history. It is good that the author set down much of the early day history of the ranch and stories of the people who lived and worked there. Quite a bit is included about

the Daltons, the Cooks, Bill Doolin, Cherokee Bill and other early day outlaws.

There is also something on the Mashed O Ranch and its owner, W. E. Halsell, another well known Texas cowman. Halsell was one of the few to continue livestock operations well into modern times.

This is a facsimile reprint of a long out-of-print and expensive book. The original was published in 1930 by the author and was printed by the Geo. W. Henry Printing Co. of Tulsa, Oklahoma. It sold for one dollar.

Firearms, Traps & Tools of the Mountain Man. By Carl P. Russell. (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1967. Pp. 448. $12.50.)

Those who are greatly interested in the era of "the mountain man" will find this book one of the finest yet written on this subject. It is beautifully put together and the author has skillfully blended his years of research with a style of writing that is literate and entertaining.

Those rugged individualists who have come to be called "mountain men" were a distinct breed. We owe a great debt to them and the part they played in the westward expansion of this nation. As they followed the beaver in search of pelts, they opened trails that became major traffic ways.

Mr.Russell begins his book by giving his reader a brief background in western fur-trade history (early 1800's to the mid-1840's) and then discusses the weapons, tools, and procedures with which these remarkable frontiersmen virtually developed a unique material culture in overcoming the obstacles of an untracked wilderness. Rifles, shotguns, hatchets, axes, knives, steel traps and miscellaneous iron tools are protrayed and discussed by the hundreds in this fascinating book.

There are more than four hundred drawings that reveal the often crude but effective paraphernalia and forgotten processes in the early fur-trade commerce. Some two hundred collections of historic fur-trade artifacts were drawn upon in making the selection for this book.

The author's appendices include among other sections a suggestive essay on "Historic Objects as Sources of History." There is an extensive twenty-two page bibliography. Without a doubt, this book will become a prime source of detailed information on the mountain man and his working equipment and will be on the shelf of every historian-archeologist.

—Arthur Shoemaker

Hominy, Oklahoma

EDWARD G. CORNETT

At the age of twenty, he made the run on April 22, 1889, with his family, and helped stake two claims near Fort Reno.

NECROLOGY

EDWARD G. CORNETT

1868-1968

Ed Cornett, who perhaps at the time of his death had lived longer in what is now Oklahoma than any other living person, died Tuesday, July 16, 1968 in Oklahoma City. Interment was at Resthaven Memorial Gardens.

A native of Manchester, Kentucky, Mr. Cornett was born December 4, 1868. He came to Indian Territory with his parents in 1880, and with his family settled east of Anadarko.

He worked on the Chisholm Trail and the name Cornett lives in Oklahoma history, in that the Cornett Hotel, an active hostelry at Silver City, was operated by his parents. As a youth he lived with his family at the hotel and saw the entire panorama of the passing of the Chisholm Trail and the cattle industry.

He made the run of April 22, 1889, with his family, helping to stake out two claims of one-quarter section each just east of El Reno on U. S. Highway 66. He was not of age to stake out his own claim but owning a fast saddle horse reached the first agreed upon land claim ahead of his father who then took over upon his arrival. With that land in possession he raced to the next quarter section to await there for his older sister to take charge.

He moved to Oklahoma City in 1910 and resided at the same home, 3601 N.W. 10th Street for over 50 years. In 1911 he married Loie Cleveland.

He helped open the Oklahoma City stock yards in 1910, serving as hog salesman for National Commission Company. In 1923 he started up his own local slaughter plant, known then and since as the Cornett Packing Company, which he later turned over to his two sons, the late Buster Cornett, and Jack, to operate. He did most of the buying for the plant until he retired in the '50s.

He was a member of St. David's Episcopal Church, Chamber of Commerce, Cowboy Hall of Fame, a charter member of Westside Lions Club, a 32nd degree Mason, and a member of the old Cherokee Strip Cow Punchers' Association.

He is survived by four daughters, Mrs. Charles M. Cassady, 1315 S.W. 30, Mrs. Allie Brewer, 4613 N.W. 16; Mrs. A. A. Aker, 5712 N.W. 46; and Mrs. Pat Ash, 3704 N.W. 18. Also, a son Jack, 4933 N.W. 33. A sister, Mrs. W. P. Cornett, 4147 N.W. 18 and a daughter-in-law, Mrs. Buster Cornett, 921 S.W. 45. He also leaves 16 grandchildren, 10 great grandchildren and 2 great-great grandchildren.

—George H. Shirk

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

April 25, 1968

The Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order at 9:30 a.m. on the morning of Thursday, April 25, 1968 in the auditorium of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building. Presiding over the meeting was President of the Society. George H. Shirk. President Shirk announced that Governor Bartlett had suggested the Society use the Governor's Prayer Breakfast, just concluded, as the invocation for the Annual Meeting.

Mr. Herbert L. Branan, a close friend and colleague of Gov. Leon C. Phillips, gave a brief talk and summary of Governor Phillips' education, accomplishments and goals of life.

A portrait of Governor Leon C. Phillips, painted by Richard V. Goetz, was unveiled and presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society by Mrs. Leon C. Phillips. President Shirk accepted the painting on behalf of the Society and the State of Oklahoma.

A motion was made by Miss Seger and seconded by Mr. Bass that the Publication Committee have a reprint of the speech made by Mr. Branan appear in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* The motion was adopted.

Mr. Phillips moved that all actions taken by the Board of Directors and officers of the Society, during the past year, be ratified and approved. Mr. Muldrow seconded the motion, which passed.

It being determined there was no further business, the meeting was adjourned at 10:00 a.m.

George H. Shirk, President

Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Seventy-sixth Annual Meeting

PROGRAM

9:30 a.m.

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY AUDITORIUM

Call to Order .....George H. Shirk
President, Oklahoma Historical Society

Unveiling of Leon C. Phillips Portrait .....Mrs. Leon C. Phillips

Presentation of Portrait .....Hon. Herbert Branan

Acceptance .....Hon. George H. Shirk

Business Meeting

Adjournment

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

April 25, 1968

The quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order by President Shirk at 10:05 a.m. The meeting was held in the Board Room of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building on Thursday, April 25, 1968.

Those members present for the meeting were: Henry Bass, Q. B. Boydstun, Joe W. Curtis, Dr. E. E. Dale, W. D. Finney, Bob Foresman, Dr. A. M. Gibson, Morton R. Harrison, John E. Kirkpatrick, Joe W. McBride, W. E. McIntosh, R. G. Miller, Dr. James D. Morrison, R. G. Mountcastle, Fisher Muldrow, H. Milt Phillips, Earl Boyd Pierce, Genevieve Seger, and George H. Shirk. Members absent from the meeting: Lou Allard, Mrs. George Bowman, Dr. LeRoy Fischer, Robert Hefner and H. Merle Woods.

Mr. McBride moved that all absences be excused. Mr. Mountcastle seconded the motion which carried.

Mr. Fraker reported that twenty-seven new annual members and one life member had made application during the last quarter and numerous gifts had been received in all departments. Mr. McBride moved that the new members be elected and the gifts be accepted. Mr. McIntosh seconded the motion, which was unanimously adopted.

In his report on Fort Gibson, Mr. Fraker told the Board that on April 4, 1968, he had written a letter to Mr. Robert Breeden, Director of the Industrial Development and Park Department, seeking information as to their plans for restoration of the commissary building at Fort Gibson. On April 9, 1968, a letter was received from Mr. Breeden stating that a total of $15,000 in appropriations had been granted his department for the work, and that on April 10th Mr. Delbert Powell, Mr. Herb Fine and Mr. Joe Cavner are to go to Fort Gibson for the purpose of beginning the renovation.

Mr. Curtis moved that the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society issue a Certificate of Commendation from the Society to Miss Tess Lindsay for her generosity in giving to the Society the Murray Mansion at Erin Springs. This motion was seconded by Miss Seger and unanimously approved by the members of the Board.

In absence of Mrs. Bowman, Mr. Fraker gave the treasurer's report. Mr. McBride, with a second from Mr. Phillips, moved to accept the report of the treasurer. The motion carried.

President Shirk recommended to the Board that when existing bookings in the Auditorium of the Society building run out, no more private functions be booked. It was so moved by Mr. Phillips. Second was made by Mr. Mountcastle and the Board adopted this recommendation.

In his report for the Historic Sites committee. Mr. McIntosh stated that he had no definite conclusions to report to the Board.

Dr. Morrison said things are going along just fine at Fort Washita. The grounds are particularly attractive at this time of year.

In regard to the lease from the Kirkpatrick Foundation, Inc. to the Oklahoma Historical Society for Fort Towson, Mr. Phillips moved that

President Shirk be authorized to execute the lease. Mr. Muldrow seconded this motion. It was passed by the Board.

Mr. Fraker reported that the exterior work at the Sod House was completed and the interior work should be finished in the next month. He reported the renovation work at Sequoyah Home is continuing and at the present the floor is being relaid. Mr. Fraker also reported that a big panel of descriptive information has been installed.

A great deal of restoration work is being done at the Old Chief's House. Mr. Fraker reported of efforts to build a road into the site.

Mr. McBride reported that the spring issue of THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA is on the press.

President Shirk informed the members of the Board that the Open House celebrating the 75th anniversary of the Oklahoma Historical Society will be held Sunday, May 26th from 1:00 p.m. until 5:00 p.m. Formal ceremony will be held at 1:00 p.m. in front of the building to begin the official Open House.

At the request of the Commanding General of Fort Sill, President Shirk presented a Resolution urging the Post Office Department to issue a stamp honoring the Fort Sill Centennial. Mr. Phillips moved the Resolution be adopted. Mr. Muldrow seconded the motion. It was passed by the Board.

Hon. Mike Monroney, Chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, had presented to President Shirk for him to present to the Society, a special souvenir folder containing a sheet of the first issue of the new six-cent flag stamp. Mr. Harrison moved that the Society accept this gift with great pleasure. Miss Seger seconded the motion and it was unanimously adopted.

President Shirk explained to the Board that Dr. B. B. Chapman had established an endowment fund for Denmei Ueda of Japan to use for research to be done at the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mr. McIntosh, with a second from Mr. Harrison, moved that the endowment be accepted and a letter of thanks be sent to Dr. Chapman. The Board unanimously agreed.

Upon request of Mr. Shirk, Mr. Harrison moved that a revolving fund of $250 be set up out of Account 18 to be used by Society staff members for travel expense. Upon reimbursement from the State, the fund will be reimbursed. This motion was seconded by Mr. Phillips. The Board passed this motion.

President Shirk, in accordance with Title 53, O.S. Sec. 21, appointed the following men to serve on the Oklahoma Day Committee: Mr. Earl E. Hill, Chairman, Mr. William E. Reynolds, Mr. Grady Yowell, Mr. William Benge and Chief W. E. McIntosh.

Mr. McIntosh stated that he wished to present to the Society Library a Creek Bible. Mr. Pierce moved that the gifts be accepted. The Board passed this motion.

Mr. Curtis told the Board that the President of the Chamber of Commerce of Lindsay wished to extend an invitation to the Board of Directors to come to Lindsay. The Chamber of Commerce will arrange a dinner at Erin Springs Mansion, which might include a program in which Miss Lindsay formally presents the deed to the Society.

Mr. Phillips suggested to the Board that they have a Bi-Annual

Historical Forum meeting which could be held at some historical site. No definite action was taken on this suggestion.

Mr. Fraker announced that the Annual Tour has been set for May 23-25 and urged all Board members to make the Tour this year.

Dr. and Mrs. Dale presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society library a handcrafted and handprinted book of verses entitled "When The Heart Speaks".

Mrs. Dale said that she would like to donate to the Society some items and personal effects of her grandfather, including a pair of scales, some toothpullers and his permit.

Mr. McBride read to the Board a Resolution adopted by the Oklahoma Memorial Association. It was moved by Mr. McIntosh and seconded by Mr. Phillips that the Resolution, relative to the building of an Oklahoma Memorial Association building on the Oklahoma Historical Society grounds, be received and indorsed. The motion was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Kirkpatrick asked the support and advice of the Board of Directors in the work of the Zoological Society in regard to the wildlife of Oklahoma. The Board voted to commend the Zoological Society and urge them to continue their work.

Mr. McBride moved that the Board honor R. G. Miller by making him an Honorary Life Member of the Society. This was seconded by all members of the Board and unanimously passed.

Dr. Morrison moved that a Certificate of Commendation be voted by Frances Imon of Hugo for her untiring services in connection with the Fort Towson project. The motion was seconded by Mr. Muldrow and adopted unanimously.

Mr. Nolan Fuqua of Duncan was elected to fill the unexpired term of Dr. Chapman.

The meeting was adjourned at 12:15 p.m.

George H. Shirk,
President

Elmer L. Fraker,
Administrative Secretary

OKLAHOMA MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION

A RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, the Oklahoma Memorial Association which is an affiliate of the Oklahoma Historical Society, is in its 41st consecutive year of dedicated organization, each year naming from six to eight most worthy persons of the State of Oklahoma and then inducting them into the Oklahoma Hall of Fame, and

WHEREAS, the Oklahoma Memorial Association each year does on November 16, Statehood Day, conduct an "Hour of Remembrance" to honor all of the esteemed citizens who have died during the preceding year, and

WHEREAS, the Oklahoma Memorial Association desires to finance and build a suitable structure to house and maintain a permanent gallery to display portraits of those who have been inducted into the Oklahoma Hall of Fame, and

WHEREAS, to the South of the Wiley Post building on the grounds of the State of Oklahoma, adjacent to the home of the Oklahoma Historical

Society, there is sufficient area that permits the erection of such a building without crowding or disturbance, the plat beginning: 10 feet South of the above named structure, from the Southwest corner 240 feet South, thence 125 feet East, thence 240 feet North, thence West 125 to the point of origin; and

WHEREAS, the Oklahoma Memorial Association, which is now domiciled in the Oklahoma Historical Society building quarters, if granted the use of this ground, will erect a building at a beginning cost of not less than $250,000 which may be expanded by the Association as the need arises, with the express stipulation that the building will correspond compatibly with the architecture of the Wiley Post Building, this to be agreed on by the State of Oklahoma Building Committee, and

WHEREAS, the Oklahoma Memorial Association agrees that should it cease to function along the lines as it is presently constituted, such building and contents shall revert to the State of Oklahoma for he use of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED THAT

SECTION 1, The Oklahoma Memorial Association, through its Board of Directors, and with the approval of the Oklahoma Historical Society's Board of Directors, be hereby authorized and empowered to request the above named land from the Legislative bodies and the Governor of the State of Oklahoma to provide the grounds for a building for the Oklahoma Memorial Association for the purpose of displaying oil portraits, bronze busts and permanent color portraits of the famed Oklahomans who have been, and will be, so honored in the future, and

SECTION 2, the Oklahoma Memorial Association will solicit additional funds from individuals, companies and corporations for the specific purpose of maintaining a gallery for Oklahoma Hall of Fame portraits in oil, bronze and permanent photography, each to be displayed in a panel of approximately four feet width with height from floor to ceiling, all portraits limited to certain sizes maximum. Each panel will be further enhanced with one spotlight to each portrait under which will be placed an engraved metal plate with not more than 75 words of description of the person with the name engraved large enough for ease of recognition, and

SECTION 3, It be further understood that some space in the building will be needed for the archives, work room and an alcove for the curator. The aisles of the gallery shall follow a prescribed routing, the aisles being at least ten feet wide, with five feet of walking space between opposite panels. At the end of each aisle one may exit, and

SECTION 4, the Oklahoma Memorial Association, its officers and Board of Directors shall have authority over the building as well as its organization in order that undue pressures shall never arise to influence the selections of those who may be named to the Oklahoma Hall of Fame with the proviso however that should the Oklahoma Memorial Association become inactive and disband, then and there all the property will accrue to the State of Oklahoma to the use of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and

SECTION 5, all this without cost to the State of Oklahoma except for the land use grant and the maintenance of such grounds and perhaps some utilities may be offered.

THIS RESOLUTION ADOPTED THIS THE 19TH DAY OF APRIL, 1968 BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION, IN ITS REULAR MEETING FOR THE

PURPOSE OF PRESENTATION TO THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND TO BOTH BODIES OF THE LEGISLATURE AND TO THE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA FOR THEIR EARNEST CONSIDERATION AND WANTED APPROVAL.

THE OKLAHOMA MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION
By Joe W. McBride, President

ATTEST:
Mark R. Everett, Secretary
SEAL

GIFTS RECEIVED IN FIRST QUARTER, 1968

LIBRARY:

History of Washington County and Surrounding Area, Volume I, by Margaret Withers Teague, 1967. First Limited Edition.
Donor: The Bartlesville Historical Commission. Bartlesville, Oklahoma.

The McCulley Site, Muskogee County, Oklahoma - Archaeological Site Report Number 8, 1967, by Don G. Wykoff and Thomas P. Barr.
Donor: Don G. Wyckoff and University of Oklahoma Research Institute, Norman, Oklahoma.

An Archaeological Survey of the Frogville Watershed Project, Choctaw County, Oklahoma by Tyler Bastain, General Survey Report Number 9, Oklahoma River Basin Survey Project, 1968.
Donor: University of Oklahoma Research Institute, Norman, Oklahoma.

A History of the State of Oklahoma by Luther B. Hill, A. B., Volumes I & II, 1909.
Donor: Cottey College, Nevada, Missouri.

Bolivian Indian Grammars, Volumes I & II, prepared by Esther Matteson; Publication Number 16, Summer Institute of Linguistics of the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, 1967.
Donor: Serials Department, Library of the University of Oklahoma, Norman.

36 Newspaper clippings concerning the 1889 Oklahoma opening.
Donor: Los Angeles County Museum, Exposition Park, Los Angeles, California by Ruth I. Mahood.

Genealogy of the Doyel Family, 1802-1968 by William Thomas Doyel.
Donor: Oklahoma State Library, State Capitol, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

"The Marquis James Room."
Tulsa County Historical Society Dedicatory Program, July 1, 1965.
Program of the Seventy-Sixth Anniversary of the Land Run of 1889 and of the Perry Land Office now in Payne County, April 4, 1965. Payne County Historical Society.
The Registry of National Historical Landmarks.
The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings.
Program of the Fifty-Seventh Anniversary of Oklahoma Statehood, Lincoln County, November 15, 1964. Joint meeting of Payne County Historical Society and Lincoln County Historical Society.
Program for the Fifty-Eighth Anniversary of Oklahoma Statehood by Payne County Historical Society, November 21, 1965.

Program of the Dedication of Historical Monument on the Indian Meridian, 10 miles west of Stillwater, April 17, 1966, Payne County Historical Society.
A History of Fort Belknap - Outpost on the Texas Frontier.
"Caring for Collections—Conservation of Metals."
Rev. J. H. Carr and Founding of Bloomfield Academy.
"Oklahoma: The State that Struck it Rich" by Arthur W. Baum from *Saturday Evening Post* for July 1, 1961.
Oklahoma City Tour Number One, 1967-1968.
"What Every Oklahoman Should Know" by Judge Edgar S. Vaught - Delivered Nov. 14, 1945 before D. A. R. Meeting.
Insurance Maps of Oklahoma City.
Development of Indian Resources by Henry W. Hough, 1967.
"Confederate States"—The Two Cent Green Stamp by Howard Lehman; a reprint from *The Collectors Club Philatelist*, New York.
Oklahoma Statutes, 1951, Volume I.
Confederate Stamp Alliance - Newsletters.
Collection of Oklahoma Highway Maps, 1930-1933, Tulsa, Oklahoma.
Cochran's Pocket Law Lexicon, 1909.
Oklahoma Today, Volume 16, No. 1, Winter 1965-66.
Oklahoma Travel Stamp Album and Guide Book, 1951.
The Deeper Shame of the Cities by Max Ways.
Map: Arkansas and Red Rivers to Oklahoma City, Central Oklahoma Project.
The Petroleum Club News, Roster Issue, Sept. 1963.
The Petroleum Club News, Roster Issue, Sept 1964.
Cherokee Strip Map, Compiled by Oklahoma Historical Society.
History of Nowata County, by Felix M. Gay, 1957.
The Bellmon Administration, Republican State Committee, 103 N. W. 23, Okla. City, Oklahoma.
The Bar Register, 1967.
Tales of Old Inns by Richard Keverne, 1952.
Hotels in the British Isles, 1955.
Tennyson's Poems, Eugene Parsons, 1900.
The Possibility of Metaphysis by Hans Driesch.
The Brass Command by Clay Fisher.
War is a Private Affair by Edmund G. Love.
Long, Long Ago by Alexander Woollcott.
Yachtman's Guide to the Bahamas, Guide Number 9, 1959 edition.
Oklahoma Turnpike Authority, 1963, Annual Report to the Governor.
Minority Report - A Survey of Civil Rights in Oklahoma City, 1964, the League of Women Voters.
United Fund of Greater Oklahoma City, Report of Budget Committee, June 1966.
National Safety Council Report to the Nation, 1966.
Stopping the Spread of Nuclear Weapons.
Names, Journal of American Name Society, Volume 15, No. 3, Sept. 1967.
The American Philatelic Society Directory, 1966.
Financing Local Roads in Oklahoma, 1959-1962.
Financing Local Roads - July 1, 1961 to June 30, 1962.
The Marauders by Charlton Ogburn, Jr.
Ethics in Police Service by Don L. Kooken.
Germany Reports Introduction by Federal Chancellor Dr. Konrad Adenauer, 1961.
Martindale-Hubbell Law Dictionary, Volume IV, Law Digests, Court Calendars, 1967.
Memoirs of a Fox-Hunting Man, by Seigfried Sassoon.
Sir Henry by Robert Nathan, 1955.
The Shetland Bus by David Howarth, 1951.

Parker On Police, edited by O. W. Wilson, 1957.
The Oklahoma City Magazine, Volume 1, Number 10.
Military Collector and Historian, Volume XIX, Number 3, Fall, 1967.
A Brief History - Union Pacific Railroad.
Collection of Membership Cards of George H. Shirk.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Colcord Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Manuscript: *Story of the Douglas Cup* - Early trophy of Oklahoma A. & M. College by R. Morton House, 1967.
Donor: R. Morton House by Dr. B. B. Chapman, Orlando, Florida.

Carolina Cradle, 1747-1762 by Robert W. Ramsey.
Donor: Mrs. D. H. Jones, 3201 N. W. 41st, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

A History Outline of Oklahoma State Department of Education For the Period 1900 *to* 1965 by Guy H. Lambert and Guy M. Rankin.
Donor: The Oklahoma State Department of Education, Oklahoma City.

Laws of the Cherokee Nation - Adopted by the Council at Various Periods, 1852.
Donor: Missing book found and returned through the courtesy of the Oklahoma City University Library.

Thesis: *The Dodge-Leavenworth Expedition* by Brad Agnew. 1967.
Donor: Brad Agnew, Norman, Oklahoma.

The Wrecked Life by Dr. Jakub Herzig.
Donor: Anonymous through Shengold Publishers, Inc., 45 West 45th Street, New York, 10036.

Okalona - Valley of Peace, Selected Poems by Leslie A. McRill.
Donor: Leslie A. McRill, 1817 Northwest 14th, Oklahoma City.

Four Guthrie Historical Postal Cards.
One Window and Door, by Goldie Cramer Phillips, 1964.
"Oklahoma - Sweet Land of My Dreams", sheet music, words by Jennie Harris Oliver, music by Oscar J. Lehrer, 1934 copyright.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Don Moon, 608 East Harrison Avenue, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Official Minutes of the Synod of Oklahoma Presbyterian Church, U. S., 1924-1937.
Donor: Rev. Walter A. Bennett, Box 7064. Dallas, Texas 75209.

Descendents of Caleb Garrison, Jr., and His Wife, Sarah Fleming, 1797 - 1966.
Donor: Mrs. Frankie Garrison Followwill, 125 S. E. 57th Street, Oklahoma City.

The East German Army by Thomas M. Forster.
Donor: Markus - Verlag, G. M. B. H., Hohenzollernring, Germany.

A Resolution: Enrolled Senate Resolution Number 70, 2nd Session, 31st Legislature-Expressing Profound Regret for Recent Death of *George Ade Davis* of Oklahoma City, February 14th, 1968.
Xeroxed Copy from *Daily Oklahoman*, of death notice of "George Ade Davis."
Hearing Before the Committee on Banking and Currency, United States Senate, Eighty-Eighth Congress, Second Session: Nominations of Hugh F.

Owens to Member of Securities and Exchange Commission, and James L. Robertson to Member of Federal Reserve Board, March 11, 1964.
Donor: Herbert L. Branan, O. G. & E., Post Office Box 321, Oklahoma City.

Ramona High School and Other Events, 1911-1912.
Ramona High School and Other Events, 1912-1913.
Ramona High School and Other Events, 1913-1914.
Ramona High School and Other Events, 1914-1915.
Ramona High School and Other Events, 1915-1916.
Ramona High School and Other Events, 1916-1917.
Donor: Joe 5 Lee, Ramona, Oklahoma, the author.

Maps: Texas in 1834.
Texas Counties, 1840.
The Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company.
Donor: John Clark, 1023 Harris, Oklahoma City.

Journal of Thirtieth Annual Meeting of Convention of the Diocese of Oklahoma of Protestant Episcopal Church, April 1967.
Donor: Diocese of Oklahoma Protestant Episcopal Church, Oklahoma City.

Pawhuska Cemetery, Osage County Sexton's Records, Oklahoma.
Donor: Oklahoma Genealogical Records Committee of Oklahoma, D. A. R. Chapters, Oklahoma City.

The Guthrie Daily Leader, Women's Number, Saturday Morning, December 22, 1894. Oklahoma Art League Year Book, 1949-1950.
Donor: The Michigan Historical Collections of University of Michigan, Rockham Building, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

"The Life of Will Rogers" from *Oklahoma State Alumnus Magazine*. February, 1968.
"The Songs of the Civil War" by Brander Matthews.
Herbert Hoover Presidential Library, West Branch, Iowa.
Booklet of Colored Pictures of Herbert Hoover Birthplace and Park, West Branch, Iowa.
Donor: Mrs. Jim Wilkinson, Oklahoma City.

Oklahoma Scrapbook 1889-1964.
Donor: Myrtle Lucille Brown, 3238 Nesbitt, Oklahoma City.

Who's Who in the South and Southwest, 1950.
Donor: Jefferson Davis Chapter 2255 of U.D.C. of Oklahoma City through Mrs. R. W. Gimpel, 3209 N.W. 35th Oklahoma City.

Friends Church—60th Anniversary of Cherokee Friends Meeting 1904-1964 of Cherokee, Oklahoma.
Donor: Milton Ream, Cherokee, Oklahoma.

Solomon Tuttle of Old Mt. Comfort and His Descendents, by Julia Sevarine Reed.
Genealogy of the Gordon-Macy Hiddleston-Curtis and Allied Families by Jessie Gordon Flack and Maybelle Gordon Carman.
Heritage of a Pioneer by Charles Tunis Dodrill.
Rogers-Ward-Shipman and Allied Families by Harold I. Meyer M. D., Mrs. Sylvan L. Mouser, and Mrs. Voris R. Norton.
MacGonigle by Farris N. Wheeler.
John Allen and the Founding of Ann Arbor by Russell E. Bidlack.
The Farrington-Ward-Gray Families by Ward M. Gray.

Many Cooke's and Their Broth - A genealogical outline of the Cooke family of Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia and Alabama by Charles G. Cooke.
A Directory of Printing, Publishing, Bookselling and Allied Trades in Rhode Island to 1865 by H. Glenn Brown and Maude O. Brown.
The Land and Men, Now and Then - A History of Griswold, Iowa, and Community, in Prose, Verse and Pictures by Fred B. DeWitt.
The Genealogical Helper, Vol. 21. No. 21, December 1967.
The Genealogical Society Observer, Vol. 3, No. 10, Oct. 1967; Vol. 3, No. 11, Nov. 1967; Vol. 3, No. 12, Dec. 1967.
Pre-1858 *English Probate Jurisdictions - Bedfordshire-;* Series A, No. 7, Oct. 1967.
Major Genealogical Record Sources in New Zealand; Series E, No. 1, Nov. 1967 (2).
Major Genealogical Record Sources in Norway. Series D, No. 1, August 1967.
Major Genealogical Record Sources in Sweden, Series D, No. 3, October 1967.
Major Genealogical Record Sources in Switzerland, Series C, No. 2, September 1967.
By Research Dept; the Genealogical Society of Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Inc., Salt Lake City.
Georgia Pioneers, Vol. 4, No. 3, August 1967.
Georgia Pioneers, Vol. 4, No. 4, November 1967.
The Georgia Genealogical Society Quarterly, Vol. 3, Series 3, March 1967.
They Were Here - Georgia Genealogical Records, Vol. 3, No. 2, June 1967; Vol 3,No.3,Sept. 1967; Vol. 3, No. 4, Dec. 1967.
Illiana Genealogist, Vol. 3, No. 3, Summer 1967; Vol. 3, No. 4, Fall 1967.
Central Illinois Genealogical Quarterly, Vol. 3, No. 2, May 1967; Vol. 3, No. 3, Aug. 1967; Vol. 3, No. 4, Nov. 1967.
Kansas Historical Quarterly, Summer 1967; Autumn 1967; Winter 1967.
The Treesearcher, Vol. 9, No. 3, July 1967; Vol 9, No. 4, October 1967; Complete *Index*, Vol. 9.
Kansas Kin, Vol. 5, No.3, August 1967 and Vol. 5, No. 4, Nov. 1967.
The Hoosier Genealogist, Vol 7, No. 4, July-Aug. 1967; Vol. 7, No. 5, Sept.-Oct. 1967; Vol. 7, No. 6, Nov.-Dec. 1967.
The East Kentuckian, March 1966.
Kentucky Genealogist, Vol. 9, No. 3, July-Sept. 1967; Vol. 9, No. 4, Oct.-Dec.
Louisiana Genealogical Register, Vol. 14, No. 2, June 1967; Vol. 14, No. 3, Nov. 1967; Vol. 14, No. 4, Dec. 1967.
The Scottish Genealogist, Vol. 14, No. 2, Oct. 1967; Vol. 14, No. 3, Nov. 1967; Vol. 14, No. 4, Dec. 1967; Vol. 13, Nos. 3 & 4, Dec. 1966.
Report - Genealogical and Historical of the Ohio Genealogical Society, Oct. 1967.
The Colorado Genealogist, Vol. 28, No. 3, Sept. 1967; Vol. 28, No. 4, Dec. 1967 and *Surname Index*, 1967.
The Southern Genealogists Exchange Quarterly, Vol. 8, No. 43, Fall 1967; Vol. 8, No. 44, Winter, 1967.
The Arkansas Family Historian, Vol. 5, No. 2, April-May-June 1967; Vol. 5, No. 3, July-Aug.-Sept., 1967; Vol. 5, No. 4, Oct.-Nov.-Dec., 1967.
The Searcher, Vol. 4, No. 10, Oct., 1967; Vol. 4, No. 11, Nov., 1967; Vol. 4, No. 12, Dec., 1967
Orange County, California Genealogical Society Quarterly Vol. 4, No. 3, Sept. 1967; Vol. 4, No. 4, Dec. 1967.
Index: Vols. 1, 2, & 3 *Santa Clara County Historical & Genealogical Society Quarterlies.*
"Kern-Gen", Vol. 4, Nos. 2-3, June-Sept. 1967; Vol. 4, No. 4, Dec. 1967.
Thompson Family Magazine, Vol. 6, No. 22, July 1967; vol. 6. No. 23, October 1967 and *Thompson Family Association Membership Roster*, 1967.

The Genealogical Helper, Vol. 21, No. 3, Sept. 1967.
Bulletin of the Maryland Genealogical Society Vol. 8, No. 3, August 1967; Vol. 8, No. 4, November 1967.
The Maryland and Delaware Genealogist, Vol. 8, No. 3, July 1967; Vol. 8, No. 4, October 1967.
Flint Genealogical Quarterly, Vol. 9, No. 3, July 1967; Vol. 9, No. 4, Oct. 1967.
Michigan Heritage, Vol. 8, No. 4, Summer 1967.
"*Michigana*", Vol 12, No. 3, Aug. 1967; Vol. 12, No. 4, Nov. 1967.
Valley Leaves, Vol. 1, No. 4, June 1967.
National Genealogical Society Quarterly, Vol. 55, No. 2, June 1967; Vol. 55, No. 3, September 1967; Vol. 55, No. 4, Dec. 1967.
Linkage For Ancestral Research, Whole No. 3, Sept. 1967; Whole No. 4, Dec. 1967.
New Mexico Genealogist, Vol. 6, No. 2, June 1967; Vol. 6, No. 3, Sept. 1967; Vol. 6, No. 4, Dec. 1967.
Historical Wyoming, Vol. 20, No. 4, July 1967.
Cousin Huntin', 1967.
Tree Talks, Vol. 7, No. 3, Sept. 1967; Vol. 7, No. 4, Dec. 1967.
Ohio: The Cross Road of Our Nation, Vol. 8, No. 4, Oct.-Dec. 1967.
The Mt. Hood Trackers, Vol. 8, No. 4, Summer 1967.
The Rogue Valley Genealogical Society Quarterly, Vol. 2, No. 4, Winter 1967.
Report: Genealogical-Historical, Vol. 8, No. 1, Feb. 1968; Vol. 7, No. 6, Dec. 1967.
Rhode Island History, Vol. 26, No. 3, July 1967; Vol. 26, No. 4, October 1967.
Echoes, Vol. 13, No. 3, Sept. 1967.
"*Ansearchin*" *News*, Vol. 14, No. 3, July-Sept. 1967; Vol. 14, No. 4, Oct.-Dec. 1967.
Ancestral Notes, Vol. 14, No. 4, July 1967; Vol. 14, No. 5, Sept. 1967; Vol. 14, No. 6, Nov. 1967.
Gens Nostro, Vol. 22, No. 5-6, May-June 1967; Vol. 22, No. 7, July 1967; Vol. 22 No. 8, Aug. 1967; Vol. 22, No. 9, Sept. 1967; Vol. ss. No. 10-11, Oct.-Nov. 1967; Vol. 22, No. 12, Dec. 1967.
Surname Index - Ohio Genealogical Society, Jan. 1967.
The Virginia Genealogist, Vol. 11, No. 3, July-Sept. 1967; Vol. 11, No. 4, Oct.-Dec. 1967.
Bulletin Seattle Genealogical Society, Sept. 1967, and Dec. 1967.
Fort Worth Genealogical Society Publication, Vol. 10, No. 4, Oct. 1967; and *Surname Index*, Vol. 10, 1967.
The Genealogical Record, Vol. 9, No. 3, Sept. 1967; Vol. 9, No. 4, Dec. 1967.
North Texas Pioneer, Whole No. 15, Vol. 2, No. 3, Summer 1967; Whole No. 16, Vol. 2, No. 4, Fall, 1967.
Cenotaph, Vol. 3, No. 2, Summer, 1967; Vol. 3, No. 3, Autumn 1967; Vol. 3, No. 4, Winter 1967.
AGS—Austin Genealogical Society, Vol. 8, No. 2, June 1967; Vol. 8, No. 3, Sept. 1967; Vol. 8, No. 4, Dec. 1967.
Our Heritage, Vol. 8, No. 4, July 1967.
Local History and Genealogical Society, Vol. 13, No. 3, Sept. 1967; Vol. 13, No. 4, Dec. 1967.
Quarterly of the Central Texas Genealogical Society, Vol. 10, No. 2, April-May-June 1967; Vol. 10, No. 3, July-Aug.-Sept. 1967; Vol. 10, No. 4, Oct.-Nov.-Dec. 1967

Donor: Oklahoma Genealogical Society, Oklahoma City

Stirpes, Vol. 7, No. 3, Sept. 1967.
The Idaho Genealogical Society Quarterly, June 1965 - Dec. 1966.

Car-Del Scribe, Vol. DD, No. 167.
Ancestry Quarterly Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 4, Oct. 1966.
Genealogical Periodical Annual Index, Vol. 2, 1963.
Donor: Cliff Hansen, Midwest Building, Oklahoma City.

Alaska Commercial Company Records: 1868-1911 by Wendell H. Oswalt.
Donor: University of Alaska Library, College, Alaska 99701.

A Genealogy of the Cutler Family of Lexington, Mass., James and Some of His Descendents 1634-1964 compiled by Marjorie Cutler Burgess.
Donor: Marjorie Cutler Burgess, Lexington, Mass.

Malvern (Arkansas) *Daily Record Fiftieth Anniversary Edition* 1916-1966.
Donor: Jack Dyer, Oklahoma City.

"The Negro Parson's Farewell Sermon" by John P. Cravens.
Collection of Correspondence of John Park Cravens.
Donor: John Park Cravens, 317 South Glenwood Avenue, Russellville, Arkansas.

Microfilm: 1880 Pennsylvania Census, Roll No. 1120, Crawford (part) County.
Index to Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving in New York 1820-1846; GRAV to GRO, Roll Number 38.
Donor: Miss Stella Gregory, Oklahoma City.

United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazines: Aug. 1964, Sept. 1964, October 1964, Nov. 1964, and Dec. 1964; Sept. 1967, Oct. 1967, Nov. 1967, and Dec. 1967; January 1968 and Feb. 1968.
Sooner Magazine: July 1966; Jan. 1967, March 1967, May 1967, July 1967, Sept. 1967 and Nov. 1967.
Donor: Mrs. W. King Larimore, 1924 N.W. 20th, Oklahoma City.

A Memorial to Brig. General and Mrs. Roy Hoffman:
World Biography, 1948, Vol. I A-K; Vol. 2 L-Z.
The Tiny Times, Dec. 15, 1930, Editorials by the late Walter M. Harrison in *The Daily Oklahoman and Times*, Oklahoma City.
Successful Oklahomans by Rex Harlow, 1927.
Oklahoma—Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow by Lerona Rosamond Morris, 1930.
The Oklahoma Red Book, Vols. I and II, 1912.
Now It Can Be Told by Philip Gibbs, 1920.
Pershing by John Callan O'Laughlin, 1928.
The Principles of War by Gen. Ferdinand Foch, 1918.
The Autobiography of Robert Watchorn edited by Herbert Faulkner West.
Roosevelt's Religion by Christian F. Reisner, 1922.
With Walker in Nicaragua by James Carson Jamison, 1909.
America Self-Contained by Samuel Crowther, 1933.
Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Vols. I & II, by Frederick Webb Hodge, Smithsonian Institution. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, Sept. 1912.
The Cherokee Strip by George Rainey, 1933.
Oklahoma—The Beautiful Land by The '89ers, 1943.
The Wilson Era 1917-1923, by Josephus Daniels, 1946.
Another Day by Walter M. Harrison, 1936.
Men and Rubber by Harvey S. Firestone in collaboration with Samuel Crowther, 1926.
The Wings Club, Incl. 1964-1965, Yearbook.
Register of the Department of Justice and the Judicial Officers of the United States, 11th edition, 1897.

First To Go Back—An aristocrat in Soviet Russia by Irina Skariatina, 1933.
The Career of Leonard Wood by Joseph Hamblen Sears, 1919.
In the Court of Claims, No. 34677, The Iowa Tribe of Indians vs. The United States Of America.
Proceedings of the Standing Committee of National Defense, June 1927.
Annals of Osage Mission by W. W. Graves, 1934.
Ol' Rum River by Col. Ira L. Reeves, 1931.
The Evolution of the Oil Industry by Victor Ross, 1929.
Who's Who in America, 1950-1951.
My First 80 *Years* by O. A. Cargill, Sr., 1965.
News of the 45*th* by Sgt. Don Robinson; art by Sgt. Bill Mauldin, 1944.
The 142*nd Infantry*, 36*th Division* by Chaplain C. H. Barnes, 1922.
The Will Rogers Country by Noel Kaho, 1941.
No Man's Land by Carl Coke Rister, 1948.
The Challenge of World Communism by Hamilton Fish, 1946.
Pioneer Doctor by Lewis J. Moorman, M.D., 1951.
Personalities and Reminiscences of the War by Major-Gen. Robert Lee Bullard, 1925.
Editor in Politics by Josephus Daniels, 1941.
Views of An Ex-President by Benjamin Harrison, 1901.
Oklahoma—Land of Opportunity by Lerona Rosamond Morris, 1934.
America's Part by Brig.-Gen. Henry J. Reilly, 1928.
Philnews—bound publications of Phillips Petroleum Company.
Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat by Josephus Daniels, 1947.
Horrors of Moonlight by George Pattullo, 1939.
Crowded Years—The Reminiscences of William Gibbs McAdoo, 1931.
Pictorial History of the Second World War, Vols. I - IV, 1950.
Oklahoma Leaders by Rex Harlow, 1928.
A History of Oklahoma, Vols. I - V by Joseph B. Thoburn, 1916.
Moman Pruiett—Criminal Lawyer by Moman Pruiett.
World War I Collection of Brig.-General Roy Hoffman.
Donor: Memorial by Hoffman Family through Mrs. C. A. Vose, Oklahoma City.

Microfilm: 1860 Tennessee Census, Roll No. 274, Hawkins-Knox Counties. 1870 Tennessee Census, Roll No. 1538, Henry-Knox (pt. 1).
Donor: Gordon L. Forrester, Oklahoma City.

Jesse James Information.
Donor: Charles E. Mason, 1216 N. 8th St., St. Joseph, Mo.

Speech: "To the American People in General, Communicants of the Roman Catholic Church and Members of the Order of Knights of Columbus in Particular" by Marvin L. Brown, Altus, Oklahoma, May 23, 1928.
Donor: H. Milt Phillips, Seminole, Oklahoma.

Arikara Archaeology: *The Bad River Phase* by Donald J. Lehmer and David T. Jones, 1968.
Donor: The authors and River Basin Surveys of the Smithsonian Institution, Office of Anthropology, Washington, D.C.

Microfilm: 1860 Georgia Census, Roll No. 27, Cass (pt.) to DeKalb (pt.) Counties.
Donor: Mrs. Pat Clark, 3717 Dow Drive, Oklahoma City.

100 *Years With DeForest* (Wisconsin), 1863-1963.
Donor: Mrs. Rosella Kruse, 525 Market, DeForest, Wisconsin.

Fifty Years of Petroleum Research at the Bartlesville Petroleum Research Center, 1918-1968.

"A Salute to the Bartlesville Petroleum Research Center" from the *Bartlesville Examiner-Enterprise*, Wed., March 27, 1968.
Donor: Bartlesville Public Library, Bartlesville, Oklahoma.

Sutherland Records by Henry C. Sutherland, February 1968.
Donor: Henry C. Sutherland, 409 Cardinal Drive, Crown Point, Indiana.

My Southern Families by Hiram Kennedy Douglass.
Donor: Rev. Hiram Kennedy Douglass, 217 East Tuscaloosa Street, Florence, Alabama, 35630.

The First Century 1866-1966, editor by Clark Kinnaird.
Donor: The Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, New York by Marshall L. Page, President.

Pre-1858 *English Probate Jurisdictions—Lincolnshire*—by The Genealogical Society, Series A, No. 13, March 15, 1968.
Pre-1858 *English Probate Jurisdictions—Oxfordshire*—by The Genealogical Society, Series A, No. 14, April 1, 1968.
Pre-1858 *English Probate Jurisdictions—Northamptonshire*—by The Genealogical Society, Series A, No. 15, April 1, 1968.
Pre-1858 *English Probate Jurisdictions—Hertfordshire*—by The Genealogical Society, Series A, No. 17, April 15, 1968.
Pre-1858 *English Probate Jurisdictions—Norfolk*—by The Genealogical Society, Series A, No. 18, April 15, 1968.
Pre-1858 *English Probate Jurisdictions—Kent*—by The Genealogical Society, Series A, No. 19, April 15, 1968.
Pre-1858 *English Probate Jurisdictions—Suffolk*—by The Genealogical Society, Series A, No. 20, April 15, 1968.
Donor: The Genealogical Society of The Church of Jesus Christ Latterday Saints, Inc.

"Biography of F. Hiner Dale."
"Copy of Radio Program—Judge F. Hiner Dale" by Laura V. Hamner.
Autograph book presented to Judge F. Hiner Dale.
Biography of F. Hiner Dale copied from *History of Oklahoma.*
Collection of Newspaper Clippings.
Collection of letters of Judge and Mrs. F. Hiner Dale.
Donor: Judge F. Hiner Dale, Guymon, Oklahoma.

John Thomas Klumph 1729-1818 *and Early Klumph History* by Richard Amidon Klumph.
Donor: Richard Amidon Klumph, 771 West Main Street, Kalamazoo, Michigan.

Thesis: *Reconstruction in the Chickasaw Nation*, 1865-1877 by Parthena Louise James, B. A., Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, May 1967.
Donor: Editorial Office—*The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Historical Society, Oklahoma City.

PHOTOGRAPHS TO LIBRARY
Choctaw and Chickasaw Meeting in Tuskahoma, 1967.
Donor: E. N. Martel, 408 West Carl Albert, McAlester, Oklahoma.

Three trophy cups of Logan County Fairs, Guthrie, two photographs and one negative, 1967.
Adventures in Education by Dr. Charles Evans.
Marshal McCully and daughter, Letha Minnie—photo and negative.
Dr. Berlin B. Chapman and Dean Clarence H. McElroy, 1967.

Chief Waldo E. "Dode" McIntosh of the Creek Nation, April 28, 1966—color print.
Col. George H. Shirk, President of the Oklahoma Historical Society accepting painting of the late Henry G. Bennett, President of Stillwater's Oklahoma State University, April 28, 1966.
Board of Directors of Oklahoma Historical Society at annual meeting, April 28, 1966, Stillwater.
Donor: Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, 1820 Harrison Avenue, Orlando, Florida and Allen E. Pryor, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater.

J. H. Van Ansdal Drug Store, Centralia, Indian Territory, 1900.
First United States Federal Court Building, Muskogee, Indian Territory, February, 1889.
United States Court House, Muskogee, Indian Territory, 1890.
P. O. Cliff, Indian Territory, 1896.
Old Crossing on Little River at Edward's Store (SW¼ Sec. 8, T6N, Range 9E), Hughes County.
Judge Isaac C. Parker, Fort Smith, Arkansas.
Two notebooks, 118 8" by 10" glossy prints, given to Mayor George H. Shirk.
Photo album containing 22 glossy prints of inaugural flight establishing Oklahoma's First Direct International Air Service to Paris, April 27, 1965.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

John Bemo.
General Sterling Price.
Pawhuska, Oklahoma in 1906.
William Couch, Thomas Abraham "Abe" Couch, Dan Odell, Harry H. Stafford, A. C. McCord, and a Mr. Keisler.
Thomas G. Manuel—2 photographs.
"Assemblage of Capt. David L. Payne's Intruding Oklahoma 'Boomers'" —at Rock Falls, Summer of 1884—3 photographs.
Steamboat "Kansas Millers" at Arkansas City, Kansas.
Wiley Post and his famous plane, "Winnie Mae."
Donor: Transferred from Library of Historical Society.

Jennie Harris Oliver, Oklahoma poet and author.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Don Moon, 608 East Harrison Avenue, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Group pictures of officers of Kiamitia County, Choctaw Nation.
Donor: Copies from the originals of Frances Imon, Hugo, Oklahoma.

Nine photo negatives of Jim Thorpe.
Floyd E. Maytubby—picture and negative.
Overton James—negative.
Major Jean Pierre Chouteau—negative.
Buffalo Springs—photo and negative.
Green Corn Dance Monument—photo and negative.
Two photographs of "Cannonball" Green.
Carolyn Thomas (Mrs. Grant) Foreman, Muskogee, Oklahoma—negative.
Donor: Copies by the Society.

Site of Custer Battle—east side of Davis Creek of Rosebud Creek drainage area, taken August, 1963.
Donor: Norman W. Brillhart, Box 527, Madill, Oklahoma 73446.

Fanny and Guy Whistler.

"Indian Hut on Euche Creek"—a Prettyman & Cornish photograph.
Sac and Fox Indian Dance—2 photographs.
"Pa-shee-pa-ho and Chiefs—Sac and Fox."
Army Camp photograph of five mounted cavalry soldiers of World War I (unidentified).
New Artillery Post, Fort Sill, Oklahoma, 1911—panoramic photograph.
Donor: A Memorial to Brig. General and Mrs. Roy Hoffman by their Family through Mrs. Charles A. Vose of Oklahoma City.

Four 8" by 10" glossy prints of Cherokee Village—"Tsa-La-Gi" of the Indian Cultural Center at Tahlequah, Oklahoma.
Donor: Oklahoma Industrial Development and Park Department through Jeff Griffin, Will Rogers Memorial Building, Oklahoma State Capitol Complex, Oklahoma City.

Negative of copy of Portrait of Mrs. Roberta Campbell Lawson in the Historical Society, March 1968.
Donor: Photographer, National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Western Heritage Center, Oklahoma City.

Judge John Lind McAtee, 1863 as young man.
Judge and Mrs. John Lind McAtee at time of their marriage, October, 1870.
John L. McAtee, 1880 while partner in law in Hagerstown, Maryland.
Judge John Lind McAtee, member of Oklahoma Territorial Supreme Court, Aug. 1894.
McAtee burial site & marker, Kansas City, June 1904.
"The Run", April 22, 1889—Major Woodson, Judge McAtee and Sam Ridings.
McAtee and Sam Ridings in buckboard and team, April 22, 1889.
Donor: Judge John Lind McAtee scrapbook, Library Collections, Oklahoma Historical Society.

INDIAN ARCHIVES DIVISION:

Cherokee Nation News Letters of Jan. 25, Feb. 1, 15, 22 and 29, 1968.
Press releases from Bureau of Indian Affairs:
1/26/68 "Bureau of Indian Affairs names new Superintendent of Miccosukee (Fla.) Agency."
1/30/68 "Indians Granted more than $33 million on claims during 1967"
2/28/68 "New Bureau of Indian Affairs Assignments announced for Seneca and Osage".
Brochure "Land Operations Narrative Report Muskogee Area Office for 1967"
Report of meeting of Executive Committee Cherokee Nation Jan. 20, 1967.
Report of meeting "Inter-Tribal Council Five Civilized Tribes Jan. 10, 1968"
The Amerindian, Jan-Feb. 1968.
"News Letter" by H. B. Bass, Feb. 15, and March 15, 1968.
Cherokee Nation v. U.S., Docket No. 173, before Indian Claims Commission: Order allowing attorneys' fees
Donor: N. B. Johnson, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Sexton's Records Pawhuska Cemetery.
Donor: Daughters of American Revolution.

Indian Voices, Winter 1968
Donor: Robert K. Thomas.

Oklahoma Genealogical Society Quarterly, March 1968.
Donor: Oklahoma Genealogical Society.

Report meeting of Executive Committee of Cherokee Tribe Jan. 18, 1968.
Report meeting of Executive Committee of Cherokee Tribe Feb. 24, 1968
Donor: Muskogee Area Office, Muskogee, Okla.

Oklahoma City Indian News, Feb. 5 and April 16, 1968.
1968 Oklahoma Indian Calender of Events.
Donor: Will T. Nelson.

Public School Reports of Ben Battiest, McClain Co., Okla., Oct. 1910, April 1, 1911 and Summer terms 1913.
Merit Card to Benjamin Battiest, Sept. 3, 1909.
Donor: Mrs. Ben Battiest, Brentwood, Calif.

Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Tribes vs. U. S., Dockets No. 258 and 259: Findings of Fact on Compromise Settlement: Opinion.
Shoshone-Bannock Tribes vs. U.S.. Dockets No. 326D, E, F, G and H, 366, and 367: Findings of Fact on Settlement: Opinion.
Creek Nation vs. U.S., Docket No. 166: Order of Dismissal.
Donor: Indian Claims Commission, Washington, D.C.

1 large box containing copies of documents, correspondence, material in Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Presbyterian Historical Society, San Francisco Theological Seminary, National Archives, Notes, etc, relative to Miss Sue McBeth, Missionary to the Choctaw Indians in Indian Territory, and later, to the Nez Perce Indians in Idaho.
Zerox copies of three letters dating in 1850, 1851 and 1853 from Mary Ann Lilly, Missionary to Seminole Indians, in Indian Territory, together with various notes relative to Mrs. Lilly.
Donor: Mrs. Hope Holway, Tulsa, Okla.

1 large box containing rolls of Cherokee Indians in Sequoyah, Flint, Saline and Illinois districts of Cherokee Nation, taken in 1851 prior to 1852 per capita payment to Cherokee Emigrant Indians: copy Census of 1835 taken prior to removal of Cherokee Indians to the West with names in alphabetical order; Lists of Cherokees in Second and Third Regiments of Indian Home Guard; documents in Cherokee language; Claims for Civil War pensions, also for Cherokee Emigrant payment, containing genealogical material. All from John L. Springston collection.
Purchased by Oklahoma Historical Society.

MUSEUM:

Exhibits:
Pump organ and stool
Donor: Mrs. Tom McKittrick, Houston, Texas, and Glennie Scott Allen, DeQueen, Arkansas.

Plains Indian leather beaded belt with fob
Donor: Mrs. Mildred Shaughnessy, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Household articles and tools used in early 20th century in Oklahoma
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Champ Paul, Fairview, Oklahoma

Wooden chairs, two, early 20th century in Oklahoma
Donor: Mr. Herbert R. Nickel, Orienta, Oklahoma

List of stove parts, Montgomery Ward Co., early 20th century
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Osage Gifford, Cleo Springs, Oklahoma

Ribbon badges used at events in early Oklahoma statehood period
Donor: Rev. and Mrs. Robert E. Winger, Wichita, Kansas

Baby dress made by Tizzy James, Choctaw, 19th century
Donor: Mrs. Leona Battiest, Brentwood, California

Documents, a Charter for GAR post, 1889; and pension certificate, Civil War
Donor: Mrs. Jessy Sullivan, Sapulpa, Oklahoma

Homespun wool coverlet, 19th century.
Donor: Mrs. Myrtle Neely, Bethany, Oklahoma

Military coat and cap, Cavalry, 19th century, U. S. Army
Donor: Mr. Tommy E. Frazier and Mr. and Mrs. Jerry Frazier, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Kiowa pictograph, a battle scene drawn on muslin, 19th century; and a Plains Indian buckskin shirt and leggings, 19th century.
Donor: Mrs. Arthur Clark VanHorne, Glencoe, Illinois.

Pump organ belonging to Westfall family of early Oklahoma City, 19th century
Donor: Mrs. Max Morgan, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS*

January 26, 1968 to April 25, 1968

Anduss, Jerry	Piedmont
Beall, Mrs. Forest	Nash
Braun, Mrs. G. E.	Washington, D.C.
Collins, L. E	Norman
Cox, Mrs. James C.	Oklahoma City
Cultural Heritage & Arts Center	Dodge City, Kansas
Dietz, C. H.	Sapulpa
Edgerton, E. P.	Okmulgee
Elliott, Mrs. H. L.	Aline
Hall, Walter B.	Fort Towson
Howell, Neil Scott	Jamestown, California
Kelly, J. G.	Wardville
Kennedy, Noby	Geary
Lunday, Val, Jr.	Richardson, Texas
MacCorkle, H. K.	Midwest City
McBurney, Laressa Cox	Clinton
Meacham, Mrs. E. D.	Norman
Moore, Walter M.	Okemah
Myers, John Preston	Fort Towson
Norie, Mrs. Robert C.	Norman
Reichenberger, D. L.	Alva
Shadrick, Jack W.	Norman
Team, James M.	Oklahoma City
Terry, Johnnie J.	Tulsa
Ussery, Katherine	Holdenville
Watson, Vera D.	Oklahoma City
Young, Nelson	Oklahoma City

NEW LIFE MEMBERS*

January 26, 1968 to April 25, 1968

Huckabay, Sid T.	Oklahoma City

* All members in Oklahoma unless otherwise designated.

ITEMS TRANSFERRED FROM CONFEDERATE ROOM, OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, TO LIBRARY, JANUARY 28, 1968.

The Numismatist, Vol. 33, Nos. 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12—June 1917 to December 1917; Vol. 34, No. 1 January 1918—Total 7 copies.
Four Addresses by Miss Mildred Lewis Rutherford of Athens, Georgia.
"In Memoriam of William T. Patton."
"The Blue and the Gray"—75th Roundup.
"The Failure of the Confederacy—Was It a Blessing?" by James H. McNeilly, D.D.
Invitation to the Unveiling of the Stone Mountain Memorial Association of General Robert E. Lee and "Traveler."
Memories of the Old South by Emma C. Wescott, November 1912.
Memorial—General James A. Yeager of Tulsa, Oklahoma, December 31, 1928.
Two Hundred Old-Time Songs by Frank B. Ogilvie.
Reports of Confederate Home at Ardmore, Oklahoma:
First Biennial Report, 1911-1912—1 copy.
Second Biennial Report, 1913-1914—2 copies.
Third Biennial Report, 1915-1916—3 copies.
Fourth Biennial Report, 1917-1918—10 copies.
Confederate Memorial Literary Society, 1928, Year Book, Richmond, Virginia.
Report of the President-General to the 44th Annual Convention of United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1937.
Proceedings of Annual Conventions of the Oklahoma State Division of United Daughters of the Confederacy—Bound volumes:

Vol. 1: 1906-1912—1 copy.
Vol. 2: 1913-1917—1 copy.
Vol. 3: 1918-1922—1 copy.
Vol. 4: 1923-1926—1 copy.
Vol. 5: 1927-1930—1 copy.
Vol. 6: 1931-1934—1 copy.
Vol. 7: 1935-1938—1 copy.
Vol. 8: 1939-1942—1 copy.
Vol. 9: 1943-1950—1 copy.
Vol. 10: 1951-1955—1 copy.
Vol. 11: 1956-1959—1 copy.

Unbound single issues and years:
Convention Proceedings 3rd—September 1911—2 copies.
Convention Proceedings 4th—September 1912—1 copy.
Convention Proceedings 5th—September 1913—2 copies.
Convention Proceedings 6th—September 1914—2 copies.
Convention Proceedings 7th—September 1915—2 copies.
Convention Proceedings 8th—October 1916—2 copies.
Convention Proceedings 9th—July 1917—2 copies.
Convention Proceedings 10th—June 1918—3 copies.
Convention Proceedings 11th—August 1919—2 copies.
Convention Proceedings 12th—June 1920—1 copy.
Convention Proceedings 13th—July 1921—2 copies.
Convention Proceedings 14th—September 1922—2 copies.
Convention Proceedings 15th—September 1923—3 copies.
Convention Proceedings 16th—July 1924—3 copies.
Convention Proceedings 17th—June 1925—2 copies.
Convention Proceedings 18th—June 1926—2 copies.
Convention Proceedings 19th—June 1927—4 copies.
Convention Proceedings 20th—June 1928—1 copy.
Convention Proceedings 21st—October 1929—4 copies.
Convention Proceedings 22nd—June 1930—2 copies.
Convention Proceedings 23rd—June 1931—2 copies.
Convention Proceedings 24th—October 1932—1 copy.
Convention Proceedings 25th—June 1933—1 copy.
Convention Proceedings 26th—June 1934—1 copy.
Convention Proceedings 29th—June 1937—3 copies.

Convention Proceedings 30th—May-June 1938—1 copy.
Convention Proceedings 33rd—May 1940—1 copy.
Convention Proceedings 37th—May 1945—1 copy.
Convention Proceedings 39th—May 1947—1 copy.
Convention Proceedings 41st—June 1949—1 copy.
Convention Proceedings 42nd—June 1950—1 copy.
Convention Proceedings 50th—June 1958—1 copy.
Convention Proceedings 52nd—June 1960—1 copy.
Convention Proceedings 54th—June 1962—3 copies.
Convention Proceedings 56th—June 1964—2 copies.

Confederate Veteran Association of the State of Oklahoma:

Bound Volumes	Unbound copies
1 copy—1911 and 1912.	1 copy—1911 9 copies—1914
1 copy—1912 and 1913.	1 copy—1912 1 copy—1915
2 copies—1911-1914.	1 copy—1913 1 copy—1916
1 copy—1911-1915.	
3 copies—1911-1916.	

United Confederate Veterans Program from Alabama Reunion. October 7, 1919—2 copies.
United Confederate Veterans Program from Chattanooga, Tenn. Reunion. Oct. 25-27, 1921.
Record of Confederate Veterans in Washington County, Oklahoma, Jan. 19, 1924; compiled by C. H. Gill.
The History of Oklahoma Division of United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1908-1955; compiled by Mrs. Herman W. Smith.
Sons of Confederate Veterans Record Book, Oklahoma Division.
Roster of Veterans, Registar at Sulphur, Oklahoma. June 4-6, 1925.
True Story of the Civil War by Uncle Jack Brazell.
Minute Book of The Confederate Memorial Association of Oklahoma. Sept. 12, 1917.
Officers of Jefferson Davis, Camp No. 481, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
U.D.C. Gen. Robert E. Lee, Chapter No. 2127, 1943-1944.
History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Oklahoma City Chapter No. 1181, 1905-1928.
Record Book of Membership in Southern Cross of Honor, Chapter 1181. 1905-1925—Mrs. W. C. Richardson.
Scrapbook of Sidney Lanier—Mrs. W. A. Campbell, 2108 Boston Avenue. Muskogee, Oklahoma.
United Confederate Veteran Scrapbook—Capt. David H. Hammons Camp No. 177 in Oklahoma City.
Scrapbook of Lawton, Oklahoma's Dixie Chapter of The Children of the Confederacy, 1937.
Scrapbook of Mildred Lee Chapter of the Children of the Confederacy of Oklahoma City.
Scrapbook and Photo Collection that is inscribed "Given by Mrs. N. R. Nowline, 1239 North Lottie, U.D.C. Chapter 1181, Oklahoma City—To Our Children's Auxiliary, 1933."
Scrapbook—"Biographies of Southern Personages."
Envelope of photographs from Confederate Room and U.D.C. Chapters.
Numerous VF files containing items of Oklahoma History and Southern literature.

Photograph of Collection:

Collection of Charles A. Lowe
Donor: Mrs. Zelia Lowe Isherwood, 1157 N. Island Avenue, Wilmington, California.

Contributions of Jessie Newby Ray.
Donor: Dr. Jessie Newby Ray, Edmond, Oklahoma.

Collection of early-day Oklahoma City in picture post cards including 59 actual photographs of the Oklahoma City Fire Department.

Donor: Dayton W. Canady, 832 Adams, St. Charles, Missouri.

Gravestone of George Selvidge, near Colcord, Delaware County, Oklahoma.
Cherokee National Capitol, 1867, Tahlequah, Oklahoma—3 views.
Cherokee National Prison, Tahlequah, Oklahoma.
Cherokee National Supreme Court Building—Home of *Cherokee Advocate* in 1874, Tahlequah, Oklahoma.
Gravestone of Jesse Beck, near Colcord, Delaware, County, Oklahoma.
Gravestone of Samuel Beck, near Colcord, Delaware County, Oklahoma.
Beck family cemetery, near Colcord, Delaware County, Oklahoma, 2 views.
Family of Ezekiel Proctor, Jr., 1907.
Signature of Ezekiel "Zeke" Proctor on a pension claim in National Archives.
Town of Proctor, Oklahoma named for Ezekiel "Zeke" Proctor.
William Penn Adair, born 1830, died 1880.
Chief Charles Journeycake of the Delawares.

Donor: Eugene H. Brewington, 116 Country Club Terrace, Midwest City, Oklahoma.

"The General" famous Civil War Engine.
Chisholm Trail Centennial Museum Car on the Santa Fe Railroad parked at Norman, 2 views.
Fort Gibson, showing the repairs being made to old barracks, 1967.
Fort Gibson, bake oven, 1967.

Donor: Administrative Office of Historical Society.

Largest orthoflow fluid catalytic cracking unit ever built—Tidewater Oil Co., photo.
Natural gas pipeline crews laying big pipes across mountains—American Gas Assoc. photo.
"Shooting" a shallow well about 1918—Standard Oil of New Jersey photo.
Santa Fe Trail in 1931—Santa Fe Railway photo.
View of the "Big Inch" war emergency pipeline under construction, 1942-1943—Standard Oil of New Jersey photo (2 copies).
A weld completed—El Paso Natural Gas photo.
Pipeline section suspended over trench by a side-boom tractor—Washington Gas Light Company photo.
Gas crosses a river by bridge—El Paso Natural Gas Co. photo.
Worm's eye view of giant trenching machine—Long Island Lighting Company photo.
Pipeline suspension bridge—Natural Gas Pipe Line Company of America photo.
Oil well drilling in Louisiana's bayou country—Standard Oil of New Jersey photo.
Laying oil pipelines by hand in New Jersey in the 1890's—Drilling Magazine photo.
Laying gas pipelines today—Canadian Bechtel, Ltd. photo.
Model T 1917 Ford—News Department Ford Motor Co., Dearborn, Michigan photo.
Perry Land Tents—Bureau of Land Management photo in National Archives.
Granite Cross dedicated to Father Juan De Padilla (1542) near Lyons, Kansas—Industrial Development Commission of Kansas photo.
End of the Santa Fe Trail Marker in Santa Fe, New Mexico—New Mexico State Tourist Bureau photo.
Hopi Indians doing Gourd Dance at Inter-Tribal Ceremonials, Gallup, New Mexico—Santa Fe Railway photo.
Isabel of Famous Black Pottery, San Ildefonso Indian Pueblo near Santa Fe, New Mexico—New Mexico Department of Development photo.
San Juan Indian Using Sleighbells and paint for dance at San Juan Pueblo, New Mexico—New Mexico Department of Development photo.

Apache Indians performing Crown Dance at Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial in Gallup, New Mexico—New Mexico Department of Development photo.
White Cloud group of Ceremonial dancers performing Buffalo Hunting Dance near Santa Fe, New Mexico—Santa Fe Railway photo.
Laguna Pueblo, founded in 1699, located 50 miles west of Albuquerque, New Mexico—New Mexico State Tourist Bureau photo.
A Tribal Chief and Wife at Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonials, Gallup, New Mexico—New Mexico State Tourist Bureau photo.
Mennonite Brethren Academy, 1965 at Corn, Oklahoma.
Mennonite Brethren Church, 1965 at Corn, Oklahoma.
Comanche Lodge of buffalo-skins on Southern plains—George Catlin painting No. 493, Smithsonian Institution photo.
Comanchee (Comanche) Warrior lancing an Osage at full speed—George Catlin painting No. 471, Smithsonian Institution photo.
Wa-ho-beck-ee, Osage, a handsome brave—George Catlin painting No. 33. Smithsonian Institution photo.
Comanche Sham Battle—George Catlin painting No. 487, Smithsonian Institution photo.
Steeh-tcha-ko-me-co, The Great King called "Ben Perryman" one of the Chiefs of the Creek Nation—George Catlin painting No. 288, Smithsonian Institution photo.
Horse Chief, Grand Pawnee head Chief—George Catlin painting No. 99, Smithsonian Institution photo.
Sod School house (photo and negative).
Anadarko Townsite, Aug. 15, ? (photo and negative).
First Train from Orlando to Perry (photo and negative).
El Reno, a few days after Oklahoma was opened in 1890 (photo and negative).
Holding down a lot in Guthrie (photo and negative).
Seminole City in the 20's (photo and negative).
Seminole, Oklahoma in 1925 following first oil strike (photo and negative).
Wagon train and Ambulance at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, 1890's (photo and negative).
A tintype booth at a County Fair (picture and negative).
Gypsum plant of the Plains in Oklahoma (photo and negative).
Waiting for the ferry on the Cimarron River (photo and negative).
"Teddy" Roosevelt and Rough Riders in Cuba, 1898 (photo and negative).
Proved Gas Reserves & Production in United States (photo and negative).
Wells of Spindletop field around 1901 (photo and negative).
Main street, Drumright, Okla. around 1920's (photo and negative).
Main Street, Tulsa, Okla., 1909 (photo and negative).
Poling across river on an old-time ferry (photo and negative).
Actress Anna Held, 1900 (photo and negative).
Geronimo, Apache captive in Oklahoma, 1908, wearing tall silk hat driving a car (photo and negative).
The Proud Ford of 1914 (photo and negative).
"Boomers" of 1888 (negative only).
The third day of Anadarko, August 8, 1901 (photo and negative).
Oklahomans Welcoming "Teddy" Roosevelt, Muskogee, Indian Territory, 1905 (photo and negative).
Will Rogers Memorial and Museum at Claremore, Oklahoma (photo and negative).
Will Rogers and rope trick (photo and negative).
Will Rogers (photo and negative).
Will Rogers (photo and negative).
Will Rogers (photo and negative).
Statue of Will Rogers at Memorial in Claremore, Oklahoma (photo and negative).
Will Rogers, America's Ambassador of Good Will—a pencil sketch by William J. Peters, 1935 (photo and negative).

Washington Irving shooting buffalo in Indian Territory (Oklahoma). 1832 from *A Tour on the Prairie* (photo and negative).
Wichita Village on Rush Creek, 1852 (photo and negative).
An Indian family alarmed at the coming of an enemy—George Catlin painting, (photo and negative).
Buffalo Chase—George Catlin painting (photo and negative).
Donor: Lester E. Lenrow, P.O. Box 1141, Avon Park, Florida 33825.

Collection of pictures from the Lee W. Boyer-Frederic Harrison Smith-Julia Smith Boyer (Mrs. Charles Mason) and Reinstein families formerly of Okmulgee, Oklahoma.
Donor: Mrs. Victor Reinstein, 11 Danforth Street, Cheektowaga. New York.

INDIAN ARCHIVES DIVISION, JANUARY 28, 1968.

Records from Indian Claims Commission:
Jicarilla Apache Tribe of New Mexico v. U.S., Docket No. 22-A:
Interlocutory Order
Additional Findings of Fact
Order Denying Motion to Dismiss Petition of Intervention
Cherokee Nation v. U.S., Docket No. 173A
Order denying motion to dismiss petition of intervention
Opinion
Confederated Tribes of Colville Reservation v. U.S., Dockets 177, 181A and B
Findings of Fact on Compromise Settlement
Opinion
Final Judgment of Docket Nos. 181A and B, and Order dismissing with prejudice petition in Docket No. 177.
Order allowing attorney fees
Creek Nation v. U.S., Docket No. 276:
Findings of Fact re: attorney fees
Order allowing attorney fees
Hualapai Tribe of Arizona v. U.S., Docket No. 90:
Findings of Fact
Second Interlocutory Order
Opinion
Iowa Tribe of Kansas, Nebraska & Oklahoma vs. U.S., Docket No. 138.
Order allowing attorney fees
Order allowing reimbursement of attorney fees
Final Judgment
Kickapoo Tribe of Kansas and Oklahoma v. U.S., Docket No. 316:
Supplemental Findings of Fact
Opinion
Final Award
Miami Tribe of Oklahoma and Indiana vs. U.S., Docket No. 256:
Order denying action
Opinion
Peoria Tribe of Oklahoma v. U.S., Docket No. 314E:
Order allowing attorney fees and attorneys' reimbursable expenses
Citizen Band of Potawatomi Indians v. U.S., Docket No. 312:
Order Dismissing petition with prejudice
Sac & Fox Tribes in Iowa and Oklahoma, et al. vs. U.S., Docket No. 219
Findings of Fact
Order granting defendants motion to amend answer
Opinion
Final Award
Sac & Fox of Oklahoma v. U.S., Docket No. 220:
Order allowing attorney fees
Sac & Fox of Oklahoma, Missouri and Iowa, Docket No. 232:
Order allowing reimbursement of attorney fees.

Sisseton & Wahpeton Bands, et al, vs. U.S., Docket Nos. 142, 359-363: Final Judgment in all dockets except No. 363.
Donor: Indian Claims Commission

Brochure: "Texas Libraries"
Donor: Texas Library & Historical Commission, Austin, Texas

Brochure: "Oklahoma Indian Ballerina Festival" at Tulsa Municipal Theatre, October 28, 1967
Donor: Tulsa Philharmonic Society, Inc., Tulsa, Okla.

Indian Arrow, The, Dec. 1964, Aug. and Dec. 1966.
Donor: Goodland Presbyterian Children's Home, Hugo, Okla.

Mimeographed booklets by James Manford Carseloway as follows: "Cherokee Pioneers", "My Journal", "Pryor Cemetery" and "Early Settlers"

Oklahoma Genealogical Society Quarterly, Vol. XII, Mar., June and Sept. 1967
Donor: Oklahoma Genealogical Society, Oklahoma City, Okla.

The Oklahoma City Indian News, Nov. 19 and Nov. 29, 1967
Donor: Will T. Nelson

Zerox copy letter of July 29, 1870 from Isaac T. Gibson, Osage Indian Agent, to U.S. Grant, President of U.S., in re Osage Indians
Donor: B. B. Chapman

Amerindian, The, Nov.-Dec. 1967

Henry B. Bass News Letters of Oct. 15, Nov. 15 and Dec. 15, 1967, Jan. 15, 1968

OIO News Letter, Jan. 1968

Indian Record, Jan. 1968

News Release, U.S. Dept. of Interior, Nov. 2, 1967: "Udall appoints Barrett, Supt. of Florida Indian Reservation"

News Release, U.S. Dept. of Interior, Nov. 20, 1967: "New Indian Affairs Program helps off-reservation Indians get homes"

Cherokee Nation News Letters of Oct. 19, Nov. 2, Nov. 9, Nov. 22, Nov. 30, Dec. 14 and 21, 1967 and Jan. 2, 11 and 19, 1968

Report of meeting Executive Committee of Cherokee Tribe, Oct. 16 and 17, 1967

Address of Robert L. Bennett, Commissioner Indian Affairs, at Governors' Interstate Indian Council Oct. 18, 1967

Mimeographed copies of following articles:
"From Arrows to Atoms" by N. B. Johnson
"The Five Civilized Tribes"
"Indian Removal—The Cherokees"
"Indian Removal—Choctaws and Chickasaws"
"Indian Removal—Creeks and Seminoles"
"A New Era Begins for the Five Civilized Tribes"
"Tribal Dissolution"
"Cherokee Advancement", by Grant Foreman
Donor: N. B. Johnson

MUSEUM, JANUARY 28, 1968.

Exhibits:

Wine press and component parts used by early Bohemian settlers.
Donor: J. W. Drabec, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Eagle feather head ornament with peyote-type beadwork.
Donor: Robert T. Mobley, Edmond, Oklahoma.

GAR Commemorative Plate, 75th Anniversary, 1958.
Donor: Mrs. Jessie H. Johnson, Past Nat'l President, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

U.S. Flag with 46 stars.
Donor: Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Metal pin for U-portion of ox yoke.
Donor: M. O. Dawson, Custer City, Oklahoma.

1914 Touring Model Ford.
Donor: William H. Newton, Tucson, Arizona.

Woman's cape.
Donor: Mrs. Stella Foster, El Cajun, California.

Cigar Manufacturing items from Traband Co., Guthrie.
Donor: Roy E. Traband, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Braided leather quirt.
Donor: Mrs. R. O. Sumter, Norman, Oklahoma.

Linens and women's clothing, late 19th century.
Donor: Mrs. Riley Williams, Shawnee, Oklahoma.

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publications Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are $5.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* Life membership is $100.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is $6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine (1937 to current number), $1.50. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA
1907

The CHRONICLES of OKLAHOMA

Autumn, 1968

FORT SMITH, ARKANSAS

UNIVERSITY OF ... LIBRARIES
MAR

Volume XLVI Number 3

Published Quarterly by the
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Organized by Oklahoma Press Association, May 27, 1893

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Officers

GEORGE H. SHIRK, President
H. MILT PHILLIPS, 1st Vice President
FISHER MULDROW, 2nd Vice President
MRS. GEORGE L. BOWMAN, Treasurer
ELMER L. FRAKER, Administrative Secretary
Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

DIRECTORS

GOVERNOR DEWEY BARTLETT

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1969

Joe W. McBride, Oklahoma City — E. E. Dale, Norman
Henry B. Bass, Enid — R. M. Mountcastle, Muskogee
Nolen Fuqua, Duncan

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1970

Fisher Muldrow, Norman — Lou Allard, Drumright
Robert A. Hefner, Oklahoma City — LeRoy H. Fischer, Stillwater
Bob Foresman, Tulsa

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1971

Miss Genevieve Seger, Geary — H. Merle Woods, El Reno
H. Milt Phillips, Seminole — George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City
A. M. Gibson, Norman

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1972

Joe W. Curtis, Pauls Valley — R. G. Miller, Oklahoma City
Mrs. George L. Bowman, Kingfisher — W. E. McIntosh, Tulsa
Earl Boyd Pierce, Muskogee

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1973

W. D. Finney, Fort Cobb — James D. Morrison, Durant
Morton Harrison, Tulsa — John E. Kirkpatrick, Oklahoma City
Q. B. Boydstun, Fort Gibson

CHANGE OF ADDRESS—Send notice of change of address to Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma—73105.

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be addressed to the Editor, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* is published quarterly in spring, summer, autumn, and winter by the Oklahoma Historical Society with its editorial office located in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City.

The Oklahoma Historical Society distributes *The Chronicles* free to members. Annual membership dues are five dollars; Life membership, one hundred dollars. Membership applications and dues should be sent to the Administrative Secretary.

Second-class postage paid at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

The Oklahoma Historical Society assumes no responsibility for statements of facts or opinion made by contributors, in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.*

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

ELMER L. FRAKER, *Business Manager*

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE
JOE W. MCBRIDE, CHAIRMAN
EDWARD EVERETT DALE — H. MILT PHILLIPS
JOE W. CURTIS — LOU ALLARD
R. G. MILLER

AUTUMN, 1968

Volume XLVI — Number 3

CONTENTS

Al Jennings, the People's Choice 242
By Duane Gage

Confederate Indian Forces Outside of Indian Territory 249
By LeRoy H. Fischer and Jerry Gill

Leasing the Cherokee Outlet 285
By William W. Savage

School Lands of Oklahoma 293
By Guy Nelson

Church School Education in the Creek Nation 312
By Joe C. Jackson

Notes and Documents 331
History of "4-D" School District
Burning of Spaulding Institute, Muskogee

Book Reviews 341

Minutes 346

COVER: Print from the original drawing by H. B. Molhausen, the German artist who accompanied the Pacific Railroad Survey, Lieut. A. W. Whipple Expedition through Oklahoma in 1853. The original drawing with the title "Fort Smith and Town View from the N. Bank of the Arc. r." is an item in the Whipple Collection of the Library, Oklahoma Historical Society.

AL JENNINGS, THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE

By Duane Gage

Since statehood, gubernatorial campaigns in Oklahoma have been characterized by the candidacies of large numbers of ambitious men, each of whom is apparently motivated by the Jacksonian idea that he is as capable of filling the governor's chair as is anyone else. An average of nine Democrats have entered each governor's race, and in every campaign at least one candidate has resorted to mud-slinging and character assasination tactics in an attempt to destroy the reputation of his opponents and attract voter attention to himself. The 1914 Democratic primary was no exception.

Of the six Democratic candidates in 1914, the two leading contenders were J. B. A. Robertson, a Chandler attorney, and Supreme Court Chief Justice Robert L. Williams, a crusty pugnacious bachelor who had played a prominent role in the 1906 Constitutional Convention and had strong party support throughout the state. Judge Williams opened his campaign by promising to bring harmony to the Democratic Party and establish confidence in government; then he charged Robertson with being a stooge of Governor Lee Cruce. Supporting Williams, the influential *Daily Oklahoman* suggested that a deal had been made four years earlier when Robertson withdrew from the governor's race and endorsed Cruce. Governor Cruce then published a long letter in which he attacked Judge Williams, insinuating that Williams was morally unfit to govern. In an obvious attempt to confuse the voters, two additional R. L. Williamses filed for governor, but were denied a place on the ticket. Williams charged that the Cruce administration was attempting to steal the election.[1]

Bringing national attention to the campaign was the candidacy of a convicted train robber, Al Jennings. Late in 1913 Jennings became a national figure through publication of his biography in the *Saturday Evening Post*, the Kansas City *Star*, and other leading publications. Jennings' life story sounds much like a plot from one of the dime novels he allegedly enjoyed reading. Born in Virginia in 1863, he studied law there, then in 1889 came to practice law in Oklahoma, where his father had been appointed probate judge at Woodward. Al settled at El Reno, took part in frontier politics, and in 1892 was elected county attorney of Canadian County. Following his defeat for re-election in 1894, Jennings went to Woodward to practice law with his

---

[1] *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), July 13-26, 1914.

brothers, Ed and John. There he became friends with several outlaw characters, and often represented them in court.

On October 8, 1895, the Jennings brothers were in court defending several young men charged with stealing a keg of beer from a Santa Fe freight car. Assisting the prosecution was the noted orator and gunman-lawyer, Temple Houston. During the proceedings an argument occurred between Al Jennings and Houston, in which the hot-tempered Jennings shouted, "You're a liar!" Bystanders averted trouble, but only temporarily. That evening in a gunfight in which Houston and his friend Jack Love confronted Ed and John Jennings, Ed was killed and John severely wounded.[2]

In reporting the incident the *Daily Oklahoman* stated "the Jennings boys are fighters from away back, and have had many difficulties since coming to Oklahoma. They are grit clear to the backbone, and it is believed they will take up the matter again."[3] When Al learned of his brother's death, he vowed to kill Houston and Love. "All of the ambition of life went out of me," he later declared. "The future, which had seemed so bright to me as a young lawyer in a new country, died there with my brother. I reverted to the primitive man that was within me."[4] After Houston was tried and acquitted for the murder of Ed Jennings, Al and his brother Frank arranged to avenge his death. But they never met Houston again. Instead they went to Tecumseh, where their father had moved, and associated with reckless characters in that region.[5]

Jennings' actual outlaw career, from which he later garnered so much publicity, officially spanned less than four months. On August 16, 1897, bandits held up the Santa Fe passenger train at Edmond but the express messenger, who recognized the Jennings brothers among the group, refused to open the express car; and the conductor, whom they had forgotten to capture, ran them off with a lantern.[6] Two weeks later the gang attempted to hold up the MK&T passenger train south of Muskogee by piling ties on the tracks, but the engineer raced through the barricade. On October 1, 1897, they flagged down a Rock Island passenger train north of Chickasha, collected $300 from the passengers, then dynamited the express car and seized a jug of whiskey and a bunch of bananas.[7]

---

2 Glenn Shirley, *Six-Gun and Silver Star*, (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1955), pp. 199-200.

3 *Daily Oklahoman*, October 11, 1895.

4 *The Literary Digest*, XLV (September 21, 1912), p. 487.

5 Zoe A. Tilghman, *Marshal of the Last Frontier* (Glendale, Calif.: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1949), p. 241.

6 *Daily Oklahoman*, August 17, 1897.

7 *Ibid.*, October 2, 1897.

For two months following the Rock Island holdup, the gang eluded a posse led by deputy marshal James F. "Bud" Ledbetter. Then on November 29, Ledbetter and his men surrounded the gang at a farm house in eastern Oklahoma. Al Jennings was wounded in both legs as the outlaws shot their way out and escaped into a thicket. A week later the entire gang was captured as they fled toward Arkansas. On February 17, 1899, Al Jennings was sentenced to life imprisonment for robbing the United States mail.[8] On June 23, 1900, through the efforts of political friends of his father, President McKinley commuted his life sentence to five years, with allowances for good behavior. On November 13, 1902, Jennings was released and returned to Oklahoma.[9] He located at Lawton, practiced law, and married. It was to his wife's influence that he credited his rehabilitation. He became determined to win a respectable place in society where by nature he felt he belonged. On February 2, 1907, President Theodore Roosevelt issued him a full citizenship pardon.

From Lawton, Jennings moved to Oklahoma City and set up a suite of law offices in the State National Bank Building. By 1912 he was earning $5,000 per year. Then he plunged into politics again by announcing his candidacy for Oklahoma County attorney. Jennings' campaign appeal was unique, to say the least. "When I was a train robber I was a good train robber," he asserted, "and if you choose me as prosecuting attorney I will be a good prosecuting attorney."[10] His opponents publicly questioned his sincerity. "If Jennings is in earnest about reforming," remarked one opponent, "his place would be beneath the redeeming blood and cross of Christ, not in the county attorney's office."[11] Apparently his candidacy had a wide human appeal, for the Democratic voters nominated him over several others.

Although Jennings lost to Republican D. K. Pope in a disputed general election, his Democratic primary victor—in addition to the widespread publicity from his serialized biography—encouraged him to fight his way back from the past by seeking the governor's chair in 1914. He closed his offices and opened his campaign by announcing a platform which called for honesty in government. "It takes a real man to make that word HONEST mean something," he declared:[12]

"I have the nerve, the ability, the determination, and the comprehension of human nature necessary. . . . Whom would you rather have—

---

8 *Jennings* v. *United States*, 53 S.W. 456.
9 *re Jennings*, 118 Federal Reporter, p. 479.
10 *Literary Digest*, XLV (September 21, 1912), p. 487.
11 *Daily Oklahoman*, August 3, 1912.

(Oklahoma Historical Society)

AL JENNINGS

Jennings had made the comeback in his standing as a citizen of the State. The photograph taken in the winter shows how he maintained the character of a rugged individual in his appearance as a sheriff type — the broad brimmed hat, flannel shirt, cartridge belt, and winchester — mounted on his white horse ready for his coming crusade during the campaign in 1914.

a man who has managed all his life to avoid open conflict with the law, . . . or a man who has run the gamut of human experience, . . . who understands the psychology of crooks he will have to deal with . . . When you want a rough job done do you examine the applicant's linen or look at his biceps? You have a rough job to do in Oklahoma. I insist that I am the man to do it."

Incredible as it seemed to observers outside Oklahoma, Jennings' candidacy was not taken lightly. Lacking organized support, he toured the state—via passenger train—and generally drew large crowds. They came to hear him out of curiosity, expecting him to gloss over his past. But he bared his record, and they seemed to warm to him. To a gathering in Shawnee he pointed out "it takes the same sort of nerve to be an honest governor as to rob a train or bank," and to an interviewer from the Kansas City *Star* he said:[13]

"Man, just look at me, Al Jennings, train-robber, bandit, with the brand of convict all over him; pardoned and a citizen today by the grace of good men who believe in me. . . . I've got to make good. I've just one aim in life, and that is to be governor of this State and have the world point to me and say: 'There's an ex-convict that made good; they can come back if they get the chance.' . . . Maybe, then, they wouldn't remember quite so much that I was a convict as that I was a good governor."

Observers noted something pathetic and touching in the man who had once been a life termer, with lawmen's bullets still in his body, planning great things to do when he became governor. The large state newspapers either ignored his campaign or made a joke of it, and so did his chief rivals, J .B. A. Robertson and Judge Williams. Throughout the campaign Jennings lashed out at his opponents, whom he declared were guilty of more stealing, looting, and disregard for the rights of others than he ever knew as an outlaw.

Early in July, 1914, at a gathering in Konawa, Jennings charged that Williams was guilty of immoral conduct, and that Williams had talked disrespectful of Miss Kate Bernard, state commissioner of charities and corrections. A few days later in an unscheduled speech at a picnic at Wapanucka, Jennings charged that the press had been bought off by Judge Williams, and that they had reported that Williams had called him a liar, when in fact Williams had not, and would not dare do such a thing. Whereupon Judge Williams unexpectedly emerged from the crowd, and answered: "I did say that you were a liar, that your ridiculous charges were false; I repeat that you are a liar."[14]

---

12 *Harlow's Weekly* (Oklahoma City, 1912-1940), V (April 25, 1914), p. 30.

13 Quoted in *The Literary Digest*, XLVIII (February 28, 1914), pp. 455-56.

14 *Daily Oklahoman*, July 24, 1914.

Jennings' face turned red and there was an uproar from the crowd while Judge Williams stood calmly looking the ex-bandit squarely in the face. Jennings rose and tried to say something, but his voice did not carry. Then he left the platform and went away quietly, perhaps remembering an incident many years earlier when a charge of lying had passed between him and another man.

State editors were more apprehensive of Jennings than was Judge Williams. One newspaper stated, "It is the general expression that if Jennings could talk to all the voters of the state, he would unquestionably be the nominee." Another warned:[15]

> If Al Jennings gets twenty votes out of a hundred and the other five candidates each get sixteen votes out of a hundred, then Al Jennings, with eighty per cent of the votes against him wins the nomination. How would you like to hear your youngster say to you: "Papa, I am going to be a train robber and then I may get elected governor of Oklahoma."

On the final day of the campaign Jennings spoke at several places in Oklahoma County, then closed his campaign with an address at the corner of First and Robinson. He pledged himself to the enforcement of every law, and noted that he would be especially competent to deal with prison reform. He promised to parole such prisoners as showed themselves worthy. "However, I do not intend that the prisons remain empty," he assured the crowd of nearly 10,000. "I would replace the men who are there now with Oklahoma's crooked politicians."[16]

The outcome of the election was so close that results were uncertain for several days. Finally Williams was declared the winner. He received 35,605 votes, only 27% of the total. Robertson placed second with 33.504 and Jennings received 21,732. Republicans were accused of registering as Democrats and voting for Jennings in order to embarrass the party. Jennings disputed the outcome of the contest, then supported the Republican nominee, John Fields, who barely lost to Williams in the general election.[17]

Shrugging off his rejection by the Oklahoma voters as simply another of the thousand obstacles in his pathway back to respectability, Jennings turned to evangelism. In 1917 he sought to have President Wilson commission him to raise a regiment of men above military age for guard duty on the Mexican border. Eventually he became a chicken farmer in Southern California, and a ghost writer for several motion

---

15 *Ibid.*, August 3, 1914.

16 *Ibid.*

17 Oklahoma did not have a runoff election law until 1929. The runoff law was repealed in 1937, and re-enacted in 1944.

picture companies. Several movies were made, "plots" of which were loosely based on his life story. The legend of train robber Al Jennings contributed no small part to the world's image of Oklahoma.

CONFEDERATE INDIAN FORCES OUTSIDE OF INDIAN TERRITORY

*By LeRoy H. Fischer and Jerry Gill**

Following the major defeat of the South at Pea Ridge in Arkansas, Brigadier General Albert Pike and his Confederate Indian forces straggled back into Indian Territory. They were dismayed and depressed, and Pike brooded over the unfortunate events of this battle of March 6 to 8, 1862, in which his Indian forces had been participants in spite of specific Confederate-Indian treaties which provided for their use only in Indian Territory.

The Confederacy, realizing the strategic importance of Indian Territory to its cause, had taken vigorous steps in 1861 to annex the area.[1] On March 5 of that year, Pike, a resident of Arkansas, had been appointed commissioner to the tribes in Indian Territory by the Confederate government, with an assignment to negotiate treaties of alliance with the Indians.[2] Due to a number of favorable circumstances, he had successfully concluded permanent treaties with the Five Civilized Tribes by October 7, 1861.[3] In each, the Confederate States promised not to move or use Indian soldiers "beyond the limits of the Indian country west of Arkansas without their consent."[4]

Under these treaties a number of Confederate Indian units operated. The First Cherokee Regiment of Mounted Volunteers was led by Colonel Stand Watie, and the First Cherokee Regi-

---

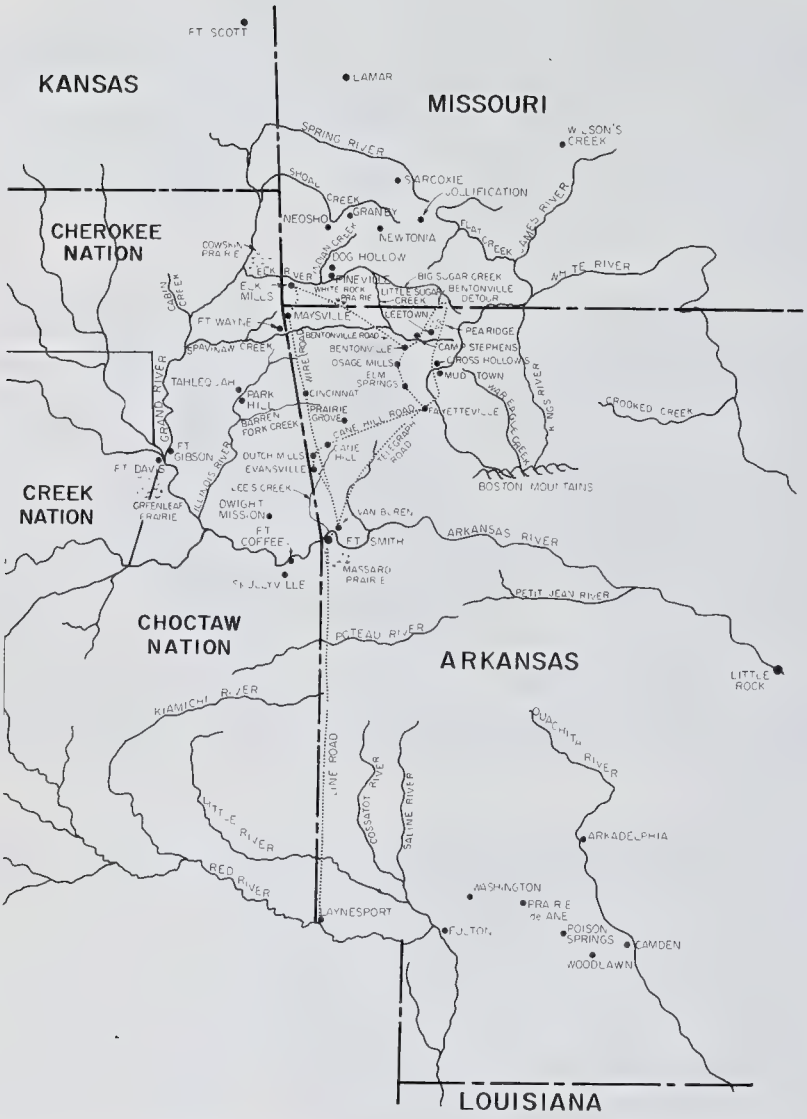
*LeRoy H. Fischer is a Professor of History and Jerry Gill is a Graduate Teaching Assistant in History at Oklahoma State University. The preparation of this article was aided by a grant from the Research Foundation of Oklahoma State University, and this assistance is deeply appreciated and gratefully acknowledged by the authors.

[1] The Confederate government hoped to use Indian Territory as a base for invading Kansas and southwest Missouri and for extending its influence into Colorado. The annexation of Indian Territory would also create a buffer zone for Arkansas and northern Texas.

[2] Pike to Benjamin, November 27, 1861, United States War Department, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (four series, 128 books, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Ser. i, Vol. VIII, pp. 697-698; Davis to the Congress of the Confederate States, December 12, 1861, *ibid.*, Ser. iv, Vol. I, pp. 785-787.

[3] Annie H. Abel, "The Indians in the Civil War," *American Historical Review*, Vol. XV (January, 1910), pp. 282-288; Annie H. Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1915), pp. 63-125.

[4] Confederate-Cherokee Treaty, October 7, 1861, *Official Records*, Ser. iv, Vol. I, pp. 669-686. This provision is quoted from the Cherokee Treaty, page 679, but the same basic promise is also contained in the treaties with the other Civilized Tribes.



(LeRoy H. Fischer and Jerry Gill)

CONFEDERATE INDIAN OPERATIONS OUTSIDE OF INDIAN TERRITORY

ment of Mounted Riflemen was commanded by Colonel John Drew. The leader of the First Regiment of Choctaw and Chickasaw Mounted Rifles was Colonel Douglas H. Cooper; the Creeks and Seminoles raised a regiment under the leadership of Colonel Daniel N. McIntosh; and a Seminole battalion was headed by Major John Jumper, principal chief of the tribe.[5] Together these units numbered well over 5,000 men, and involved approximately 10,000 before the war ended.

Even before Indian troop units were organized under provisions of the Confederate treaties, the Indians had been operating militarily inside the borders of Kansas and Missouri. In May of 1861 Brigadier General Ben McCulloch of Texas had been directed "to engage . . . the services of any of the Indian tribes occupying the Territory."[6] As a result, Joel B. Mayes, a prominent Cherokee cattleman, serving as the captain of a company of Cherokee Indians, followed McCulloch to the Battle of Wilson's Creek in southwest Missouri on August 10, 1861. In this Confederate victory the Indians did little actual fighting except for minor skirmishing on the fringes of the battle, although it was reported later that some Northern soldiers had been scalped. When Brigadier General Sterling Price, the commander of the Confederate forces at Wilson's Creek, began to enforce more rigid discipline among his troops, the Cherokees drifted back to Indian Territory.[7] While McCulloch was unimpressed with the performance of the Indians at Wilson's Creek, he was highly pleased with the scouting activity of Watie and his men in the summer of 1861 in southern Kansas and the northern reaches of the Cherokee Nation. McCulloch requested in September of 1861 that Watie and his force be attached to his command, describing him as a "gallant man."[8]

Although the small Confederate Indian units of Mayes and Watie served voluntarily outside of Indian Territory, a military situation soon developed which urgently demanded the support of all Confederate Indian forces. In February of 1862 Brigadier General Samuel R. Curtis of the Federal forces

---

[5] Charles Richard Francis, "Confederate Ascendancy in Indian Territory, 1860-1861" (Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, 1963), pp. 49-52.

[6] Cooper to McCulloch, May 13, 1861, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. III, pp. 575-576.

[7] William E. Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars* (Cedar Rapids: The Torch Press, 1910), p. 198; Frank Cunningham, *General Stand Watie's Confederate Indians* (San Antonio: The Naylor Co., 1959), pp. 38-41; Annie H. Abel, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1919), p. 34, n. 72.

[8] McCulloch to Drew, September 1, 1861, McCulloch to Walker, September 2, 1861, McCulloch to Price, October 22, 1861, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. III, pp. 691-692, 721.

pushed Price out of southwestern Missouri and threatened to overrun northern Arkansas. Price's forces alone were not strong enough to deter Curtis. Coupled with this grave military situation was the inability of Price and McCulloch, the only other important Confederate general in the West, to cooperate. President Jefferson Davis settled the problem of command in the West by creating the Trans-Mississippi District and placing Major General Earl Van Dorn in charge.

Van Dorn, who had a reputation as a fighting general, immediately began preparations for a counteroffensive against Curtis in southern Missouri. Curtis had halted his army north of Pea Ridge, Arkansas, and was awaiting reinforcements. Van Dorn first issued orders to McCulloch and Pike, the commander of the Department of Indian Territory, on February 22 to join him with their forces at Price's headquarters in the Boston Mountains south of Fayetteville. Then, finding that Curtis was awaiting reinforcements, Van Dorn immediately dispatched new orders to Pike on March 3 to march his entire force, with all possible speed, along the Cane Hill Road and fall in behind the rest of the army at Fayetteville. Still afraid that Pike would not reach him in time, Van Dorn sent corrected orders to Pike on the evening of the same day, commanding Pike to alter his course to as direct a route as possible and meet Price's army at Elm Springs, ten miles north of Fayetteville on the Bentonville Road. In his need for haste, Van Dorn even issued direct orders to Watie, Daniel N. McIntosh, and Drew to move along the road from Evansville to Fayetteville.[9]

Pike's troops were totally unprepared for combat, and only through great effort and sacrifice were his forces able to reach the battle area on time. His men not only lacked training, but were short of clothing, arms and ammunition because such supplies had been diverted for use among other Confederate forces. In addition, for an extended period his troops had not been paid, and he lacked the adequate white troops which had been promised to him to bolster his Indian forces. Instead of the three regiments of white troops Pike considered adequate, he had only one squadron of Texans led by Captain Otis G. Welch.[10]

---

[9] Maury to Pike, March 3, 1862, Maury to Drew, McIntosh, and Watie, March 3, 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 763-765; Walter L. Brown, "Pea Ridge: Gettysburg of the West," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XV (Spring, 1956), p. 8; Roy A. Clifford, "The Indian Regiments in the Battle of Pea Ridge," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXV (Winter, 1947), p. 315; Edwin C. Bearss, "The Battle of Pea Ridge," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XX (Spring, 1961), pp. 82-83; Worten Manson Hathaway, "Brigadier General Stand Watie, Confederate Guerrilla" (Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, 1966), p. 27.

[10] Muriel H. Wright, "General Douglas H. Cooper, C.S.A.," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXII (Summer, 1954), p. 167; Abel, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War*, p. 29.

(Oklahoma Historical Society)

COLONEL DANIEL N. McINTOSH

As commander of the combined Confederate Creek and Seminole regiment, McIntosh occasionally operated outside of Indian Territory and helped escort retreating supply trains at the Battle of Pea Ridge in Arkansas.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, and contrary to treaty stipulations and his own beliefs, Pike responded to Van Dorn's orders. After receiving the Trans-Mississippi commander's first communication, Pike wasted three precious days paying the Choctaw and Chickasaw troops at Cantonment Davis, located across the Arkansas River from Fort Gibson.[11] He then marched to Park Hill on the Illinois River, where he paid McIntosh's Creek regiment and expected additional Choctaws and Chickasaws from Fort Gibson to overtake him. The Creeks' demand for money was apparently a ruse to avoid fighting outside of Indian Territory; Opothleyahola, the leader of the Federal Creeks, had informed them that they would be forced to serve beyond its borders. The Choctaws and Chickasaws, on the other hand, were willing to fight outside of Indian Territory, but influenced by merchants to whom they owed money, they demanded their pay before they would fight. Pike then moved quickly with Welch's men only, having left the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks behind, to Evansville, Arkansas, on March 3. The next day Pike overtook Watie's Cherokee regiment at Cincinnati, Arkansas, and on March 6 they caught up with Drew's Cherokee regiment at Osage Mills, Arkansas. Later the same day, Pike and his troops, consisting of 800 Indians and 200 Texans, met McCulloch's division.[12]

Van Dorn's army, estimated at 16,000 men, halted at nightfall on the Bentonville Road, and Van Dorn summoned McCulloch and Colonel James McIntosh to a conference. It was decided that a flanking movement would be wiser than a frontal assault. Curtis had positioned half of his four divisions directly across Telegraph Road, the main north-south artery between his army and Van Dorn's. The remaining two divisions were located near the tiny village of Leetown, a mile and one-half west of Telegraph Road. Van Dorn realized that Curtis was inviting him to make a direct frontal attack against fortified Union positions overlooking the approaching Confederate army, and he wisely chose an alternate route. His strategy was to take the Bentonville Detour, which bypassed Leetown and Pea Ridge to the northwest and joined Telegraph Road to the rear of Curtis'

---

11 Fort Gibson was renamed Fort Blunt in July, 1863, by the post commander, Colonel William A. Phillips, in honor of his district commanding officer, Major General James G. Blunt. The name Fort Blunt was discontinued soon after the close of the Civil War in 1865. For purposes of clarity, the name Fort Gibson is used throughout this study.

12 Pike to Maury, March 14, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. VIII, pp. 286-292; Pike to Confederate War Department, May 4, 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 819-823.

forces.[13] Van Dorn ordered his troops to move out on the Bentonville Detour at 8:00 p.m. on the same evening, March 6. Price's men, with Van Dorn and his staff, pulled out first, followed by McCulloch, with Pike and his Indians bringing up the rear. The flanking movement was slowed by the lack of a bridge across Little Sugar Creek and by trees felled across the road by the Union forces on the previous day. Price finally cleared the road about 6:00 a.m. on March 7 and gained the Union rear, with McCulloch and Pike still behind. They were in this position when they received orders from Van Dorn to countermarch and advance against Leetown, four and one-half miles to the southeast.[14]

When McCulloch and Pike had marched about one mile south of the Bentonville Detour, near the southwest face of Pea Ridge, they were fired upon by a Federal battery of three guns, supported by five troops of cavalry. The Federals were located on a small prairie, about 250 yards across, which was bounded on the west by a fenced field and on the east by a ridge. Dense undergrowth and timber were located in the rear of the battery. Pike's Indians, carrying the brunt of the artillery attack, took cover in a wooded area behind a rail fence running parallel to the artillery position. Seeing that the artillery, only 300 yards away, was quickly decimating his cover, Pike ordered his men at midday to charge the battery. Watie's regiment, dismounted, and Drew's regiment on horseback led the attack. The Indians, whooping and screaming, charged through a wooded field, across an open prairie, and made a frontal assault on the bewildered Federals. The Indians completely routed the Union cavalry, captured the three guns, and pursued the fleeing enemy. Two of Drew's men were killed and one was wounded in the charge that left between thirty and forty dead Union soldiers around the guns.[15]

Drew's Indians jubilantly rode around the cannons, whooping and milling about, with no one obeying orders. Drew thus had lost effective control of his command. Four of the Union cavalry horses lay dead, and the others had bolted with the caissons. For this reason Pike was unable to send the captured guns to the rear, having neither harness nor horses to spare. While Drew's Cherokees were occupied with the captured guns, Watie was reconnoitering the surrounding area. He returned in twenty minutes to inform Pike that a second Federal battery, supplemented by infantry, was located to the front beyond a

---

[13] Van Dorn to Bragg, March 27, 1862, Curtis to McLean, April 1, 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 283-286, 195-204; Brown, "Pea Ridge, Gettysburg of the West," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XV, pp. 10-11.

[14] Pike to Maury, March 14, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. VIII, pp. 286-292.

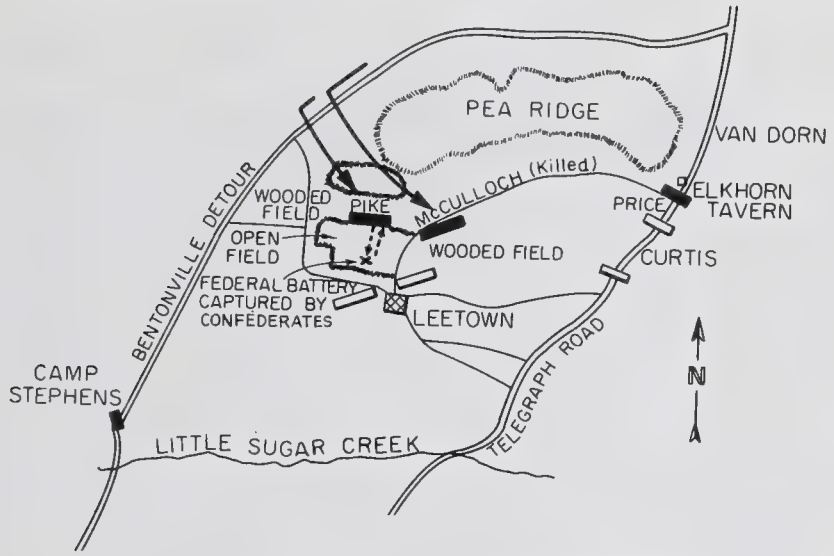
skirt of underbrush. Pike ordered the captured guns turned around in order to fire on the Union forces, but in the confusion his order was disregarded. Union shells soon fell into the midst of Drew's Indians and scattered them. As they fled back to the woods they had earlier charged through, they were ordered by Pike to dismount, lead their horses to the rear, and take cover behind the trees. From their advantageous positions, the Cherokees coolly awaited a Federal attack which never materialized. Instead, the Union forces directed a two and one-half hour artillery and rifle barrage into the wooded area. At 1:30 p.m., about one hour after the shelling had commenced, Confederate cavalry formed to the left and front of the wooded area occupied by the Indians. Pike dispatched Drew's 500-man regiment to the rear of this formation, where they crossed an open field and then dismounted near the other edge of the timber. Meanwhile, a detail headed by Sergeant Major George West of Watie's regiment took the battery captured earlier into the woods, where a guard of Cherokees was placed over it. This feat was accomplished in spite of the heavy Federal shelling, most of which passed over the guard. Pinned down by the shelling, Pike's Indians were useless for the rest of the day.[16]

About 3:00 p.m. Pike rode past his left flank to check the ominous silence in that direction, and learned of the deaths of McCulloch and James McIntosh. Fearing that his left flank had been turned, he withdrew his forces to a wooded ridge on the left and behind the open field which the Indians had previously charged across. The field command of all Confederate forces in the Leetown area had fallen upon Pike's shoulders with the deaths of McCulloch and McIntosh. Rumors of a Federal assault indicated that 7,000 Union infantrymen were massing to attack the Confederate left flank at Leetown. Even worse, Pike was uncertain as to where the forces under his command were located, and he was completely out of contact with Van Dorn. Pike wisely decided to withdraw his forces again, by way of the Bentonville Detour and Telegraph Road, and lead them to Van Dorn. Watie's regiment was divided and positioned on the flanks of the withdrawing Confederate force, and Watie's Indians ably covered the movement. Somehow, word of the withdrawal had not reached Drew's men, and he remained in the woods on the battlefield after the rest of Pike's troops had withdrawn. When Drew realized his position, he also withdrew, and not knowing where Pike had gone, moved to Camp Stephens, the supply base at the rear, as had some white troops. Pike and

---

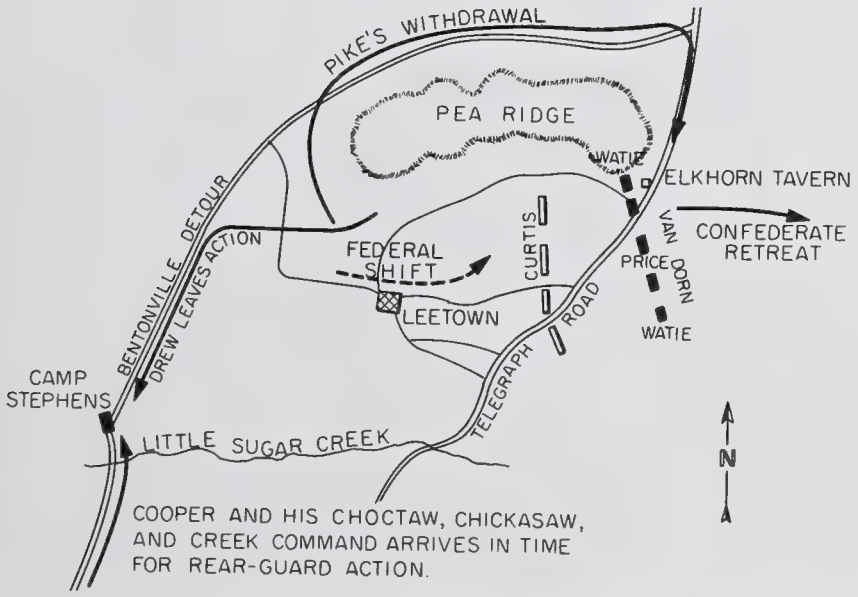
15 *Ibid.*; Hathaway, "Brigadier General Stand Watie, Confederate Guerrilla," pp. 29-30.

16 Pike to Maury, March 14, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. VIII, pp. 286-292.



(LeRoy H. Fischer and Jerry Gill)

CONFEDERATE INDIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE BATTLE OF PEA RIDGE IN ARKANSAS, MARCH 7, 1862



(LeRoy H. Fischer and Jerry Gill)

CONFEDERATE INDIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE BATTLE OF PEA RIDGE IN ARKANSAS, MARCH 8, 1862

the men under his command reached Van Dorn's headquarters after dark.[17]

Dawn on the morning of March 8 revealed a shift in Federal and Confederate troops in the Leetown area. They had joined forces with the rest of their respective armies, which were facing each other across Telegraph Road near Elk Horn Tavern. Pike's command then consisted only of Watie's First Cherokee Mounted Volunteer Regiment and Welch's squadron. Pike was directed by Van Dorn to place Watie's men on two high ridges located on the flanks of the Southern army, to observe Federal troop movement and to warn Van Dorn should a flanking maneuver be attempted. It took Van Dorn only about two hours on the morning of March 8 to realize that Curtis' men could not be dislodged. Van Dorn could not have sustained a lengthy offensive because most of his troops had been without food for two days and without water for one day. Adding to their physical exhaustion was the fact that most of the infantry had marched sixty miles in three days. The major cause of concern for Van Dorn, however, was the lack of ammunition, which had been left at Camp Stephens southwest of Leetown. A general withdrawal was then commenced. Watie requested an order from Pike directing his removal from Pea Ridge, but when this failed to arrive, Watie moved his men from the high ridge which he occupied and hurried to Camp Stephens to the south, where the baggage train and ammunition were located. It was at this point that Cooper with his Choctaws and Chickasaws reached the battle area. Also under Cooper's command were 200 men from the Creek regiment led by Daniel N. McIntosh. These troops met Drew's Cherokees at Camp Stephens and escorted the retreating Confederate supply train to Elm Springs, while Watie and 200 of his men were detailed to escort the ammunition train from Camp Stephens to the main army which was expected to meet them at Elm Springs. When this anticipated meeting failed to materialize, Watie rejoined the Confederate supply train. At Elm Springs the Indians were ordered to accompany their own supply train to Cincinnati, where they were reunited with Pike and his staff, who had been searching vainly for several days to locate this command. From Cincinnati the Indian forces moved back inside the borders of Indian Territory.[18]

Pike and his Indians were much maligned for the part they had played in the Battle of Pea Ridge. The most devastating charge was that the bodies of several Union soldiers had been

17 *Ibid.*

18 *Ibid.;* Clifford, "The Indian Regiments in the Battle of Pea Ridge," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXV, p. 319.

found on the battlefield "tomahawked, scalped, and . . . shamefully mangled."[19] Although unsubstantiated, formal protests were made by Federal officers, and Northern newspapers severely criticized Pike. In partial refutation of the charge, it was later maintained by the Confederates that Drew's men had committed these atrocities and that they subsequently fought for the North. Another criticism of the Indian soldiers was that they could not be disciplined and that they would not remain in formation during artillery barrages. To these accusations Pike replied that mass formation combat was not the proper use of Indian troops, and that they were more effective as scouts and raiders.[20]

After the Battle of Pea Ridge, Watie and his men returned to scouting duty on the northern border of the Cherokee Nation, and it was from this location that he soon moved eastward to challenge the Federals. On April 25, 1862, Watie's scouts informed him that Union troops were advancing on Elk Mills, Missouri. With a unit of forty men from his camp on Cowskin Prairie, Watie moved to that vicinity and awaited reinforcements, which arrived later in the day. With 140 of his own men and sixty Missourians under Colonel John T. Coffee of the Missouri State Guard, Watie then followed the Federals to Neosho, Missouri. Early the next morning, on April 26, Watie tried a double envelopment of the Federal forces. While some remained behind to hold the horses, Watie and 125 of his men dismounted two miles from the Federal camp and stealthily advanced on foot, completely surprising the Union pickets. With the attack element decidedly in their favor, Watie's Indians killed thirty-one Federals, eleven of whom were officers; three prisoners were also taken. When Coffee failed to commence a simultaneous thrust, the Cherokees were forced to retreat with two killed and five wounded. Major James M. Hubbart and 146 men of the Federal First Missouri Cavalry Regiment regrouped and pushed the Confederate raiders out of camp. Skirmishing continued until 3:00 p.m., when the Cherokee forces remounted and fell back to Cowskin Prairie within the borders of Indian Territory. Both sides claimed a victory. The Indian soldiers proved to be more than effective in their first independent action and probably would have completely routed the Federal forces had Coffee executed his part of the envelopment movement. Cooper was impressed with Watie's leadership ability and

---

[19] McKenny to Van Dorn, March 9, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. VIII, p. 194.

[20] Curtis to Kelton, March 13, 1862, Maury to Curtis, March 14, 1862, *ibid.*, p. 195; Abe, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War*, pp. 32-34.

recommended that Watie be promoted to brigadier general in order to strengthen Confederate Indian troop morale.[21]

A second engagement near Neosho, on May 1, 1862, proved even more successful. On April 29 Captain Thomas R. Livingston of Watie's command reported that over 200 men of the Fourteenth Regiment of the Missouri State Militia, commanded by Colonel John M. Richardson, were at Granby near Neosho. Watie dispatched Captain Robert C. Parks and 200 men to find and attack the Federals. Parks and the Cherokee cavalry, joined by Coffee and 200 of his men, completely surprised Richardson's force early on the morning of May 1. Again, as at Neosho on April 26, the Indians dismounted and slipped past the Federal pickets, using a wooded knoll as a cover. The blood-curdling war cries of the Indians unnerved the astonished Union soldiers and made their horses nearly unmanageable. The Federal regiments hastily formed to meet the charge and fired a random volley, but as soon as Richardson's horse was shot out from under him, they again became disorganized and fled. Within ten minutes Watie's Indians, under Parks and Coffee, had killed or wounded over ten of the Federals and captured fourteen tents, five wagons and teams, arms, ammunition, commissary supplies, and all of the baggage. The only Confederate casualty was one of Coffee's men, who was killed. Richardson was investigated after this engagement for failure to establish adequate guards. His mistake lay in not posting a picket on the wooded knoll to the southwest of his camp, for it was over this hill that Parks and Coffee had approached.[22]

Watie's engagements with Northern forces had been isolated skirmishes near the border, wherever contact could be made with the enemy; but in September of 1862, a concerted effort was made by Confederate forces to push into southwest Missouri. Into that area Cooper (promoted in rank in the previous month from colonel to brigadier general) led his Indian forces and four or five regiments of Texas troops, numbering 7,000 to 8,000, along with several batteries of artillery. From Scott's Mill, Missouri, he moved northward by way of Pineville in order to join forces with Southern troops led by Coffee, Colonel Joseph O. Shelby, Colonel Jeremiah V. Cockrell, and Brigadier General James E. Rains. Within supporting distance of each other, these forces commenced a northward thrust and occupied Neosho,

---

21 Watie to Cooper, April 27, 1862: Hubbard to Curtis, May 2, 1862: Cooper to Van Dorn, May 6, 1862, *Official Records*, Vol. XIII, pp. 63, 62, 823-824.

22 Watie to Cooper, June 1, 1862, Mills to Brown, June 13, 1862, *ibid.*, pp. 92-95; Hathaway, "Brigadier General Stand Watie, Confederate Guerrilla," p. 36; Britton, *The Union Indian Brigade in the Civil War*, p. 64.

Granby, and Newtonia. By occupying southwest Missouri, the Southern troops were able to recruit men and to control the fertile granaries in Newton and McDonald counties. The mills in these counties supplied grain, flour, and meal for the Confederate soldiers.[23]

Northern forces, realizing the importance of this area, were determined to push the Confederates back into Arkansas as soon as possible. Three Federal brigades under the command of Colonel William Weer, Colonel William F. Cloud, and Brigadier General Frederick Solomon occupied defensive positions from Sarcoxie, Missouri, to the Kansas line. The stalemate in southwest Missouri was finally ended when a portion of the Union forces moved toward Newtonia, occupied by a part of Cooper's command.

On the morning of September 30, Federal troops attacked the Confederates at Newtonia with infantry and artillery. The Union forces outnumbered Colonel Tresevant C. Hawpe's Texas regiment and Major J. M. Bryan's Cherokee battalion, but as the fighting continued, Confederate units in the immediate vicinity arrived at intervals to reinforce the Newtonia contingent. A battery of two guns under the command of Captain Joseph Bledsoe returned the Federal's fire. This battery was supported by Bryan's and Hawpe's men, who were posted behind a stone fence. Cooper and Colonel A. M. Alexander, enroute to Granby when they heard the firing, immediately joined in the action. Alexander's regiment was located to the right of Bledsoe's battery, behind the stone fence. Bryan was on the left, and Hawpe's men occupied a stone barn in the center. On their first onslaught, the Federals gained the edge of the village, and sharpshooters harassed the Confederate battery, forcing it to fall back after it had expended its ammunition. The Union cavalry, upon seeing the battery retire, immediately began moving up, but Bledsoe halted his guns about 150 yards to the rear. This move bluffed the advancing cavalry into thinking the batteries were going to open up again, and it retired.

A charge was next ordered against the Union infantry, which was advancing. Hawpe's men checked the Federal movement but were forced to fall back behind the stone fence again because of intense combined artillery and small arms fire. At this point Lieutenant Colonel Tandy Walker and the First Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment dramatically entered the village at a full gallop and, screaming and whooping, engaged the enemy. Walker's fierce charge reeled the Federals back. Then

---

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 86-89; Wright, "General Douglas H. Cooper, C.S.A.," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 169-170.

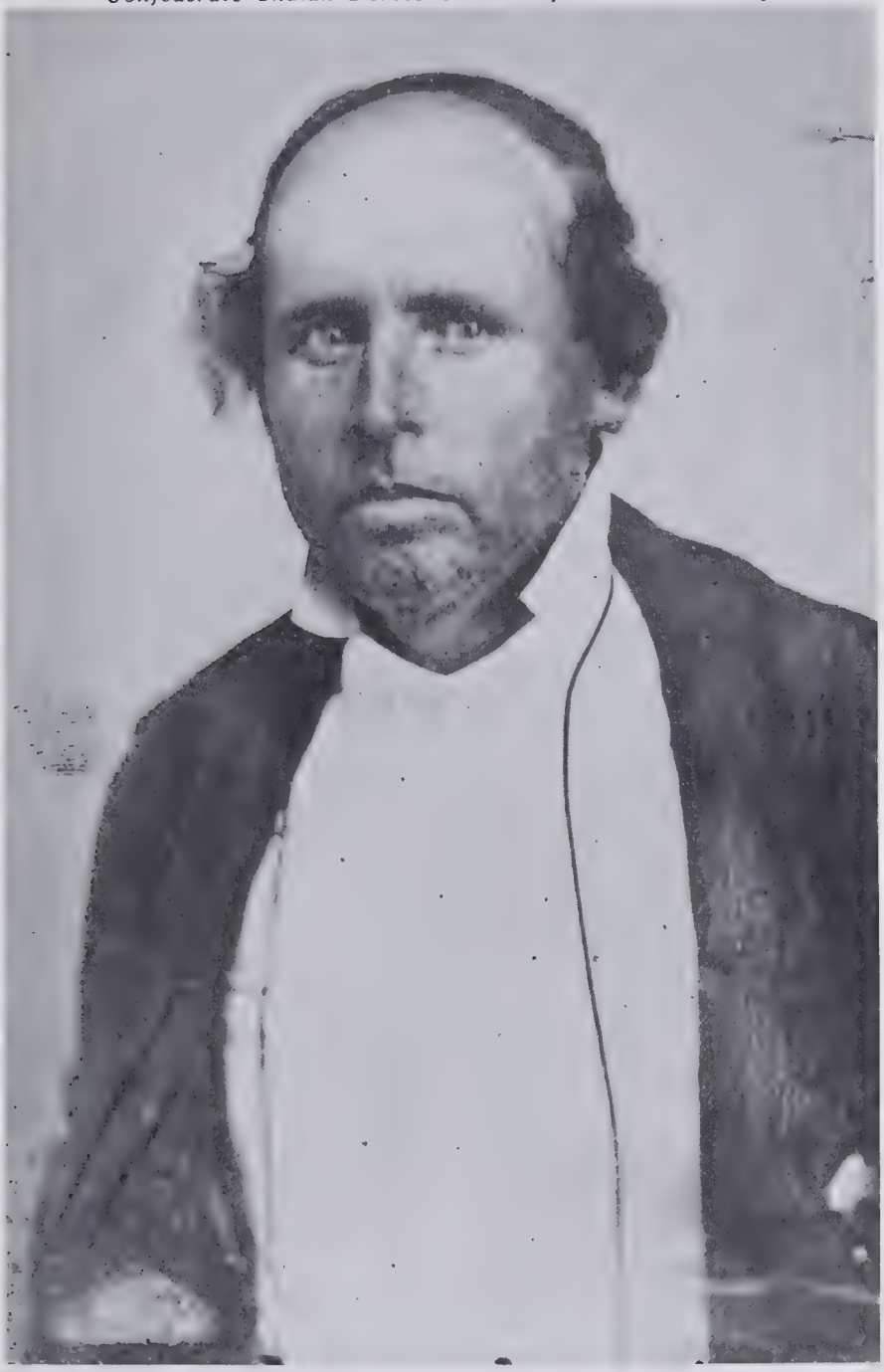
a flanking movement by part of Shelby's Missouri brigade, led by Lieutenant Colonel B. Frank Gordon, who had just arrived, forced a precipitate Union retreat. Colonel J. G. Stevens' regiment from Granby arrived in time to help pursue the fleeing Federals three miles until heavy reinforcements were encountered.

Cooper during this interval had been further reinforced by Colonel Beal G. Jean's Missouri cavalry and Captain Sylvanus Howell's four-gun battery, positioned at a graveyard on the north side of Newtonia. An artillery duel ensued between Howell's battery and Northern artillery located one mile north of the graveyard. The Federal infantry assault on the center had been repulsed, and then the Union cavalry on the left was dispersed by Bledsoe's battery, which had been resupplied. While the artillery was dominating the action, two Union Indian and Kansas mounted regiments slipped through heavy brush on Cooper's right flank. Again, just at the right moment for the Confederates, reinforcements arrived, this time Lieutenant Colonel Simpson N. Folsom and his Choctaws. Folsom and his men rode through a cornfield and surprised the Federal regiments attempting to flank the Southerners. The Union artillery opened up again, and under the cover of this fire, units of infantry advanced and fierce fighting once again raged on all sides. Folsom's Choctaws successfully repulsed the Union cavalry flanking attack, and the Northern infantry assault on Cooper's center was stopped by artillery. The momentum of the battle swung to the Confederates, and by nightfall they had pushed the Union forces three miles out of Newtonia to a woods. A Union battery, placed across the woods, received several direct hits from Howell's battery. The Federals fled through the woods, abandoning wagons which became wedged among the trees. The Union retreat continued to Sarcoxie, twelve miles north of Newtonia.[24]

The engagement at Newtonia, which had been fought on and off all day on September 30, 1862, was a credit to the Confederate Indian forces. Bryan's Cherokee battalion had been under fire nearly all day. Walker and his Choctaw-Chickasaw regiment turned the tide with a thundering charge in the first general engagement, and then Simpson N. Folsom and his Choctaw regiment supplied the impetus for the final Confederate counterattack. The Confederates had only twelve killed, sixty-three wounded, and three missing during the whole action. Bryan had three wounded; Walker had three killed, nine

---

[24] Weer to Blunt, October 1, 1862, Cooper to Rains, October 2, 1862, Walker to Cooper, October 2, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. XIII, pp. 288, 296-301, 302; Cunningham, *General Stand Watie's Confederate Indians*, p. 77.



(Oklahoma Historical Society)

COLONEL TANDY WALKER

At the Battle of Newtonia in Missouri, Walker and his Confederate First Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment reeled back a Federal assault with a vigorous cavalry charge. Later, at the Battle of Poison Spring in Arkansas, Walker's Second Indian Brigade encountered heavy Federal fire, captured a four-gun battery, and pursued the Federals for several miles.

wounded, and one missing; and Folsom had three killed and six wounded.[25]

Although the day had been carried by the Confederates, the Federals met heavy reinforcements, regrouped, and returned on October 4. During the night of October 3, 1862, Union forces under the direct command of Curtis, had approached Newtonia in three columns. Curtis, who had been promoted in March of 1862 to major general, was also commander of the Department of Missouri. The Confederates had scattered their forces over a wide area following the first engagement at Newtonia, and lacked time to regroup. Shelby, however, attacked the advance guard of one Federal column on the Jollification Road, and Lieutenant Colonel M. W. Buster, with his battalion and Bryan's First Cherokee Battalion, skirmished with the Federals near Shoal Creek on the Sarcoxie and Granby Road. These encounters merely slowed the Federal advance, and did not give Cooper time to march with the First Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment to Newtonia. Colonel Sampson Folsom and the First Choctaw Regiment remained at Camp Coffee near Big Spring to guard the supply train and to observe the Federal troop movement on the Jollification and Cassville roads.

When Cooper reached a point about three miles south of Newtonia, he found that Shelby had already evacuated Newtonia and was guarding the retreating supply trains traveling south on the Pineville Road. Simpson N. Folsom and a portion of the Choctaw and Chickasaw regiment drove the Federal advance guard back to Newtonia, which the main Union army was just entering. The remainder of Cooper's command was withdrawn and concealed in the timber along the Pineville Road. The Federals, suspecting an ambush, formed on the prairie between Newtonia and the timber and shelled the woods for hours. But Cooper remained concealed in the timber out of effective artillery range and then retreated south after he was joined by Captain Sampson Loering's company of the First Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment. Loering had been dispatched to Camp Coffee to bring back stragglers and to locate Sampson Folsom, but Folsom and his men had left Camp Coffee earlier and were on the Pineville Road ahead of the supply train. Cooper, after the return of Loering, marched to Dog Hollow, four miles north of Pineville, and spent the night. During the next day, October 5, Cooper continued the march to White Rock Prairie, south of Pineville.

On the night of October 7, 1862, the Federals attacked Confederate pickets near Pineville, and Rains ordered Cooper

---

[25] Cooper to Rains, October 2, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. XIII, pp. 296-301.

(Oklahoma Historical Society)

COLONEL SAMPSON FOLSOM

While leading a Confederate Choctaw regiment at the Battle of Poison Spring in Arkansas, Folsom helped turn the Federal right flank and capture a battery of four guns.

to move the supply trains down to Mud Town, Arkansas, by way of Bentonville. The train headed south at midnight, followed by the rest of Cooper's command the next day in a heavy rain storm. Cooper caught up with his train at Mud Town and met Rains the next morning at Cross Hollows. It was decided that Shelby would remain at Cross Hollows and Cooper would move to Elm Springs to await further Federal movements. After consultation with Rains on October 14 and 15, Cooper was ordered to invade southeast Kansas and seize Fort Scott; at the same time, his command was considerably weakened by the detachment of the regiments of Alexander, Stevens, Hawpe, and T. C. Bass, and Buster's battalion. Cooper began preparations for a move on Fort Scott with his small force of Indians and Howell's battery. The drive into Missouri had been deterred and a new strategy had been devised. The Texas and Arkansas troops of the Confederates in the future would be deployed against the Federals advancing from Missouri, and the Indians could in the meantime outflank the combined Union forces, do considerable damage in Kansas, and divert Union troops from western Arkansas.[26]

In accordance with this plan, Cooper marched his force to the vicinity of Maysville, Arkansas, where he was to unite forces with Watie and Sampson Folsom. Although joined by Lieutenant Colonel Chilly McIntosh and his Creek battalion, Cooper learned upon reaching Maysville that Watie and most of his men were scouting near Evansville, Arkansas, and that Sampson Folsom and his men, contrary to orders, were in the vicinity of Cincinnati, Arkansas. Since Daniel N. McIntosh's Creek regiment had failed to receive orders informing it of Cooper's plans, Cooper made an effort to contact McIntosh. It was while Cooper was attempting to organize his troops that he learned of the approach of Federal troops under the command of Brigadier General James G. Blunt. Cooper's forces were attacked on the morning of October 22, 1862, by a larger force and compelled to retreat from the Fort Wayne area just inside Indian Territory. With Cooper's retreat went the hopes of invading Kansas, and this decisive engagement placed the Federal troops on the offensive in Indian Territory. The Southern Indians had been driven out of Missouri and Arkansas, and their plans for entering Kansas had also been curtailed. Confederate

---

26 Cooper to Newton, October 25, 1862, Cooper to Hindman, December 15, 1862, *ibid.*, Ser. i, Vol. XIII, pp. 331-336; Wright, "General Douglas H. Cooper, C.S.A.," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXII, p. 170.

(Oklahoma Historical Society)

COLONEL CHILLY McINTOSH

While commanding a Creek battalion, McIntosh frequently supported Confederate Indian thrusts under Brigadier General Douglas H. Cooper into western Arkansass and southwestern Missouri.

Indians were never again able to mount a major offensive against Federal troops in Indian Territory or along the border.[27]

Following the engagement at Fort Wayne, Cooper led his troops south into the heart of the Choctaw Nation, where they wintered at Skullyville. Watie was still needed as a scout in western Arkansas, however, and after the initial retreat he was ordered on December 3, 1862, by Major General Thomas C. Hindman, commander of the Trans-Mississippi area, to proceed to the Evansville area and establish communications with the Confederate pickets on the Line Road. Watie and about 400 men arrived at Peyton Springs, Arkansas, five miles from Evansville, just after dark on December 5. On this march Watie's men had minor skirmishes with Union Indians near Dwight Mission and killed several. Scouts sent by Watie into Evansville reported seeing a Federal force leaving, but no Confederate pickets. Bypassing Evansville, Watie moved to Dutch Mills, Arkansas, discovered Federal pickets there, and learned that Union troops were in force at Cane Hill.

Knowledge of a superior number of troops in the vicinity caused Watie to retire down Lee's Creek, five miles south of Peyton Springs, where he met Simpson N. Folsom, a company of Texas Rangers, and a detachment of Bryan's Cherokee battalion under Captain John Miller, all from Fort Coffee in the Choctaw Nation. On Sunday, December 7, a scout under Watie's personal command was sent to the Line Road looking for Confederate pickets, and finding none, Watie camped at Peyton Springs. On December 8, Watie's combined forces took possession of Dutch Mills. Being out of touch with other Confederate units in the area, Watie sent Captain J. W. Wells to communicate with Hindman, who was supposed to be in the vicinity of Cane Hill. On the same day, leaving a company at Dutch Mills, Watie moved his camp closer to the Cherokee-Arkansas line. There he learned on December 10 that a surprise attack on his camp was planned by Federal Indians located at Manus, ten miles away. This strategy was reversed when Watie routed the Federals in their camp early the next morning and drove them into the hills. Watie's men killed three and wounded one of the Federals. Finally, Watie received news of the Battle of Prairie Grove and learned that the Federal supply train

---

27 Cooper to Hindman, December 15, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. XIII, pp. 332-336; Barney King Neal, Jr., "Federal Ascendancy in Indian Territory, 1862-1863" (Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, 1966), p. 63; Hathaway, "Brigadier General Stand Watie, Confederate Guerrilla," pp. 43-46; Lary Charles Rampp, "The Twilight of the Confederacy in Indian Territory, 1863-1865" (Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, 1968), pp. 23-25.

which he had hoped to intercept had travelled on a different route than the one covered by him. On December 12, Watie was ordered by Cooper to return to Indian Territory, and Simpson N. Folsom retired to Fort Coffee, also in Indian Territory.[28]

The year 1863 was disillusioning for the Confederate Indians. Their once bountiful land was by then scarred from the scorched-earth policy engaged in by the combatants as first one side gained possession and then the other. Confederate prospects in Indian Territory were as unfavorable as the land. By the middle of 1863, Union military power was supreme north of the Arkansas River and threatened to push the Southern Indians to the Red River. Indian troop morale was further damaged by the failure of the Confederacy in several respects to uphold its treaty promises to its Indian allies. Watie strongly condemned Confederate treatment of the Indians and heatedly asserted that Indian Territory had been hopelessly abandoned by the Richmond government.[29]

In spite of heartbreaking sorrows and nearly insurmountable odds, the Southern Indians continued to fight outside of Indian Territory in a cause they chose as their own. In 1863 the Indian forces changed their tactics, turning more and more to guerrilla activity, the only effective method of harassment left open to them. Early in June of 1863, Watie slipped across the Arkansas River near Greenleaf Prairie under the cover of darkness, accompanied by Colonel L. M. Martin's Fifth Texas Partisan Rangers. They sped through Park Hill and Tahlequah, leaving burning houses in their wake. After Tahlequah the raiding party separated, with Martin heading for Evansville, Arkansas, and Watie with 400 men sweeping along the Arkansas border past Maysville and into southwest Missouri. Watie's cavalry raid was terminated when he was pushed out of the area by Major J. A. Foreman and the Third Indian Home Guard Regiment. The chase was continued by contingents from Fort Gibson who nearly trapped Watie against the rising waters of the Arkansas River, but he was able to ford the river and elude his pursuers. Watie had lost three men, but in the process curtailed Union troop

---

[28] Watie to Cooper, December 19, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. XXII, Pt. 1, pp. 66-67; Cunningham, *General Stand Watie's Confederate Indians*, pp. 81-84.

[29] Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation*, 1838-1907 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938), pp. 175-176; Angie Debo, "Southern Refugees of the Cherokee Nation," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXV (April, 1932), pp. 255-266.

(National Archives)

BRIGADIER GENERAL STAND WATIE

Throughout the Civil War Watie operated with his Confederate guerrilla forces in western Arkansas, southwest Missouri, and southeast Kansas. At the Battle of Pea Ridge in Arkansas, Watie's Cherokees routed a Federal cavalry unit and captured a three-gun battery.

activity and forced the Union commanders to employ extra troops for guard duty at strategic locations.[30]

As Watie made more and more raids above the Arkansas River, confused Federals reported him as far north as Fort Scott, Kansas, in operations with William C. Quantrill, the Confederate border guerrilla. Thus Watie was also becoming a legend. On one of his excursions outside of Indian Territory, he moved into Missouri in December, 1863, causing panic among the Federal troops. Commanding 300 men, he succeeded in eluding Union forces on the Barren Fork Creek in the Cherokee Nation and detoured into Arkansas. He skirmished with Federal cavalry under the command of Foreman on December 20 and 21 below Cane Hill, Arkansas. Watie then broke contact and duped the Northern forces around Cane Hill into thinking he had retreated across the Arkansas River. However, on December 23, he was sighted moving north near Cincinnati. From there he raced into southwest Missouri, where he greatly aggravated Federal troops. By December 24 Watie had returned to Indian Territory, leaving a few men behind along the Cherokee-Arkansas border to move Southern families below the Arkansas River.[31] Brigadier General William Steele, the Confederate commander of Indian Territory in 1863, failed to see, as did many other Confederate generals, the value of these small encounters. "I have just received your note relative to Stand Watie," Steele complained to Cooper. "A . . . full correspondence is absolutely necessary . . . . You do not now advise me of Colonel Watie's force, or his object, or when he left, or when he is expected back."[32] The object of these raids was not to hold territory or to kill large numbers of Federals, but to neutralize their superiority in the Indian Territory area by causing them to employ large numbers of men as scouts and escorts.

By the fall of 1863, Northern forces had gained control of the Mississippi and Arkansas rivers and had divided the South. The Confederate Trans-Mississippi West was then ef-

---

[30] Steele to Cooper, June 11, 1863, Phillips to Blunt, June 6, 1863, Edwards to Schofield, June 19, 1863, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. XXII, Pt. 2, pp. 865, 310-311, 329-330; Edwin C. Bearss, "General William Steele Fights to Hold Onto Northwest Arkansas," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXV (Spring, 1966), pp. 82-83; Hathaway, "Brigadier General Stand Watie, Confederate Guerrilla," pp. 52-55.

[31] Spilman to Phillips, December 23, 1863, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. XXII, Pt. 1, pp. 781-783; Burnett to Ewing, November 28, 1863, Harrison to Totton, December 21, 1863, Sanborn to Totton, December 23, 1863, Sanborn to Totton, December 25, 1863, Phillips to Sanborn, January 4, 1864, Totton to Ewing, December 29, 1863, *ibid.*, Pt. 2, pp. 722-723, 746, 748, 751, 768-769, 754; Abel, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War*, p. 312.

[32] Steele to Cooper, June 11, 1863, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. XXII, Pt. 2, p. 865.

fectively separated from the eastern half of the Confederate States and its nerve center, Richmond, Virginia. Major General Henry W. Halleck, General-in-Chief of the Federal armies, hoping to further divide the Confederate states, ordered a large-scale campaign against the Confederate states of Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas. This involved a two-pronged attack on Shreveport, Louisiana, and was known as the Red River Campaign. The southern portion of the coordinated attack was led by Brigadier General Nathaniel P. Banks, who moved up from southern Louisiana. The Arkansas movement started on March 23, 1864, when Major General Frederick Steele moved out of Little Rock with 9,000 troops. Nine days later, south of Arkadelphia, Steel's army was joined by 5,000 troops from Fort Smith. Brigadier General John M. Thayer was in command of these forces.[33]

As these events were unfolding, there was feverish activity among the Confederate leaders in the Trans-Mississippi West to devise an adequate defense against this Union juggernaut. Price, the commander of the District of Arkansas, and Lieutenant General Edmund Kirby-Smith, the commander of the Department of the Trans-Mississippi, requested support from Indian Territory. However, Brigadier General Samuel Bell Maxey, commanding the Department of Indian Territory, refused to order Indian troops to leave Indian Territory unless their permission was first obtained. He was also concerned about leaving most of his jurisdiction defenseless by pulling all of his troops into the Laynesport or Fulton area on the Red River in Arkansas as ordered by Kirby-Smith. From this position Maxey could supposedly guard the Red River and be ready to help repel an invasion from Arkansas or Louisiana.[34]

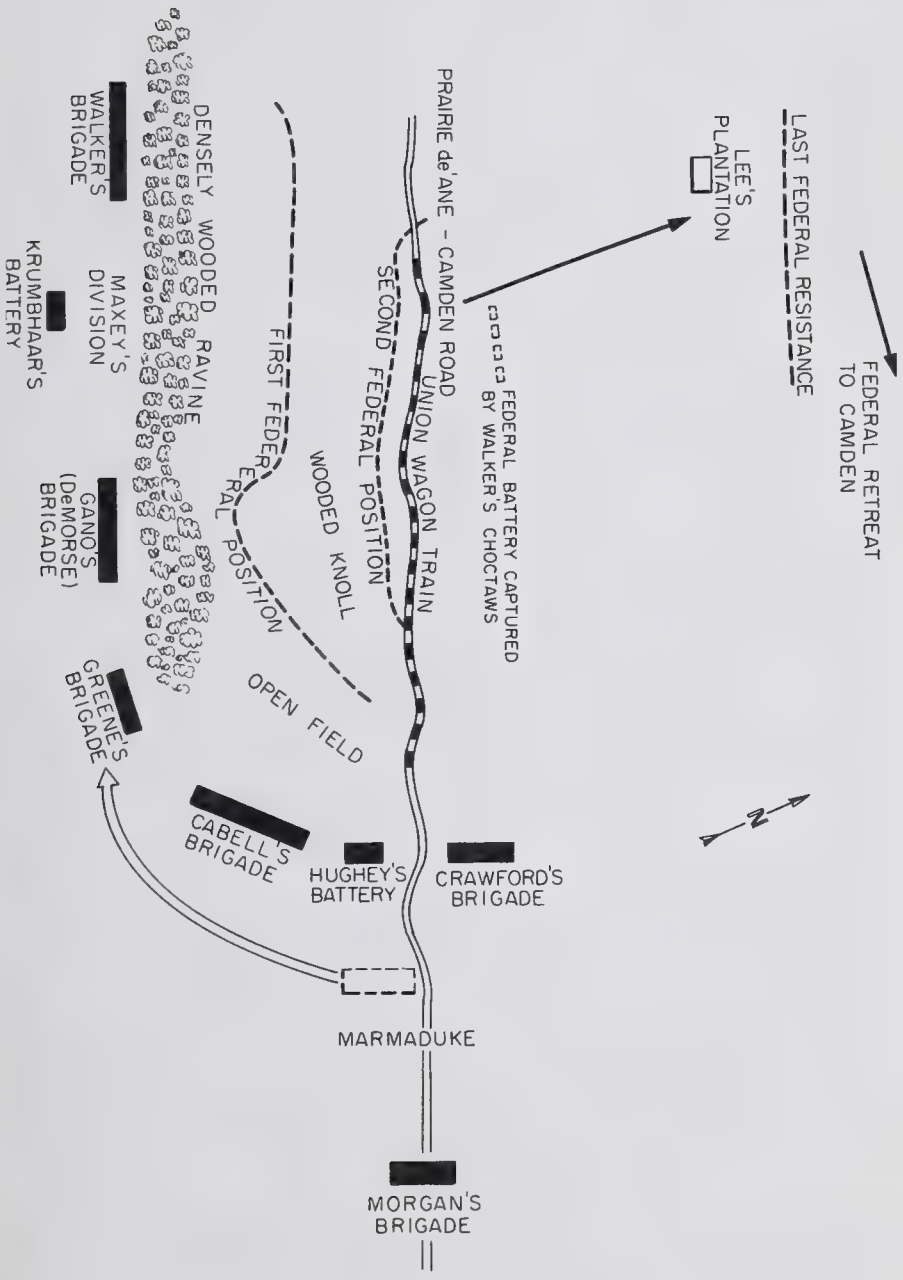
Price on April 12, 1864, suggested that Maxey move all of his available forces to Washington, Arkansas. Maxey complied by moving with his Texas brigade, under the leadership of Colonel Richard M. Gano, to the contested area by way of Laynesport. Walker's Second Indian Brigade voted to fight outside of Indian Territory and joined Maxey in Arkansas on April 13. The First Indian Brigade under Watie remained in Indian Territory to protect it from invasion.[35]

---

[33] Ira Don Richards, "The Battle of Poison Spring," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII (Winter, 1959), p. 338.

[34] Maxey to Lee, January 16, 1864, Cunningham to Maxey, March 12, 1864, Cunningham to Maxey, March 20, 1864, Cunningham to Price, March 20, 1864, Maxey to Anderson, March 22, 1864, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 2, pp. 882-883, 1038-1039, 1062, 1063, 1070-1071.

[35] Maxey to Kirby-Smith, April 3, 1864, Maxey to Boggs, April 7, 1864, Maxey to Boggs, April 14, 1864, *ibid.*, Pt. 3, pp. 728-729, 745-746, 765-766; Williamson to Maxey, April 28, 1864, *ibid.*, Pt. 1, p. 845.



(LeRoy H. Fischer and Jerry Gill)

CONFEDERATE INDIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE BATTLE OF POISON SPRING IN ARKANSAS, APRIL 18, 1864

After joining forces with Thayer, Frederick Steele moved to Prairie de'Ane, and instead of continuing south, marched rapidly to Camden, a Confederate stronghold twenty-three miles to the east. Taking advantage of the momentary confusion on April 13, Price employed Maxey's Indians against Steele's rear guard. Maxey and Brigadier General James Fagan's units, commanded by Price, crashed into the Federal's rear guard, led by Thayer. The Union troops, posted in a skirt of timber near Moscow, had ten pieces of artillery. Price charged the position and, after initial success, was thrust back. During the severe cannonade, Walker's Second Indian Brigade withstood the withering barrage and did not break formation or withdraw until ordered to do so.[36]

Following this skirmish near Prairie de'Ane, Frederick Steele occupied Camden and sent a forage train to Poison Spring to gather corn and any other feed that could be located. Maxey bivouacked near Woodlawn, where he was informed of the presence of the Federal forage train. Maxey's division, composed of Gano's brigade, led by Colonel Charles DeMorse in Gano's absence, and Walker's Second Indian Brigade, was ordered to march to Lee's farm on the Camden and Washington Road. This movement placed Maxey ten miles from Camden and between Steele and his foraging party. Maxey arrived at Lee's farm about 9:00 a.m. on April 18, 1864, and conferred with Brigadier General John S. Marmaduke. Maxey, the ranking general, was informed by Marmaduke of the situation and collaborated with him and Brigadier General William L. Cabell on a plan of attack. The Federal train of 200 wagons was located on high ground, strung out in an east-west direction. Marmaduke's division was located on the right of the Confederate position, blocking the road on the east to Camden; Cabell's division was in the center; Maxey's division was on the left near the west end of the train. Walker's brigade, with Gano's forces on its immediate right, was concealed in heavy brush on the extreme left flank of the Confederates. This left wing actually curved around the Union right flank, and Walker's men were located nearly behind the Federals. The Federal wagon train was protected by about 1,100 men from Thayer's Frontier Division, and nearly half of these were from the First Kansas Colored Infantry Regiment.

The plan of attack called for Maxey to press forward first on the right flank of the Union forces. This movement commenced about 10:00 a.m., but Colonel James M. Williams, the commanding officer of the Federals, had become aware of the

---

[36] Price to Boggs, May, 1864, Williamson to Maxey, April 28, 1864, *ibid.*, pp. 779-784, 845; Abel, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War*, pp. 357-358; Alwyn Barr, "Confederate Artillery in Arkansas," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXII (Fall, 1963), pp. 265-266.

presence of troops on his right flank and offered stiff resistance. The Federals in front of Walker occupied a wooded ravine between an open field and the wagon train. Walker's two regiments led by Lieutenant Colonel James Riley, with 300 men, and Colonel Simpson N. Folsom, with 380 men, advanced from the timber to the open field but were forced back by a galling fire. At this moment, Captain William B. Krumbhaar's artillery from Maxey's division opened up in conjunction with Captain W. M. Hughey's battery in Marmaduke's division. This scathing fire enabled Maxey's division to charge across the open field and drive the Union forces on the right flank out of the ravine and back to the wagons, where the Federals regrouped. After about twenty minutes of savage fighting, the Federals again broke rank, but behind Lee's plantation made a futile attempt at organized resistance. Even though the temptation was great for the hungry Choctaws and Chickasaws under Walker to stop and feed off the captured train, they relentlessly pursued the fleeing Federals for several miles.

In turning the Federal right flank, Walker's men not only made the Union position untenable, but they captured a battery of four guns located a few yards behind the train. This Confederate victory at Poison Spring also netted 200 teams and wagons heavily loaded with corn. Federal casualties included 700 killed, wounded, and missing. The Confederates had thirty killed, eighty-eight wounded, and ten missing. Walker's Second Indian Brigade sustained only minor losses, with four killed and seven wounded.[37]

While Maxey, the commander of the Confederate forces in Indian Territory, was participating in the Camden expedition, a guerrilla raid, led by Colonel William Penn Adair of Watie's brigade, kept Federal troops occupied along the Indian Territory border. On this thrust, Adair commanded 325 Cherokees, Creeks, Chickasaws, and Seminoles. He broke camp near Willaby on April 19, 1864, forded the Arkansas River several miles below Fort Gibson, and pushed rapidly through the Federal occupied Cherokee Nation. As Adair moved northward between the Illinois and Grand rivers, he was intercepted by Union forces. Trapped between the two rivers, swollen by spring rains, and the Federals,

---

[37] Maxey to Belton, April 23, 1864, Walker to Ochiltree, April 19, 1864, DeMorse to Ochiltree, April 21, 1864, Williams to Whitten, April 24, 1864, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 841-844, 849, 846-848, 743-746; Britton, *The Union Indian Brigade in the Civil War*, pp. 362-373; Barr, "Confederate Artillery in Arkansas," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXII, pp. 267-268; Richards, "The Battle of Poison Spring," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 341-349; Rampp, "The Twilight of the Confederacy in Indian Territory, 1863-1865," pp. 68-70; Ralph R. Rea, *Sterling Price: The Lee of the West* (Little Rock: Pioneer Press, 1959), pp. 104-106.

Adair barely managed to cross the Illinois River below Tahlequah. As he swung eastward into Arkansas, Federal commanders attempted to guess his destination. Reports had him converging on Bentonville, Maysville, and Pineville in Arkansas, and finally on Neosho, Missouri. West of Bentonville, Adair decided to again extend his raid northward. A partial reason for this was the abundance of grass on the border produced by recent spring rains. This supply of grass assured the Southern cavalry of adequate feed for their thin ponies, and enabled them to continue their extraordinary scouting raid.

By April 30, Adair had divided his Indians into small scouting parties in northwest Arkansas near Maysville and below Pineville. He moved along the Cherokee-Missouri border in early May to Cowskin Prairie, and from there he eluded Northern cavalry by retreating across the Grand River, which had subsided by that time. The gray ghost next appeared ten miles northeast of Maysville on May 8, when he seemingly popped up out of nowhere to engage the bewildered Federals. But at 11:00 p.m. on May 13, Adair and 125 of his men were surprised in camp on Spavinaw Creek in Arkansas by Major Milton Burch of the Eighth Cavalry Regiment of the Missouri State Militia. Adair's raiders were forced to flee, leaving behind twenty-two horses, ten stands of arms, saddles, and several items of clothing such as pants, hats, and boots. Following the near disaster on Spavinaw Creek, Adair collected his men and struck Lamar, Missouri, on May 20, 1864. The nimble raiders quickly penetrated to the heart of the city, but after five minutes of savage street fighting they were forced to withdraw.[38]

When Adair finally returned his forces to Confederate territory in late May, he had spent over a month behind enemy lines. In length the raid was one of the most significant carried on along the border, but its results were less easily distinguishable. The length of the raid proved the vulnerability of Federal defenses along the border, a fact which would later be exploited by Watie. Adair was able to locate and report enemy troop lo-

[38] Cooper to Maxey, April 2, 1864, Adair to Watie, April 17, 1864, Gallaher to Kaufman, April 23, 1864, Curtis to Rosecrans, April 26, 1864, Sanborn to Burch, April 26, 1864, Curtis to McKean, April 26, 1864, Blair to Hampton, April 27, 1864, Sanborn to Greene, April 28, 1864, Phillips to Curtis, April 28, 1864, Harrison to Sanborn, May 2, 1864, Sanborn to Rosecrans, May 2, 1864, Curtis to Rosecrans, May 4, 1864, Sanborn to Greene, May 4, 1864, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 3, pp. 746, 776-777, 272, 301, 302, 303, 313, 328, 328-329, 403, 403-404, 440-441, 443; Cosgrove to Shelly, May 7, 1864, Blair to McKean, May 14, 1864, Burch to the Adjutant-General, Springfield, Missouri, May 14, 1864, Blair to McKean, May 20, 1864, Blair to McKean, May 21, 1864, *ibid.*, Pt. 1, pp. 904-905, 915, 921-922, 942; Sanborn to Greene, May 24, 1864, *ibid.*, Pt. 4, p. 23; Britton, *The Union Indian Brigade in the Civil War*, pp. 395-396.

(Oklahoma Historical Society)

COLONEL WILLIAM PENN ADAIR

In the spring of 1864 Adair led a spectacular month-long Confederate cavalry raid behind Federal lines in northwest Arkansas and southwest Missouri. His unit consisted of 325 Cherokees, Creeks, Chickasaws, and Seminoles.

cations to Maxey, while Fort Gibson and Fort Smith were harassed, Union communications were disrupted, civilians were frightened, and Northern troop morale was damaged.

The constant movement of cavalry forces within Indian Territory and near its borders was hard on horses, and both Union and Confederate forces were always in need of fresh mounts. Captain William H. Shannon of Cooper's First Indian Brigade was sent by Maxey in early July, 1864, to southwest Missouri and northern Arkansas to secure fresh mounts, and to contact Shelby. Shannon crossed the Arkansas River about twenty-five miles above Fort Gibson and the Grand River at Caney's Ferry. Nine days after he left the Choctaw Nation he entered Missouri ten miles above the Arkansas state line. Shannon moved south into Arkansas, looking unsuccessfully for horses. At Cane Hill, learning that Shelby was in Batesville recruiting, he dispatched a message to him. While awaiting a reply, Shannon ascertained that a large Union refugee wagon train was moving from Van Buren, Arkansas, into the Cane Hill area, and he set up plans to ambush it. Even though Shannon did not capture the train, he managed to burn several of the wagons, kill ten of the Federals, and escape without casualties. Continuing south along the Wire Road in western Arkansas, Shannon heard of another Federal wagon train, less heavily defended. It reached him on August 25, about five miles south of Lee's Creek. Shannon dismounted half of his men and placed them on the road directly in the path of the train; the other half remained mounted and concealed along the road in the rear of the train. The trap worked perfectly. The Federal soldiers, not suspecting that enemy troops lay to their rear, charged Shannon's men on the road. When the trap was sprung from behind, only seventeen of the sixty-two Union men escaped. The rest perished in the brief but deadly engagement. Having secured what supplies they could carry, Shannon's men returned to Camp Corser in the Choctaw Nation.[39]

The closest the Confederate Indians came to amassing an offensive after the Missouri drive in 1862 was the demonstrations against Fort Smith in July and August of 1864. Maxey maintained that the only hope for the Confederate cause in Indian Territory was the harassment of Fort Gibson and Fort Smith.[40] If the Federals could be forced to withdraw from either

---

[39] Shannon to Cooper, August 26, 1864, Maxey to Boggs, August 31, 1864, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. XLI, Pt. 2, pp. 1086-1087, 1095-1096; Rampp, "The Twilight of the Confederacy in Indian Territory, 1863-1865," pp. 107-109.

[40] Maxey to Anderson, January 12, 1864, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 2, pp. 856-858.

or both of these positions, their hold on Indian Territory would be considerably weakened. Maxey believed that he might be able to force Thayer into thinking that these forts were untenable because their supply lines could be easily disrupted. The two available means of accomplishing this were by directly threatening the forts with invasion or by cutting their supply lines and slowly strangling them to death. The feasibility of the latter was demonstrated by the phenomenal success of Watie in capturing the *J. R. Williams,* a steamship carrying $120,000 worth of supplies from Fort Smith to Fort Gibson by way of the Arkansas River. Another coup by Watie, with the help of Gano, was the capture of a $1,500,000 Federal train, consisting of 200 wagons, at Cabin Creek, enroute from Fort Scott. This train was also carrying supplies for Fort Gibson.[41]

In the summer of 1864 Maxey assigned Cooper the task of threatening Fort Smith. In July Cooper moved to the vicinity of the fort and sent several scouts to check the area for Union forces. On July 26 the Confederates discovered that Union cavalry troops were located near the fort in Arkansas. Cooper dispatched a detachment of 1,500 men under Gano to rout the Federals outside of the fort. Gano, in addition to the men from his own Texas brigade, had Indians under Lieutenant Colonel Simpson N. Folsom and Lieutenant Colonel Jackson McCurtain. At 6:00 a.m. on July 27, Gano's forces charged Captain David Mefford's battalion of the Sixth Kansas Cavalry Regiment on Massard Prairie, located in Arkansas five miles south of Fort Smith. Mefford's troops, serving as an outpost for Thayer's forces located inside the fort, were completely surprised. Due to the lack of feed, the Federal mounts were allowed to graze on the open prairie early every morning. At the moment of attack, Mefford's horses, grazing three-quarters of a mile to the southwest of camp, stampeded before a detail could be sent for them. Mefford, a veteran fighter, regrouped his confused men and fought off several assaults as he slowly retreated in the direction of Fort Smith. However, the Confederate Indians and Texans, riding in two columns, outflanked the dismounted cavalrymen and finally encircled them. Gano captured 127 Federals and compelled them to run several miles to prevent their being freed by a relief column from Fort Smith. Besides those captured, the Federal forces had eleven killed and twenty wounded. Gano had twenty-six men wounded and nine killed. Additional fruits of victory were 200 Sharps rifles, 400 six-shooters, a number of horses, and camp equipage. Thayer was unable to pursue the

---

[41] Rampp, "The Twilight of the Confederacy in Indian Territory, 1863-1865," pp. 88-92, 128-139.

(Oklahoma Historical Society)

LIEUTENANT COLONEL JACKSON McCURTAIN

As a preliminary move in the 1864 siege of Fort Smith, McCurtain's battalion of Choctaws helped rout a regiment of Federal cavalry on Massard Prairie five miles south of the fort. In this brief engagement 127 Federals were captured.

Confederate raiders due to a lack of fresh mounts, and he was afraid to dispatch more troops from the fort, which was already weakly defended.[42]

Encouraged by Confederate success on Massard Prairie, Cooper moved on Fort Smith on July 30, 1864. All of the units at Massard Prairie were again present, and this time Watie and all his men were involved. Fort Smith was approached from the south in two columns. Gano with McCurtain's battalion of Choctaws proceeded to Massard Prairie, while Simpson N. Folsom and Watie, under the personal command of Cooper, moved toward Fort Smith on the main road. Watie was ordered to attack Union pickets in front of the fort, and he accomplished this by sending Colonel James M. Bell and the First Cherokee Regiment along the main road and by positioning Adair and the Second Cherokee Regiment on the Wire Road to the left. Bell and Adair routed the Federal pickets and chased them to their entrenchments near Fort Smith. This action aroused the Federals from their lethargy, and their infantry, supported by artillery, advanced on the main Fort Smith road in front of their fortifications. Massing to repulse the Union infantry, Watie and Adair joined Bell on the main road; with the timely arrival of Gano's column, Cooper's forces were able to drive the Federals back to their fortifications. The remaining minutes of daylight were wasted in an artillery duel. Fearful that his position was too precarious to be maintained after dark, Cooper ordered a withdrawal to Indian Territory, thus ending the brief siege of Fort Smith.[43]

The remainder of 1864 was spent by Confederate Indian troops in harassing Federal supply lines in Indian Territory. Due to a severe shortage of food and supplies, Confederate Indians were not again used in engagements outside of Indian Territory. Guerrilla raids within Indian Territory were all that Confederate logistics could support. By the spring of 1865 both Federals and Confederates in Indian Territory and the Trans-

---

[42] Thayer to Steele, July 30, 1864, Morehead to Judson, July 29, 1864, Maxey to Boggs, July 30, 1864, Cooper to Scott, August 10, 1864, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. XLI, Pt. 1, pp. 23-24, 25, 29, 31-36; Edwin C. Bearss, "General Cooper's CSA Indians Threaten Fort Smith," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXVI (Autumn, 1967), pp. 269-272; Britton, *The Union Indian Brigade in the Civil War*, pp. 424-426; Rampp, "The Twilight of the Confederacy in Indian Territory, 1863-1865," pp. 97-101.

[43] Maxey to Boggs, August 6, 1864, Cooper to Scott, August 10, 1864, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. XLI, Pt. 1, pp. 29-30, 31-36; Bearss, "General Cooper's CSA Indians Threaten Fort Smith," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 273-280; Britton, *The Union Indian Brigade in the Civil War*, pp. 427-428; Rampp, "The Twilight of the Confederacy in Indian Territory, 1863-1865," pp. 101-104.

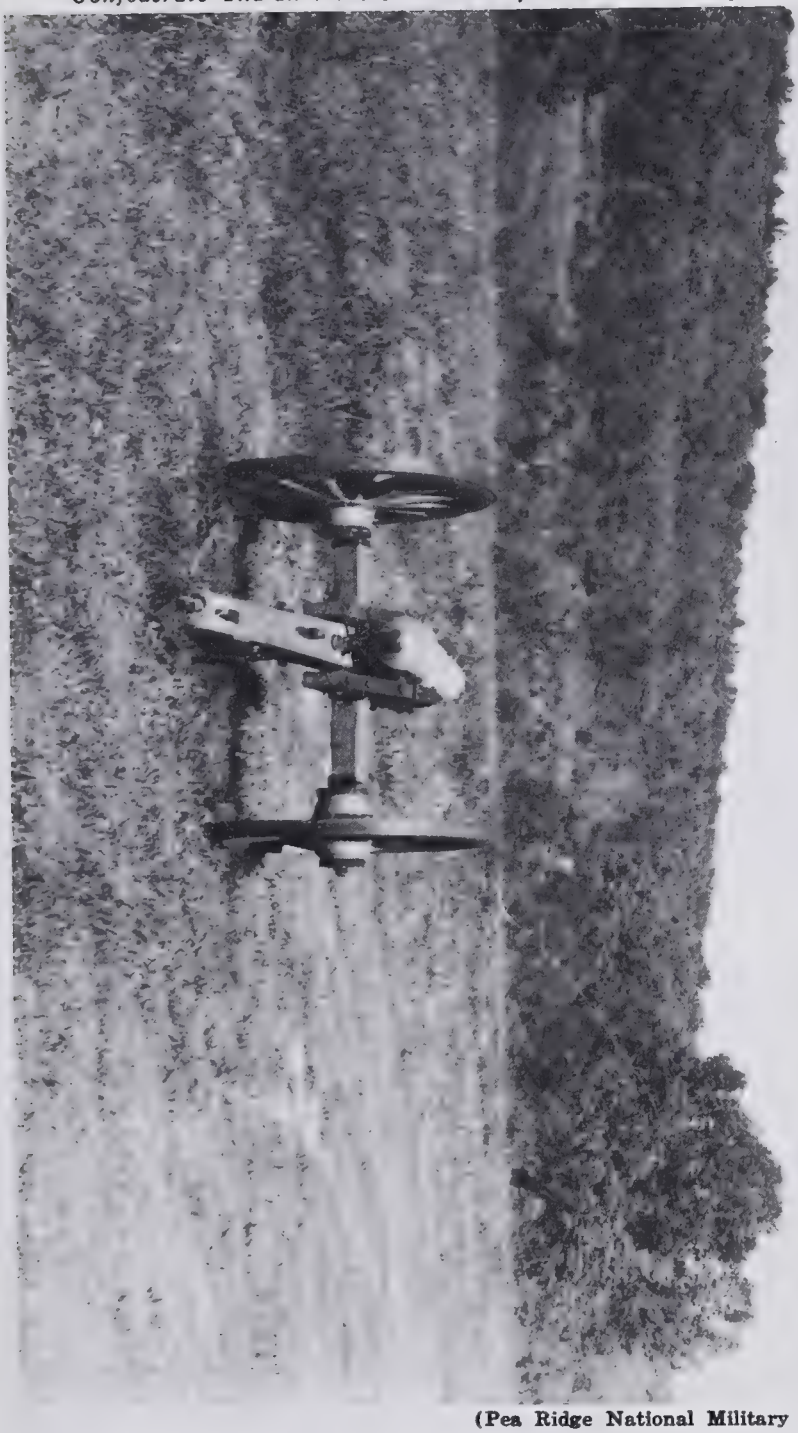
Mississippi West were simply awaiting the inevitable Southern surrender, and the Indian guerrilla forces did not again take to the field.

Although the Indian nations were invaded twice by Union forces, contrary to Confederate treaty promises of military protection, they received but little outside aid militarily, logistically, or financially from any of the Southern states. However, when the neighboring states of Missouri, Arkansas, or Texas were invaded or even threatened with invasion, Confederate Indian troops were usually called upon to leave their homelands, against treaty provisions, to help repel the Federals.

The Confederate Indians were usually willing to campaign outside of Indian Territory. Only once, however, was a formal vote used to obtain their approval in this regard, and this was at the insistence of Maxey. Generally, the Indian forces and their officers were little concerned about the Confederate treaty provisions promising that they would not be used outside of Indian Territory without their consent, even though this treaty stipulation was apparently well known to both officers and enlisted men. There was undoubtedly a realization on the part of the Confederate Indians and their officers that the only adequate defense was a vigorous offense, and harassing the Federals outside of Indian Territory was consistent with this objective.

While on military operations beyond the borders of Indian Territory, the Confederate Indians usually performed well, and sometimes distinguished themselves, as in the battles of Newtonia and Poison Spring. Such performance contrasts strikingly with the poor showing at times of these same Indian forces inside the borders of Indian Territory. The inconsistency in performance may have been due to the steadying influence of the higher percentage of white troops used in the engagements outside of the Territory combined with the cavalry scouting activity so well suited to the nature of the Indian.

Despite little support from the South, the Confederate Indian troops effectively harassed Northern forces outside of Indian Territory. Watie's guerrilla raids along the Kansas border, and into Missouri and Arkansas, disrupted and disorganized Union operations along the northeastern boundary of Indian Territory. By the end of the war Watie had become a legend as a guerrilla fighter in the Trans-Mississippi West. Not knowing where he would appear next struck fear into the minds of Federal commanders and drastically retarded the movement of their troops in and along the border of Indian Territory. Supply trains from Fort Scott, Baxter Springs, and Fort Smith had to be augmented by additional forces; hay gathering operations



(Pea Ridge National Military Park)

PEA RIDGE NATIONAL MILITARY PARK IN ARKANSAS

The approximate location of the Union artillery emplacement looking toward the west end of Pea Ridge, near Leetown. From this direction the Confederate Cherokee Indian regiments of Colonel John Drew and Colonel Stand Watie attacked and captured a three-gun Federal battery.

along the border needed to be curtailed; and the number of Federal mounts and cattle diminished because of the uncertainty of grazing on the open prairies.

Of greater military importance to the South was the protection of the Confederate left flank by the Indian tribes. Southern Arkansas and northern Texas could not have been held by the South without the support of the Indians who fought outside of Indian Territory. Texas, a major food and mineral producing region of the Confederacy, would have been nearly impossible to retain by the South had the Confederate elements of the Five Civilized Tribes chosen to fight only within Indian Territory. These Confederate Indian forces exerted telling influence on military events in a wide area of the Trans-Mississippi West by fighting ably, bravely, and unselfishly outside of Indian Territory.

LEASING THE CHEROKEE OUTLET: AN ANALYSIS OF INDIAN REACTION, 1884-1885

*By William W. Savage, Jr.**

The debate in Washington and Indian Territory over the leasing of the Cherokee Outlet by directors of the Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association in July, 1883, led seventeen months later to a series of hearings before the United States Senate's Committee on Indian Affairs. Twenty-two of the Committee's witnesses on the lease question were citizens of the Cherokee Nation. Their testimony reflected a diversity of opinion that scholars have long ignored. As a result, the significance of the Indian as an economic factor in this aspect of the range cattle industry has been obscured.[1]

News of Cherokee discontent over the lease reached Washington in August, 1883, when Augustus E. Ivey, Cherokee citizen and sometime journalist residing in Vinita, wrote to Secretary of the Interior Henry M. Teller charging that cattlemen secured rights to the 6,000,000 acre Outlet "through the most corrupt means."[2] Ivey had been grazing stock west of the Arkansas River, but the lease, which gave the Outlet to the Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association for five years at an annual rental of $100,000, denied him further access to the range. There were, he claimed, many Cherokees similarly evicted. Branding the lease monopolistic, he protested the cattlemen's robbery of the Cherokee

---

*This article on "Leasing The Cherokee Outlet . . ." has been contributed to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* by William W. Savage, Jr., the paper having been prepared in his research for the Ph.D. in history at the University of Oklahoma, with Dr. Arrell M. Gibson as his adviser.—Ed.

[1] Edward Everett Dale, premier historian of the western range cattle industry and certainly the foremost authority on the Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association, has concluded that, with regard to the Outlet lease and the ultimate disposition of the land beyond the Arkansas, the Cherokee "as an economic factor was negligible." He did detect a political division within the Cherokee Nation over other issues but failed to evaluate the lease testimony of 1884-85 before consigning the Indian to economic oblivion. See Dale, *Cow Country* (New ed., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), pp. 199, 211. Other authorities who did not acknowledge differences of opinion among Cherokees over the Outlet lease include Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 1838-1907* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938), pp. 340-41, and Grace Steele Woodward, *The Cherokees* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), pp. 314-15. Wardell labored under space limitations but managed to indicate that factionalism existed elsewhere within the Nation. Woodward's attention centered on the tribe's efforts to maintain political cohesion and protect its sovereignty. References to internal strife were, therefore, held to a minimum.

[2] Augustus E. Ivey to the Secretary of the Interior, August 23, 1883. U. S., Congress, Senate, Executive Document 54, 48th Cong., 1st sess., Vol. IV, p. 160.

Nation. "Could the inside of the scheme be seen through," he wrote, "—and it can—I dare say no more vile a swindle was ever perpetrated upon our people."[3]

Ivey's letter circulated in Washington but prompted no action for more than a year. Eventually, it drew the attention of Senator George G. Vest of Missouri. On December 2, 1884, Vest told Henry L. Dawes, chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, that he could produce "names, amounts, and dates, which show that as widespread a scheme of corruption is today in existence in that Indian Territory as ever obtained in the worst times and under the worst methods known to the states . . . or any other community."[4] The Senate responded quickly. It passed a resolution within twenty-four hours instructing Dawes' committee to determine the extent to which leases had been made in Indian Territory and the names of the signatories. In addition, the group was to investigate methods employed by cattlemen in securing leases and to decide whether such agreements were "conducive to the welfare of the Indians."[5] Accordingly, the Committee on Indian Affairs met on December 9 to begin inquiries.[6]

Of the twenty-two Cherokee witnesses appearing in Committee sessions, ten defended the cattlemen's lease and twelve opposed it. In neither camp was there consensus. Among critics and advocates alike there was further fractionalizing of opinion as individuals revealed the interests that shaped their attitudes.

Seven of the ten Cherokees favoring the Outlet lease either held office in Tahlequah or had previous government connections. Of the three others, two were small farmers and stock raisers, and one was a white man, a Cherokee by adoption.

Principal Chief Dennis W. Bushyhead best explained the official position of the Cherokee Nation. In his sixth year in office, Bushyhead had followed closely the activities of Outlet ranchers. He had conceived the idea of taxing cattlemen beyond the Arkansas and had observed earlier efforts by white men to

---

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] U. S., *Congressional Record*, 48th Cong., 2d sess., 1885, XVI, Part 1, p. 11.

[5] U. S., Congress, Senate, Report 1278, 49th Cong., 1st sess., VIII, Part 1, p. i. Hereafter cited as S. R. 1278.

[6] In addition to considering the question of Indian leases, the Committee had instructions contained in an earlier resolution to conduct investigations into the status of freedmen in Indian Territory, the relation of the various tribes to the federal government, possible changes in boundaries between reservations, the condition of the tribes, and the need for new federal legislation affecting Indian policy. *Ibid.*, pp. i, 3.

lease Cherokee land. In addition, he had worked with Department of Interior officials on matters concerning the cattlemen's occupation of the Outlet.[7]

Bushyhead testified that tax collection on the Outlet was costly and time-consuming. The peripatetic tax collector could scarcely cover 6,000,000 acres of pasture without overlooking a substantial number of cattle. Threats of eviction by federal troops caused some delinquent taxpayers to reach for their pocketbooks, but others continued to evade Cherokee agents. The lease increased revenue fivefold. When the agreement was made, Bushyhead said, he considered $100,000 to be a fair rental for the Outlet.[8]

Because Tahlequah had a policy of distributing rent monies to citizens on a per capita basis, Dawes questioned the effect of the lease on Cherokee incentive. "Let me inquire," he asked Bushyhead, "whether it would be serviceable for you to lead your citizens into that [cattle] business; whether it would be better for you to do that than lease the land to somebody else and take the money—I mean in the long run."[9]

The Chief replied that the lease was made in the belief that the Cherokee Nation would have no need of Outlet pasture. Despite increasing interest among Cherokees in the range cattle industry, they could not finance a 6,000,000-acre enterprise without outside capital.[10] In fact, a Cherokee company had competed with the Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association for the Outlet lease. P. N. Blackstone, who sat in the Cherokee National Council when the lease was approved, testified that he had opposed the Cherokee company, believing its members could not raise enough money for rent payments. The Association, on the other hand, had proved its ability to pay under the taxation scheme. Furthermore, he testified, the Association should have received special consideration, based on its members' prior occupancy of the Outlet. Blackstone said the rental was a fair one, but he believed that if the lease were renewed, Cherokees should receive a larger sum.[11]

Richard M. Wolfe, Tahlequah lawyer and member of the Cherokee delegation to Congress, discredited rumors that Association representatives had bribed Cherokee officials to obtain

---

7 Testimony of Dennis W. Bushyhead, May 21, 1885. S.R. 1278, Part 2, pp. 44, 60-61. Bushyhead led the progressive National party, which was opposed by the more conservative Union party. In most cases, it has not been possible to determine the political affiliations of witnesses. They may have split evenly along party lines with one or two obvious exceptions.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 61.

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Ibid.*

11 Testimony of P. N. Blackstone, May 24, 1885. *Ibid.*, pp. 127-29, 134.

the lease. Although he had favored leasing grazing land on the basis of competitive bidding, he defended the Council's preference for the Association since its members had paid taxes for several years.[12] The core of Wolfe's testimony, however, concerned not the lease but rather the federal government's interest in the Outlet. Citing Article V of the Treaty of 1866, which granted the Cherokees the "right . . . to control all their local affairs,"[13] he said:[14]

> . . . we protest against the resolution which authorizes this investigation, believing that it is for the purpose of obtaining Congressional action in reference to our disposition of certain lands. We presume that the result of this investigation would be to change the lease we have made or modify it in some way, and put restrictions upon it, which we claim the right to do ourselves as a nation.

A Congressional investigation, he told the Committee, could only be justified if it were held to determine whether the Cherokee Nation had placed the Outlet in "such a condition as to be in conflict with the stipulations of the treaty of 1866."[15]

National Councilman George W. Crittendon and William Wilson, a former Council member, agreed that Cherokees preferred leasing their lands to eking out a living by their own labor.[16] Although he believed the Association lease was beneficial for the moment, Wilson told the Committee that eventually Cherokees should occupy the Outlet. Some day, the range west of the Arkansas would be exhausted. When cattlemen departed, he said, Cherokees should be prepared to settle the land and make it productive.[17]

William P. Ross, a former principal chief and many times a member of the National Council, considered $100,000 per year too small a price for Outlet grass. But he accepted the Association lease because it was more remunerative than taxation had been. Like farmer-politician Hiram T. Landrum, Ross believed the majority of Cherokees was content with the lease.[18]

Supporters of the lease without influence in Tahlequah included William W. Wheeler and William C. Corderay, small

---

12 Testimony of Richard M. Wolfe, January 10, 1885. *Ibid.*, Part 1, p. 123.

13 *Treaty Between the United States and the Cherokee Nation of Indians, Concluded July* 19, 1866. Article V. Bound copy in Cherokee Nation Papers, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Library, Norman.

14 Testimony of Richard M. Wolfe, January 10, 1885. *Op. cit.*, p. 119.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 122.

16 Testimony of George W. Crittendon, January 12, 1885. *Ibid.*, pp. 132, 134; Testimony of William Wilson, May [no date] 1885. *Ibid.*, Part 2, pp. 71-72.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 72.

18 Testimony of William P. Ross, May 23, 1885. *Ibid.*, pp. 103, 109; Testimony of Hiram T. Landrum, January 10, 1885. *Ibid.*, Part 1, pp. 129-31.

stock raisers who, despite their espousal of the Association's cause, thought its rental fee should be doubled.[19] Corderay was more skeptical than other advocates, however. Repeating hearsay evidence of bribery, he testified that the Association lease passed only because Cherokees believed cattlemen would be unable to meet payments. Yet he admitted that despite increased Cherokee interest in the cattle business, the tribe did not have enough beeves to stock the Outlet. Therefore, Corderay could not oppose leasing the range to white cattlemen.[20]

Benjamin H. Stone and William F. Rasmus were white men, Cherokees by adoption who took widely divergent stands on the lease question. Stone approached impartiality. He repeated remarks made to him by the late Sam Downing, clerk of the National Council. Downing said he had received money from cattlemen for supporting their lease. Stone did not believe the story.[21] Rasmus, on the other hand, one of the twelve opposition witnesses and an outspoken critic of the lease and its effects on the Cherokee Nation, was convinced bribery had occured.[22] Without the cattlemen's corruptive influence, Tahlequah would have leased the Outlet to Cherokee citizens. White tenancy, said Rasmus, would lead eventually to white control. And per capita distribution of Association rental fees made Indians complacent and too willing to avoid work. These circumstances were responsible for "a good deal of drinking" among Cherokees.[23]

Elias C. Boudinot, a lawyer reportedly in the pay of railroads that favored opening Indian Territory to white settlement, vehemently opposed the Association lease. Although he could recite at length rumors of bribery by cattlemen, he offered no firsthand knowledge of the lease. He held no office in Cherokee government but claimed to know the opinions of "some of the most intelligent people of the nation."[24] Leases to outsiders, he said, were "in violation of the constitution of the

---

19 Testimony of William W. Wheeler, June 3, 1885. *Ibid.*, Part 2, p. 375; Testimony of William C. Corderay, January 28, 1885. *Ibid.*, Part 1, p. 257.

20 *Ibid.*, pp. 256-58.

21 Testimony of Benjamin H. Stone, May 23, 1885. *Ibid.*, Part 2, pp. 122-23.

22 When the Association lease passed, Rasmus worked as a storekeeper in Tahlequah. He based his charges of bribery on the fact that after passage, he saw more money in circulation. Testimony of William F. Rasmus, January 19, 1885. *Ibid.*, Part 1, p. 189.

23 *Ibid.*, pp. 190-92.

24 Testimony of Elias C. Boudinot, January 9 and 10, 1885. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

Cherokee Nation, and in violation of the statutes of the United States."[25] The Association agreement gave too few too much, and Boudinot was angered by what he considered rampant monopolism. If leases were to be signed, they should be given to individual Cherokees.[26]

Boudinot's antagonism toward the lease was largely the result of his having been excluded from the Outlet by its passage. He and James Madison Bell had been partners in a stock grazing venture beyond the Arkansas prior to the formation of the Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association. Bell had begun ranching on the Outlet in 1879, and accordingly, the United States Army removed him as an intruder. A year or two later, he returned to the Outlet with Boudinot, who had encouraged several Cherokees to graze cattle there. The venture ended when Tahlequah entrenched white stockmen on the range.[27]

Bell was less hostile toward the Association than his former partner. He discounted reports of bribery but told the Committee that Cherokees blamed their officials for not obtaining a greater sum from cattlemen. He did not believe whites should occupy the Outlet and testified that, in the final analysis, Cherokees would rather sell the land outright than lease it.[28]

Bell criticized the "demoralizing effect" of the lease on the Cherokee Nation, the result of receiving money without having to work for it.[29] Bushyhead, he said, shared this view. Then, contradicting his earlier statement, Bell suggested that the Principal Chief must have been bribed, since the terms of the lease were so contrary to his philosophy. Under ordinary circumstances, he said, Bushyhead could never have made such an error.[30]

Augustus E. Ivey, the man primarily responsible for the hearings, saw the Association agreement as a violation of the Cherokee constitution. All Cherokees, he testified, would oppose the lease if Congress were not investigating it. In view of Washington's interest, however, many Indians supported the document as a manifestation of Cherokee sovereignty. Ivey, despite his earlier claims, had no firsthand knowledge of the lease or of events surrounding its passage.[31]

---

25 *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100.
26 *Ibid.*, pp. 100-102.
27 *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101; Testimony of James Madison Bell, January 28, 1885. *Ibid.*, p. 265.
28 *Ibid.*, pp. 263, 265.
29 *Ibid.*, p. 264.
30 *Ibid.*
31 Testimony of A. E. Ivey, January 10, 1885. *Ibid.*, pp. 107, 109, 111, 115, 117.

Two lease critics were members of the Cherokee company which had attempted to reserve the Outlet for Indian use. William T. Adair, a Tahlequah physician, had been president of the concern, and his was an obvious bias. Adair testified that Andrew Drumm, an Association director, once told him that cattlemen had distributed money to secure passage of the lease.[32] Johnson Thompson, also of Tahlequah, told the Committee that official Cherokee policy appeared to sanction giving away sections of the Nation to outsiders.[33]

Robert Ross and John Sanders were members of the National Council during consideration of the lease, and both had favored leasing to the highest bidder.[34] Sanders, the only full-blood Cherokee to testify, voted against the Association agreement and told the Committee that Sam Downing attempted to influence his vote. Sanders believed the Outlet should have been rented to Cherokees.[35]

The remaining opposition witnesses, John L. McCoy, William P. Boudinot, J. A. Thompson, and Benjamin King, had little to add to arguments against the lease. McCoy opposed leasing Cherokee land to anyone, white or Indian.[36] Boudinot, executive secretary of the Nation, said Cherokee use of the Outlet "would increase the enterprise, the spirit, and wealth of the nation."[37] Thompson and King repeated tales of bribery.[38]

The Committee on Indian Affairs completed its inquiries and published a report of the proceedings on June 4, 1886. The hearings were inconclusive since bribery charges were never substantiated.[39] But they partially defined the larger motives of those involved in the lease question. In sanctioning the investigation, the Senate revealed its determination to supervise Cherokee affairs. At other times, Congress may have "persisted in thinking of the West as potential farmland,"[40] but in this in-

---

32 Testimony of W. T. Adair, January 19, 1885. *Ibid.*, pp. 230-32.

33 Testimony of Johnson Thompson, May 23, 1885. *Ibid.*, Part 2, p. 119.

34 Testimony of Robert Ross, May 22, 1885. *Ibid.*, pp. 99, 101; Testimony of John Sanders, February 2, 1885. *Ibid.*, Part 1, p. 267.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 268.

36 Testimony of John L. McCoy, January 24, 1885. *Ibid.*, p. 252.

37 Testimony of William P. Boudinot, May [no date] 1885. *Ibid.*, Part 2, p. 78.

38 Testimony of J. A. Thompson, May 23, 1885. *Ibid.*, pp. 124-25; Testimony of Benjamin King, May 23, 1885. *Ibid.*, pp. 126-27.

39 Edward Everett Dale has written, "There is ample reason to believe that the Senate investigating committee did not arrive at the whole truth and that a large sum was really expended in bribing members of the Cherokee National Council to vote for the lease," but he cites no supporting evidence. See Dale, *The Range Cattle Industry: Ranching on the Great Plains from* 1865 *to* 1925 (New ed., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), p. 140n.

40 Phillip O. Foss, *Politics and Grass: The Administration of Grazing on the Public Domain* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1960), p. 31.

stance, its primary concern was the action of the National Council at Tahlequah. As Cherokees, regardless of their individual attitude toward the Outlet lease, witnessed Washington solicitude over their well-being, they had good reason to believe their sovereignty threatened. They could learn the value of their land if only by counting the number of white men set on acquiring it.

Washington may have had little regard for the Cherokee as an economic factor, but surely that view was not shared by the Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association. Senators might question the arrangement which established ranchers on the Outlet, but as long as Tahlequah supported the Association, congressional investigations were at worst a minor irritant. The threat was not the probing bureaucrat but the Cherokee malcontent whose testimony might endanger the future of Outlet cattlemen. In that sense, the Cherokee was a potent economic factor, one to be reckoned with by any—except the federal government — who would gain access to the grass beyond the Arkansas.

The intervention of the Committee on Indian Affairs did not mark the end of the lease controversy. Within a year, Association agents sought to obtain an extension of the agreement, and debate began anew. For cattlemen and Indians alike, subsequent events were equally unpleasant. Ranchers were deserted by Cherokee politicians who sought greater income from their domain. Washington extended support to homesteaders who camped along the Kansas border and cast hungry eyes upon the Outlet. And federal officials, determined to extend their authority to its limits, brought about the economic ruin of both ranchers and Cherokees by splitting 6,000,000 acres of the West's finest grazing land into quarter-sections. These things were perhaps foreshadowed by the attitudes revealed in the hearings of 1884-85.

THE SCHOOL LANDS OF OKLAHOMA

*By Guy Nelson**

When Oklahoma was organized in 1890, the new Territory included only the old Oklahoma District in the heart of Indian Territory and the Public Land Strip lying between the Kansas border and the Texas Panhandle. Within this seven county area embracing some five and one-half million acres, the United States Congress reserved for the benefit of the common schools approximately 375,000 acres.

Over the next ten years the size of the Territory was increased several times by the opening of Indian lands to settlement and homestead. With each of these openings additional acreage was set aside as school land within the Territory. By the time Oklahoma entered the Union, the school lands of the Territory totaled over two million acres.

Approximately three fourths of the Territorial school lands were designated common school or common school indemnity lands which were reserved for the benefit of the public schools in the state or states which might be later formed out of Oklahoma Territory. These common school lands totaled by 1906 almost one and one half million acres of the two million held by the Territory. For this reason, this paper is primarily a study of the common school and common school indemnity lands. In the paper "school lands" is used as synonymous with "common school lands" including common school indemnity lands.

Numerous difficulties arose concerning the administration of Oklahoma's large school land trust. Several controversies grew out of differences of opinion within the Territory concerning the use and disposition of the lands. Those differences were not resolved until the adoption in 1907 of a constitution for the State of Oklahoma. That constitution included extensive provisions for the administration and disposition of the school lands of the new state.

It might be well to note that the policy of the federal government to make land grants for educational endowment, by which Oklahoma received its school lands. was a policy of long standing. Federal Land grants to support education were closely related to practices of the colonial governments. Land endow-

---

*Mr. Guy Nelson is Associate Professor of History at Ouachita Baptist University, Arkadelphia, Arkansas. He has the B.A. and M.A. degrees from Baylor University, Texas, and has completed the course and lauguage requirements for the Ph.D. in history at the University of Oklahoma.—Ed.

ment of public education in New England dates from 1659. As early as 1621 the Virginia colony appropriated one thousand acres for the maintenance of free schools, and several endowed colleges had been established in the colonies by the time of the American Revolution.[1]

By the Land Ordinance of 1785 the United States established by law the reservation for public schools of one section in each thirty-six section township of the Northwest Territory. This policy was continued until 1848. After that year two sections in each township were reserved by Congress as school lands, usually in the organic acts creating new territories.[2]

Beginning in 1866 Congress excluded mineral lands from the school grants made to new territories with only two exceptions. Upon entering the Union, Utah and Oklahoma were permitted to keep their school lands which were found to have mineral deposits.[3] Oklahoma's acquisition of these lands began in 1889 before mineral deposits, principally oil, were discovered on them.

President Harrison's proclamation opening the Oklahoma District to settlement in 1889 reserved sections sixteen and thirty-six in each township for the benefit of the common schools.[4] These sections could not be homesteaded. However, settlers on the school sections who filled their homestead before the lands were surveyed had their rights protected. If any fraction of sections sixteen and thirty-six were occupied by legal homesteaders when the land was surveyed, other equal acreage could be selected.[5]

Once the lands had been surveyed, no authority existed for "the sale, lease or other disposition of the sections in Oklahoma" which were reserved for schools. In fact, anyone occupying any part of sections sixteen or thirty-six were "liable to fine and imprisonment."[6]

The Organic Act of 1890, which provided a territorial government for Oklahoma, also confirmed the reservation of school lands in the Oklahoma District. Furthermore, the Public Land Strip was incorporated by the Act into Oklahoma Territory

---

1 Benjamin H. Hibbard, *A History of the Public Land Policies* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1924), p. 305.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 312.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 314.

4 Seth Corden and W. B. Richards (eds.), *The Oklahoma Redbook* (Tulsa: Tulsa Democratic Press), I, 423.

5 *Annual Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office to the Secretary of the Interior*: 1889 (Washington: Government Printing Office), p. 170. Hereinafter cited as *Land Office Report.*

6 *Ibid.*, p. 171.

and school lands were reserved in the strip on the same basis as in the Oklahoma District.[7]

Since the Organic Act prohibited the sale or lease of the territorial school lands, those lands represented no immediate value to Oklahoma. In order to realize some benefit from the school lands, George Steele, the first Territorial Governor of Oklahoma, made a trip to Washington to petition Congress for the right to lease the acreage. Also, many hundreds of potential homesteaders in Oklahoma who did not secure a homestead in the Run of '89 were anxious to settle on the lands because of the school sections lying vacant represented the best potential farming lands in the Territory.

Steele may or may not have been responsible but by act of Congress in March, 1891 the Governor was authorized to lease Oklahoma school lands.[8] The lease period was set at three years under regulations established by the Secretary of the Interior. In the same session, the Governor was authorized to select additional acreage in lieu of any lands lost to the Territory as a result of prior settlers on sections sixteen or thirty-six. These lieu lands were called indemnity lands and were administered the same as the common school lands.

The same Congressional Act which authorized the lease of Oklahoma's school lands also authorized the opening to settlement of the absentee Shawnee, Pottawatomie, Cheyenne and Arapaho Indian land.[9] The opening of the former lands of the Iowa, Sac and Fox Indians had been authorized in the previous month[10] and all of these lands were added to Oklahoma Territory. By the summer of 1892 these Indian lands had actually been opened to settlement and homestead.

With each new opening of Indian lands, Congress reserved to the Territory of Oklahoma sections sixteen and thirty-six of each township in the new area for the common schools. A similar school land reservation was made when the opening of the Cherokee Outlet was authorized in 1893, and in addition sections thirteen and thirty-three were reserved for a state college and construction of public buildings respectively.[11]

In December of 1893 the Governor of Oklahoma was advised that the sections reserved to the common schools in former Indian reservations and added to Oklahoma Territory were subject to leasing the same as those of original Oklahoma.[12] The

---

[7] U. S., *Statutes At Large*, XXVI, p. 81. (The Public Land Strip or "Panhandle" was popularly referred to as "No Man's Land.")

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 1053.

[9] *Ibid*, p. 1026.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 759.

[11] *Ibid.*, XXVII, 644.

[12] *Land Office Report*: 1894, p. 88.

following May, Congress established the Board for Leasing School Lands in Oklahoma Territory and transferred the administration of those lands from the Governor's office to the Board.[13]

When the Board for Leasing School Lands was formed, Oklahoma Territory embraced more than sixteen million acres[14] including approximately one and one half million acres of school lands.[15] The total area of Oklahoma and the number of reserved school sections was further increased in 1895 with the opening of the Kickapoo Reservation.[16] In 1897 old Greer County was opened[17] as part of Oklahoma and in 1901 the Wichita, Kiowa, Comanche and Apache reservations further enlarged the Territory and the size of the school land trust.[18] By 1906 the Commonwealth of Oklahoma included some twenty million acres,[19] and the Board for Leasing School Lands administered a total of 2,050,875 acres.[20]

One of the problems the Board did not have was finding persons willing to lease the school lands. Oklahoma Governor Abram Seay in his report to the Secretary of the Interior in 1892 noted that "in round numbers" of one hundred seven thousand acres in the six counties original Oklahoma offered for lease in April, 1891 ninety-six thousand acres had already been taken. He also reported that thirty-two thousand school acres of former Indian lands were leased in Lincoln and Pottawatomie counties with only thirty-six acres unleased. However, only twenty-five leases had been made for lands in Beaver County, the former Public Land Strip.[21]

The school lands in the former Cherokee Outlet were offered for lease in February, 1894. An "unprecedented number" of bids were received by the Board for leasing those lands. The number of bids totaled more than eighteen thousand with as many as eighty bids on one of the quarter-sections offered.

---

13 U. S., *Statutes*, XXVIII, p. 71.

14 *Report of the Governor of Oklahoma to the Secretary of the Interior*: 1904 (Washington: Government Printing Office), p. 18. Hereinafter cited as *Report of the Governor.*

15 *Ibid.*, 1906, p. 110.

16 U. S., *Statutes*, XXVII, p. 563.

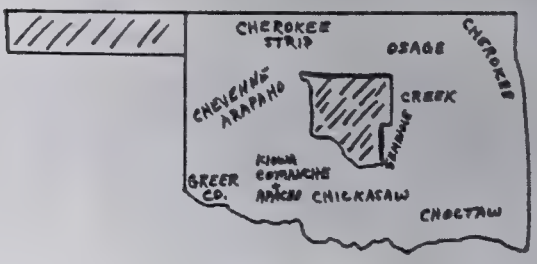
17 *Ibid.*, XXIX, p. 490. Greer County had been adjudged part of Oklahoma by the Supreme Court of 16 March, 1896.

18 *Ibid.*, XXVIII, p. 894; and XXXI, p. 676.

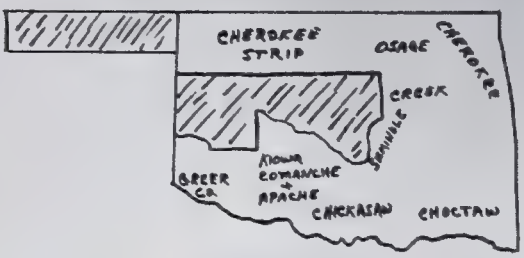
19 Victor E. Harlow, *Oklahoma: Its Origin and Development* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Co., 1934), p. 261.

20 *Report of the Governor*: 1906. p. 110.

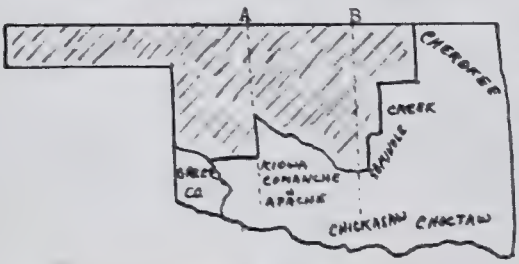
21 *Biennial Report of the Board for Leasing School Lands*: 1895, p. 8. Hereinafter cited as *Report of the Board.*



Oklahoma 1891
After Shawnee-Pottawatomie Opening



Oklahoma 1892
After Cheyenne-Arapahoe Opening



A
line dividing
"agricultural" from
"grazing" lands.
B
The Indian Meridian

Oklahoma 1893
After Opening of the Cherokee Outlet

CHART FOR EXTENSION OF OKLAHOMA LANDS, 1891-93

From then on a twenty-five dollar deposit was required in an effort to eliminate lukewarm contestants for the lands.[22]

By 1898 approximately 1,360,000 acres had been leased out of 1,728,000 school land acres available. Most of the unleased sections lay in Beaver County or newly opened Greer County and were not considered suitable for farming. The school land department had become the "largest and most important" Territorial office.[23]

Interest in leasing the school lands continued high, for the following year less than fifty thousand acres remained unleased.[24] Soon after the last opening of Indian lands in 1901, the Governor reported that all the school lands of Oklahoma Territory "are now leased."[25] From that time until statehood, the situation remained unchanged. The Board for Leasing School Lands rented every acre, every year.

The cost of leasing the school lands increased from year to year, also. The first lands offered for lease in 1891 in the old Oklahoma District were advertised at a minimum of sixteen dollars per year for a quarter section. Land in Beaver County could be leased for half that figure.[26] In 1895 the average annual rental of the school lands ranged from seventeen dollars per quarter-section in the western Counties of Day and Roger Mills to fifty-four dollars in the counties of Noble and Garfield. The latter lay in the former Cherokee Outlet and were prize sections.[27]

For the next several years the average rental of the school lands remained about the same. The lands were appraised in 1896 and the rates established on that appraisal were changed little from year to year. Quarter-sections in the eastern half of the Territory rented on an average for thirty-five dollars. Western lands rented for slightly less.[28]

However, in 1904 the school lands were all reappraised and new rental rates established. Some western grazing sections which had previously been renting for thirty to fifty dollars were raised three to ten times. The average increase in rentals for all the school holdings in Oklahoma was ninety-eight percent.[29]

---

22 *Ibid.*

23 *Report of the Governor*: 1898, p. 23.

24 *Ibid.*, 1899, p. 22.

25 *Ibid.*, 1902, p. 17.

26 *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Territory of Oklahoma*: 1893, p. 6.

27 *Report of the Board*: 1895 p. 8.

28 *Report of the Governor*: 1899 p. 19.

29 Letter from F. L. Wenner to Governor T. B. Ferguson, 15 May, 1905, in the Wenner Collection.

As might be expected, the total income from the leasing of the school lands increased steadily. The first year's income totaled only $4,536 in 1891. It was almost five times as much the next year, however, and by 1897 was almost one hundred thousand dollars. In 1901 the Board for Leasing collected over two hundred thousand dollars and the following year over four hundred thousand dollars, almost one half of which represented "bonus bids." The bonus bids were those received by the Board above the assessed rentals on the new lands opened in 1901.[30]

Rental income from the school lands in 1905 averaged almost fifteen hundred dollars daily. By that year the receipts from the lease of the lands since 1891 totaled $2,560,631.[31] In 1906 the last year before statehood for Oklahoma that total was over three million dollars.[32] When the Board for Leasing School Lands turned its accounts over to the new State Land Office in 1907, it reported, in addition, over two hundred thousand dollars on hand and over five hundred thousand dollars in notes.[33]

Oklahoma's school land trust served the Territory well. In addition to the money received from the lease of those lands, the Board reported from 1904 a yearly interest on its funds deposited in Territorial banks in excess of one thousand dollars per year.[34]

The basic regulations governing the lease of school lands were established by the Secretary of the Interior in 1891 and continued after 1894 by the Board for Leasing School Land.[35] The lands were leased for a three year period to the highest bidder. The minimum bid was set by the Board as four percent of the appraised value of the land.

No lessee could rent more than a quarter-section of land east of range fourteen west of the Indian Meridian. The Indian Meridian was the eastern line of the old Oklahoma District. Range fourteen west of that line was the western boundary of Blaine County. Thus, any land east of Blaine County was leased in quarter-section tracts. Those lands were classified as agricultural lands and the appraisement was generally higher.

Lands west of Blaine County were classified as grazing lands and generally leased by sections. However, those lands

---

30 *Report of the Governor*: 1905, p. 79.

31 *Ibid.*

32 *Ibid.*, 1906, p. 102.

33 Ledger of the Board for Leasing School Lands in the Wenner Collection.

34 *Daily Oklahoman*, 16 January, 1906, p. 6.

35 U. S., *Statutes*, XXVI, 1026; and Minutes of the Board for Leasing School Lands, 27 March, 1895. Hereinafter cited as Minutes.

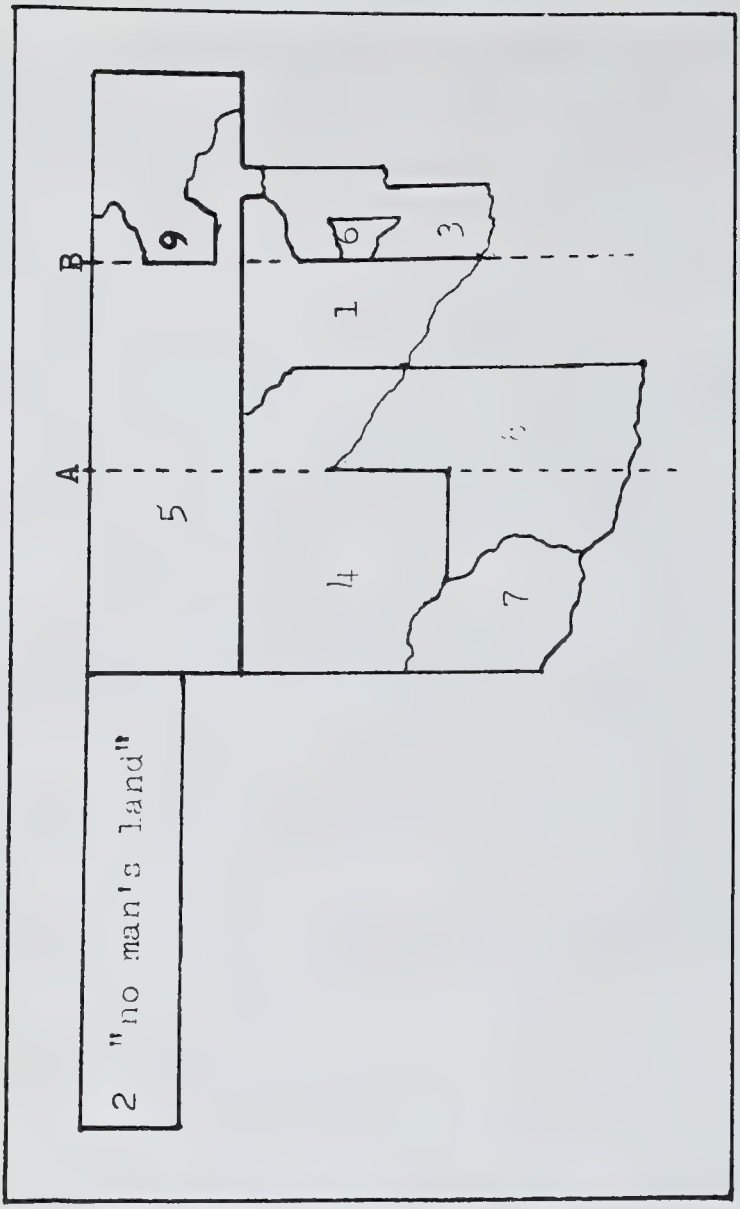


CHART SHOWING GROWTH OF OKLAHOMA TERRITORY
FROM 1890 TO 1907

1 Original Oklahoma opened April 22, 1889; Organized May 2, 1890
2 Public Land Strip in Oklahoma by the Organic Act on May 2, 1890.
3 Pottawatomie, Sac and Fox opened September 22, 1891
4 Cheyenne and Arapaho opened April 19, 1892
5 Cherokee Outlet opened September 16, 1893
6 Kickapoo Reservation opened May 23, 1895.
7 Greer County title confirmed 1896
8 Wichita, Kiowa and Comanche opened 1901
9 Osage Reservation
A Line dividing "agricultural" from "grazing" lands
B The Indian Meridian

could be leased in larger tracts. Western leases contained a provision that no part of the lands was to be broken for farming without a special permit from the Board and upon recommendation of a special agent or appraiser who had inspected the land. Some of the grazing lands could be leased for a five year period after 1896.[36]

Protection of the lessee was an early goal of the Board. By 1896 improvements on the land, which were required of the lessee, were also protected. When the lease on any land expired, new bids were required for renewal. At that time the improvements were appraised by the Board and any bidder was required to agree to buy the improvements at the appraised value if his bid was successful. In estimating the value of improvements the Board in 1896 established certain "guide lines." For example fruit trees were valued at twenty-five cents each. For breaking the land for cultivation the lessee was credited with from fifty cents to one dollar an acre depending on whether the land was "prairie" or "grub" land.[37] Later, improvements were appraised at "their actual reasonable cash value." The lessee, however, could remove his improvements rather than take the appraised value from the successful bidder.[38]

Furthermore, by 1896 the lessee enjoyed the privilege of releasing the land at the highest bid received by the Board. After 1898 the lessee had a "preferential right" of renewal of his lease. That is, he could renew his lease at the appraised rate without competitive bidding. The preferential right of lease continued in effect for the rest of the Territorial period and was incorporated in the purchase provisions of the statehood Enabling Act.

Thus, the preference right of lease after 1898 and the preference right of purchase in the Enabling Act gave the lessee a permanent interest in the lands he leased. The lessees' continuing interest in the school lands had been the goal of the Board from its inception. That the Board was successful may be seen in the fact that there were "very few forfeitures of leases and practically no loss to the Territory from failure of lessees to pay rentals."[39]

The desire of the Board to secure lessees who would have a continuing interest in the lands was reflected in its efforts to lease the land to married men. A married man, al-

---

[36]"Notice of the Territorial Board for Leasing School Lands," 31 August, 1897, in the Historic Oklahoma Collection.

[37]Minutes, 19 June, 1896.

[38]Dora Ann Stewart, *Government and Developing of Oklahoma Territory*, (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Co., 1933), p. 172.

[39]*Report of the Governor*: 1906, p. 107.

most without exception, would live on the land, make more extensive improvements, and be more interested in building the land up. It was not uncommon for single men to pay a slightly higher rental than did married men and on at least one occasion F. L. Wenner, Secretary of the Board for Leasing School Lands, offered to deduct ten dollars a year from the school lands rental for any lessee who got married.[40]

Another concession to the lessee was the rule that allowed anyone who had a crop growing on the school lands when his lease expired to harvest that crop within "a reasonable time." The Board required under those circumstances the payment of an "equitable proportion of the rental" for that year.[41]

The lessee was also required not to "cut or remove or permit to be removed" any timber, rock, sand or mineral from the land for the term of the lease. Upon relinquishment or expiration of his lease, the lessee certified that he had complied with this provision.[42]

Any timber cut on school lands by the lessee had to be paid for even if the cutting was necessary to clear land for cultivation. The Board did permit the cutting of lumber for construction of permanent improvements; also, the cutting of timber to allow wind to reach windmills erected on the land.

The removal of "timber, stone, sand or minerals" from the school lands was a continual problem to the Board. In 1902 some twenty-two logs cut from school sections were "being held" at El Reno. The Board directed the Attorney General to "take such steps as necessary to secure the logs for the benefit of the school land."[43]

Most of the timber cut was valuable walnut logs. One lessee cut and sold four such logs for forty dollars and received a bid of two hundred fifty dollars for eighteen others. The Board confiscated these logs and withheld renewal of transfer of the individual's lease until forty dollars had been paid to the Board for the logs sold.[44]

It was estimated that there was fifteen to twenty thousand dollars worth of walnut timber alone on the school lands under lease. "Only constant vigilance" kept the timber from being cut and stolen.[45] The constant vigilance paid off for the Board. In

---

40 *Daily Oklahoman*, 8 December, 1905, p. 4.
41 Minutes, 12 December, 1904.
42 School Land Lease in the Wittke Collection.
43 Minutes, 6 May, 1902.
44 *Ibid.*, 11 August, 1902.

one year a total of $2110 was collected by the Board for "timber and other waste" on the school lands.[46]

Taking stone or sand from school lands was deemed trespass. The offender was subject to prosecution and was liable for the value of the material taken.[47] One lessee was charged for several loads of stone taken from his leased lands, but "acquited" by the Board when it was determined that the stone removed was field rock and that its removal had increased the value of the acreage. Another lessee was investigated for removing "large amounts of dirt." The dirt had been used as fill for the construction of a section of the Chicago, Rock-Island and Pacific Railroad.[48]

One smaller problem that the Board dealt with was trespassers or squatters of a permanent nature on the school quarters. It was ruled that such persons were to be "removed in favor of the lessee" whenever the land was rented. The removal was authorized "at Territorial expense" and was evidently effective.[49]

Another problem that was almost ignored by the Board was the building of illegal public roads through school lands. Territorial law stipulated that before a right of way could be granted across those lands the Governor must be petitioned for approval of the right of way, the land condemned and the Territory paid.[50] In 1905 it was reported that hundreds of "illegal" roads crossed the school lands and that only two legal roads had been opened. Payne and Garfield Counties had each opened one road for which the Territory had been paid forty-three and eleven dollars respectively.[51]

Transfer of leaseholds was permitted. In fact, the number of lease transfers from the original lessee to a second or third lessee was "numerous." Usually the original lessee was paid one or two hundred dollars for such transfer, often he was paid more. Some original lease holders were paid from four hundred dollars up to one thousand dollars by persons anxious to take over the lease.[52]

The lessee was also permitted after 1904 to assign his lease as collateral security for a loan. The Board placed certain

---

[45] *Report of the Governor*: 1904, p. 161.

[46] "Statement of the School Land Office," 1905, in the Oklahoma Education File fo the Oklahoma Historical Society.

[47] *Land Office Report*: 1890, p. 242.

[48] Minutes, 10 July, 1904.

[49] *Ibid.*, 21 June, 1894.

[50] *Session Laws of Oklahoma*: 1895, Chapter 25.

[51] *Report of the Board*: 1895, p. 8.

[52] "Open Letter" from Frederick S. Elder, in the Elder Collection.

restrictions on the practice but it became more or less common within a short time.[53] On several occasions the Board for Leasing School Lands authorized the use of those lands for other than agricultural or grazing purposes. In 1906 the Board requested Congress to enact legislation which would permit the granting of ten acres of school holdings to the town of Clinton, Oklahoma. The acreage was needed for a cemetery for the town since there was no other land available for that purpose.[54]

Earlier the Board had leased one section of land to the Mountain View Improvement Company. The Mountain View Company was organized to build a townsite on the Washita River just east of the Kiowa and Comanche Reservation at the terminal of the Rock-Island Railroad. The lease agreement provided that the Company pay thirty-three dollars annually for the section of land. In addition, the southwest quarter would be divided into lots and subleased by the Company, for which privilege the Board would be paid five percent of the proceeds.[55]

The land was surveyed into 1,008 city lots, each twenty-five by one hundred forty feet. Streets eighty feet wide and alleys twenty feet wide were laid out and in 1899, the town of Mountain View boasted 350 inhabitants, 51 businesses, and 163 dwellings.[56]

The Mountain View Company did not live up to its lease agreement, however. The Company sold some town lots without authorization, did not report the lease of others, and in 1904, its lease was cancelled by the Board.[57] The following year Mountain View was practically abandoned and the land reverted to farming use.

The Mountain View experiment was not the only time the Board leased land for townsites. The Board agreed to let one lessee, O. M. Butler, subdivide eighty acres adjoining Lawton, Oklahoma and sublease the lots in his "development." The Board learned its lesson well in the Mountain View escapade, however. Butler's lease was for $1,550 for the first three years and would be renewed at six percent of the cash value of the lots he rented. Those who leased the lots were permitted to remove any improvements at the expiration of their lease, or find a buyer. In case of default, the Board acquired any improvements.[58]

---

[53]Minutes, 8 June, 1904.
[54]*Ibid.*, 12 March, 1906.
[55]*Ibid.*, 6 May, 1902.
[56]"Mountain View," *McMasters Magazine*, July, 1899, pp. 263-65.
[57]Minutes, 19 January, 1904.
[58]*Ibid.*, 6 May, 1902.

By a similar agreement with an original lessee the Board permitted a "subdivision" of eighty acres of school lands adjacent to Hobart, Oklahoma.

In still another instance the Board itself leased town lots in Luther, Oklahoma. An eighty acre tract was surveyed and subdivided by the Board adjacent to the original townsite. Original lessees obtained lots directly from the Board on almost identical terms as persons leasing one hundred sixty acres.[59] That is, the original lessee was the highest bidder at or above the appraised value of the lot. He could transfer or sublet his lease and enjoyed the preference right of renewal at the appraised value without competitive bidding.

Two major controversies arose in Oklahoma Territory concerning the administration and disposition of the extensive school land trust. By 1900 there was substantial pressure on the Board and Congress to sell the lands and in the early 1900's there were considerable efforts made to secure mineral rights or leases on the school land holdings.

A substantial number of those who leased Oklahoma's school lands did so expecting to eventually purchase the acreage they cleared, cultivated and built their homes on. Oklahoma's first Governor, George Steele, in 1891 promised school land lessees the privilege of purchase when he declared "you men who have failed to locate on homesteads, settle on good quarters of school land, cultivate them as your own and when Oklahoma becomes a state you shall own them as your homes."[60] Steele's statement exemplified the argument of many that the purpose of federal land grants to the Territory was to encourage settlement and cultivation of the lands by Territorial sale of the grants to individuals.

Many of the lessees were not willing to wait for statehood to gain the right to purchase their lands. A Lessees Union was organized to promote the sale of the school tracts. The Union represented a potent force in Oklahoma politics since in 1898 the school land lessees numbered over six thousand with perhaps twenty thousand votes. By 1908 the Union boasted of "10,000 lessees and 40,000 votes."[61]

One argument put forward by those in favor of immediate sale of the lands was that such sale would rid the Territory of the blight of "tenant farms." Other arguments most often used in support of immediate sale were that the lands would

---

[59] *Ibid.*, 27 May, 1902.

[60] *Oklahoma State Register*, news clipping in the Oklahoma Education File of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

[61] Article by Frederick Barde in the Barde Collection.

then be subject to taxation, that a large investment fund could be created, and that the income to the Territory from taxes and interest would be greater than the present rental income.[62]

The Territorial delegate to Congress, Dennis T. Flynn, in 1900 sponsored a bill which would have made possible the sale of the school sections in Oklahoma. Flynn's bill would have given the lessee the preference right of purchase without competitive bidding. The school lessees of Oklahoma, naturally, supported the bill. The preference purchase right was to many lessees what the free homes bill was to the homesteader.

Persons in Oklahoma opposed to the Flynn Bill argued either that the land should be sold at public auction to insure the highest possible price or that the land should not be sold at all.

One prominent Oklahoman who was strongly opposed to the sale of the land on any basis was Frederick Stanton Elder, Professor of Mathematics at the University of Oklahoma. In 1899 Elder addressed the Oklahoma legislature to argue that when Oklahoma secured statehood none of the school lands should be sold under any condition. He stated that in the disposition and use of the school lands the first interests to be considered were those of the schools. The interests of the state were secondary and those of the "occupants of the land" a poor third.[63]

On another occasion Elder spoke before the Oklahoma Bankers Association on the Topic "The School Lands for the People." In his address he ridiculed the lessees and their supporters in favor of preferential sale of the school lands: "The call has been Ho! the lessees! Right this way . . . 2,060,000 acres going for a song! Quarter sections worth from $4,000 to $10,000 at 98c each! If that is too much we will make it 90, 80, 70, 65, 60—we will reach right down here and stick in another quarter section and any lessee for a half dollar can take the bunch."[64]

Elder deplored the idea of selling the lands at all, but especially at "give away" prices. He concluded that perhaps a longer lease period of twenty-five years would satisfy the lessees.

Bird S. McGuire, Flynn's successor as Territorial Delegate also supported the lessees' claims in Congress. He, too, proposed a bill to permit the lessee to buy his lands as a preferred pur-

---

62 C. B. Ames, "The School Lands of Oklahoma" in the Oklahoma Education File of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

63 Elder, address given before the Oklahoma Legislature, 21 February, 1899, in the Elder Collection.

64 Elder, address given before the Oklahoma Bankers Association, 7 November, 1902, in the Elder Collection.

chaser. One Oklahoma editor opposed the bill for the usual reasons and added that the bill was "class legislation" favoring a few and "contrary to the will of 600,000 people of Oklahoma Territory."[65]

Perhaps the editor's claims were exaggerated, for Senate Bill Number 1 of the Oklahoma State Senate offered the school lands for sale and granted to the lessee preference right of purchase at the highest bid.[66] The lessee was also guaranteed reimbursement for any improvement on the land if he did not purchase the property when sold. No person, lessee or not, could buy more than one hundred sixty acres or a quarter section.

The sale of the school lands was first authorized by the Enabling Act in 1906.[67] The following year the Oklahoma State Constitution also authorized such sale and the lands so long protected by the Territory of Oklahoma were soon opened by the new state.[68]

Another major problem the Board had to deal with in the early 1900's was related to the mineral resources on the school lands of the Territory. An extensive oil deposit had been discovered and opened in Pawnee County and some of the school lands lay directly adjacent to the developing oil fields. The Board noted that one well was drilled only eleven feet from the section line. Secretary of the Board Wenner was convinced that the well was pumping oil from under the school property.[69] He recommended that steps be taken to permit leasing mineral rights on the lands before the adjacent wells "drained" the oil and gas from under the school acreage.

Several substantial offers had been received by the Board for such a lease. One offered a twenty thousand dollar "bonus" for mineral rights on a school quarter near Cleveland plus one hundred dollars per year on each producing well and one-eighth royalty to the Board.[70]

In August, 1905 Wenner notified Governor Ferguson that placer mining claims were being filed on certain school lands in Pawnee County near the town of Cleveland in the oil fields.[71] On the strength of these filings, which were not recorded, W. H.

---

[65] *Kingfisher Times*, 24 December, 1904, in the Barde Collection.

[66] *Session Laws*: 1909, p. 448.

[67] U. S., *Statutes*, XXXIV, p. 267; and *Oklahoma Statutes at Large*: 1961, I, p. 36.

[68] *Oklahoma Statutes*, I, p. 111.

[69] Letter from Wenner to Governor Ferguson, 21 March, 1905, in the Wenner Collection.

[70] *Ibid.*

[71] *Ibid.*, 28 August, 1905.

Milliken erected a drilling rig on the school lands and began drilling operations.

When news of the trespass reached the Board, Wenner reacted quickly. He left immediately for Cleveland accompanied by a field inspector of the Board, Ben F. Berkey. They arrived in Cleveland on a Friday, "and things began to happen." On Saturday Wenner hired a crew which tore down the rig and stacked it in the road. The fence on the school property was replaced and the land returned to the legitimate lessee. The following Tuesday a United States Marshal arrived and arrested Milliken for "cutting timber on school lands." A tree on the property had been cut to clear a site for the rig.[72]

Berkey was sworn in as a Deputy United States Marshal and remained in Cleveland to oversee all school holdings in the oil field. There were no further incidents of trespass or "timber cutting" on the school lands in the area.

There were, however, other efforts made to secure legitimate mineral leases on the lands. The Board received late in 1905 "various . . . applications for leases on the school lands adjoining the town of Cleveland"[73] including one from J. B. Showalter of Butler, Pennsylvania. Showalter indicated that it was necessary to begin drilling "at once as the property is being drained by wells in close proximity."[74]

The Board prepared a bill to secure Congresssional authorization to lease the mineral rights on the school lands and requested Secretary of the Interior, E. A. Hitchcock, for permission to grant mineral leases under the present laws.[75] Showalter also petitioned Secretary Hitchcock to approve his lease application.[76]

Hitchcock ruled that the Board had no authority to lease the school lands for mineral purposes. He stated also that known mineral lands would be reserved as customary by the Federal government when Oklahoma became a state and other lands granted to the new state in lieu of the mineral lands.[77]

Other oil fields in Oklahoma were opened in 1905 near

---

[72]Personal account in the Wenner Collection. (See Stephen Jones, "Captain Frank Frantz, the Rough Rider Governor of Oklahoma Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLIII, No. 4)

[73]Minutes, 23 November, 1905.

[74]Letter from J. B. Showalter to Wenner in the Wenner Collection.

[75]Minutes, 23 November, 1905.

[76]Letter from Showalter to the Secretary of Interior E. A. Hitchcock, 16 November, 1905, in the Wenner Collection.

[77]Hitchcock to Showalter, 12 December, 1905, in the Wenner Collection.

school sections which further increased the pressure on the Board and Congress for mineral leases. In that year Wyoming's Senator Warren proposed an amendment to the Oklahoma Statehood Bill in Congress which would permit mineral filings on school lands of the state and required the state in that situation to locate other lands as lieu lands.[78]

The Warren amendment, according to the Oklahoma Governor, had encouraged encroachment on the school lands of the Territory. He cited the numerous mineral filings and the erection of a drilling rig as evidence of the feeling in the Territory that the Warren Amendment meant "open season" on the school lands.[79]

However, the overt attempt in Pawnee County to steal the mineral resources on the school lands created such a furor in Oklahoma and in Congress that the Warren amendment was stricken from the statehood bill. Millions of dollars were thus saved for the State of Oklahoma and its schools.

In fact, although Congress by the Enabling Act of 1905 did grant to the State of Oklahoma the mineral lands held by the Territory, those lands were specifically withheld from sale until after January 1, 1915. The act did, however, authorize the lease of those lands.[80]

The constitution for the new state incorporated the provisions of the Enabling Act relative to its mineral lands, and by law prohibited the sale of those lands until after 1915.[81] The new state legislature also provided for the leasing of public lands, for the development of oil and gas deposits.[82]

Thus, Oklahoma entered the Union with its school lands intact. In addition, the state was awarded one million fifty thousand acres for the support of higher education. It also was granted five million dollars by Congress as indemnity for the fact that no land reservations had been made for school purposes in Indian Territory which was incorporated into Oklahoma at statehood.[83]

Within months, "every dollar" of the five million dollar school fund had been invested and was drawing interest for the schools of Oklahoma.[84]

---

78 *Daily Oklahoman*, 29 March, 1906, p. 4.
79 *Report of the Governor*: 1906, p. 106.
80 U.S., *Statutes*, XXXIV, 267: and *Oklahoma Statutes*: 1961, I, 36.
81 *Session Laws*: 1908, p. 486.
82 *Ibid.*
83 U. S., *Statutes*, XXXIV, 267.
84 Letter from the Commissioner of the Land Office to George Bellamy, 27 February, 1909, in the Barde Collection.

Yet, within a few years, the State of Oklahoma would sell hundreds of thousands of acres from the school lands which had been held so long in trust by the Territorial government and the Board for Leasing School Lands.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Private Collections

Frederick Barde Collection in the Oklahoma Historical Society Library, Oklahoma City.

Frederick Stanton Elder Collection in the University of Oklahoma Manuscripts Division, Norman.

Historic Oklahoma Collection, School Lands folder, in the University of Oklahoma Manuscripts Division, Norman.

Clayton H. Hyde Collection in the University of Oklahoma Manuscripts Division, Norman.

Oklahoma Education File in the Oklahoma Historical Society Library, Oklahoma City.

Fred L. Wenner Collection in the University of Oklahoma Manuscripts Division, Norman.

Mrs. Juan R. Witke Collection in the University of Oklahoma Manuscripts Division, Norman.

Public Documents and Reports

Annual Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office to the Secretary of the Interior: 1889-1906. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Biennial Report of the Board for Leasing School Lands: 1897-1905.

Biennial Report of the Commiissioner of the Land Office, State of Oklahoma: 1946 and 1962.

Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instructoin of the Territory of Oklahoma: 1893-1904.

Congressional Record, Volume XXXVIII and XL. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Oklahoma Statutes At Large: 1961. Volume I. St. Paul, Minnesota: Western Publishing Co., 1961.

Report of the Governor of Oklahoma: 1893-1907. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Session Laws of Oklahoma: 1895-1909. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Engraving and Printing Company.

United States Statutes At Large. Volumes XXVI-XXXIV. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Books

Corden, Seth and Richards, W. B. (ed.), *The Oklahoma Redbook*, 2 vol. Tulsa: Tulsa Democratic Press, 1912.

Dale, Edward Everett, *Readings in Oklahoma History*. Evanston, Illinois.: Row, Peterson and Company, 1930.

Foreman, Grant. *A History of Oklahoma*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942.

Gittinger, Roy. *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934.

Harlow, Victor E. *Oklahoma: Its Origin and Development*. Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Company, 1934.

Hibbard, Benjamin H. *A History of the Public Land Policies*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924.

Hodge, Oliver. *The Administration and Development of the Oklahoma School Land Department*. Oklahoma City: Prompt Printing Company, 1937.

McReynolds, Edwin C. *Oklahoma: A History of the Sooner State.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954.
Morris, L. R. (ed.). *Oklahoma, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow.* Guthrie, Oklahoma: Co-Operative Publishing Company, 1930.
Oklahoma Senate Journal: 1907-08. Muskogee: Muskogee Printing Company, 1909.
Oklahoman Annual Almanac and Industrial Record: 1908-09. Oklahoma City: Daily Oklahoman Press, 1909.
Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the Proposed State of Oklahoma: November 20, 1906 to November 16, 1907. Guthrie, 1908.
Stewart, Dora Ann. *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory.* Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Company, 1933.
Wright, Muriel H. *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951.

Articles and Periodicals

"A Chance in Oklahoma," *Harpers Weekly*, Vol. XLV, (Feb. 23, 1901).
Ames, C. B. "The School Lands of Oklahoma," pamphlet in the Oklahoma Historical Society, 1905.
Barde, Frederick. "What Shall We Do With The School Lands," *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine*, VI (April, 1908).
Doyle, Thomas H. "Single Versus Double Statehood," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. V.
Draper, William R. "The Forty-Sixth State," *Munseys Magazine*, XXIX (May, 1903).
Ellinger, Charles W. "The Drive For Statehood For Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLI.
Foreman, Grant. "Oklahoma and Indian Territory," *The Outlook*, LXXXII (March 10, 1906).
Harpers, Charles M. "The Next Commonwealth: Oklahoma," *The Outlook*, Vol. LXVII (Feb. 21, 1901).
"History of Oklahoma's School Land Endowment," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIII, 381ff.
"Mountain View," *McMasters Magazine*, Vol. II (July, 1899).
Speed, John Gilmer. "The Oklahoma Land Lottery," *The Outlook*, Vol LXVIII.

Newspaper

The Daily Oklahoman, 1905-06.

Unpublished Materials

Butcher, John T. "The Administration of the Common School Endowment of the State of Oklahoma." Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1928.
"Minutes of the Board for Leasing School Lands: 1894-1908." In the Records Division of the Land Office Commission, Oklahoma State Capitol Building.

CHURCH SCHOOL EDUCATION IN THE CREEK NATION, 1898 TO 1907

*By Joe C. Jackson**

An important part of the history of education in Eastern Oklahoma is found in church schools. For example, educational opportunities for both whites and Indians in the Creek Nation from 1898 to 1907, were provided in the denominational schools of the region. In fact, for many years these church schools were the main centers of learning in the Creek Nation. Although they were originally just for the Indians, the same schools sought to do their part in alleviating the stringent educational problem by readily opening their doors to white children.[1] Except for the subscription schools and public schools in the incorporated towns, "many of the white residents of Indian Territory," including the Creek Nation, had no schools except those mentioned above.[2] When the Creek Nation took over the mission schools and made boarding schools of them, the churches established other institutions, such as Spaulding Institute and Bacone College—tuition schools that were open to Indians and whites alike.

It is not feasible to attempt a detailed account of all the church and private schools in the Nation. A fair idea as to the part they played can be obtained by representative sampling. For instance, in 1881 the Methodists opened a school in Muskogee, and called it Harrell Institute. It was designed as a boarding school for girls and held its first meetings in the First Meth-

---

*Dean Joe C. Jackson, of Central State College at Edmond, Oklahoma, contributes this review of "Church School Education in the Creek Nation, 1898-1907" to *The Chronicles*, adapted for publication here from Chapter III of his manuscript, "The History of Education in Eastern Oklahoma from 1898 to 1915" submitted as his thesis for the degree of Doctor of Education in the University of Oklahoma, 1950. Dr. Jackson has had articles appearing in *The Chronicles* and other state and national publications in the field of education.—Ed.

1*Indian Inspector*, 1900, p. 75. These schools left their imprints indelibly stamped on the character of their students. As in other Nations, nearly all Indians wanted the Bible read in their schools and church and Sunday school conducted in their buildings. Under the Curtis Act, John D. Benedict had been appointed in 1899, as the first United States Superintendent of Schools of the Five Civilized Tribes in the Indian Territiory.

2Luther B. Hill, *History of Oklahoma*, I (Chicago, 1909), p. 387.

odist Church until a permanent building was erected in 1884. Reverend Theodore F. Brewer was president of the school until 1896. In that year he was succeeded by Reverend W. R. Thornton, who held the place for two years.[3]

Fire destroyed the building in 1899, but steps were immediately taken to rebuild it. Through the generosity of H. B. Spaulding, a wealthy layman of the church, an eleven-acre tract of land was secured in the residential section of Muskogee as the campus for a new and larger building.[4]

The new school grew rapidly. Old students returned and new students were found. It seemed as though Spaulding Institute was designed to become one of the leading colleges of the area. However, in 1906, grave financial difficulties arose. Apparently the Methodists had established too many schools. Reverend O. B. Staples, the president of the institution, made a strong appeal to the conference, but secured only $900 for its operation. The school struggled on in a poverty stricken condition until Christmas week of 1905. When classes were dismissed for the holidays, that year, the doors of the institution were closed.[5]

Another school for young ladies in Muskogee was the Minerva Home for Girls, founded by the Presbyterian Mission Board about two years after the Methodists had established Harrell Institute. The school, despite a number of things in its favor, was never very successful.[6]

Consequently, in 1894 the Minerva School joined forces with the Timothy Hill School, also in Muskogee, and formed Henry Kendall College.[7] The new institution was at first operated as

---

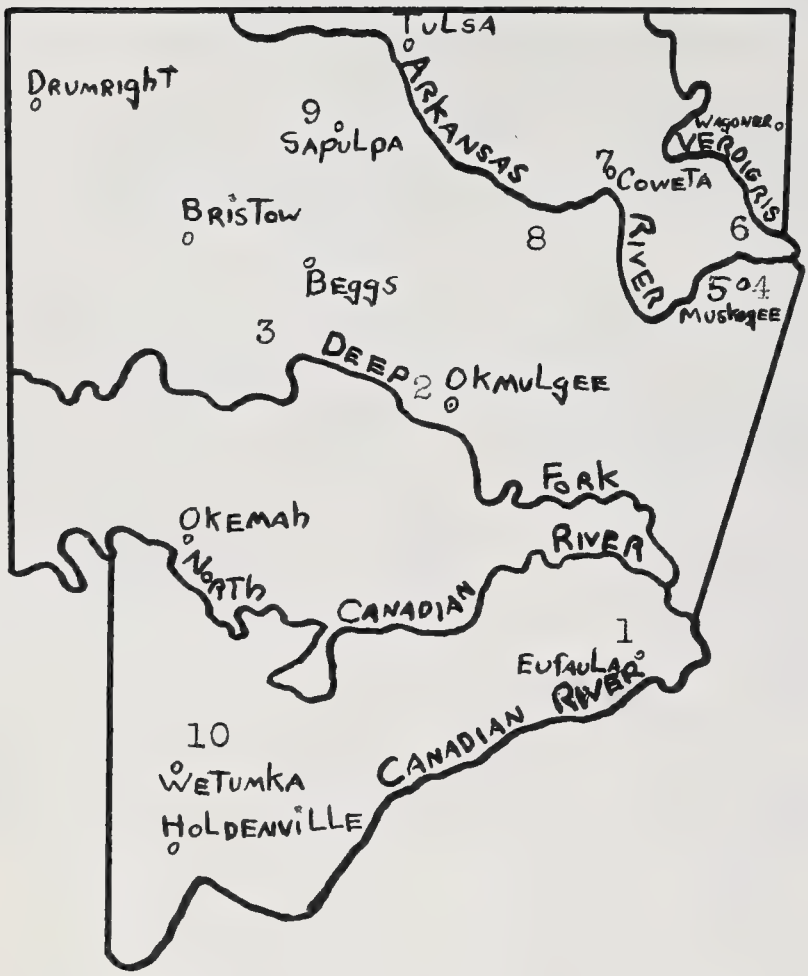
[3]Henry Sidney Babcock and John Y. Bruce, *The History of Methodism in Oklahoma*, I (n. p., 1935), p. 312.

[4]*Ibid.* As is generally the case in matters of this kind, the name of the school was changed to that of its donor, the name "Spaulding Institute" having been given before the fire.

[5]About a year before it closed, the name of the school had been changed to Oklahoma College for Women. Apparently this was an effort to obtain statewide support for the endeavor.

[6]John D. Benedict to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 14, 1903, in Dawes Commission Files, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society (Hereinafter referred to as DCF). Miss Alice Robertson was the director of the school in 1885. From available reports, the enrollment of the school never exceeded thirty-eight.

[7]John D. Benedict, *A History of Muskogee and Northeast Oklahoma*, I (Chicago, 1922), p. 452.



MAP

SCHOOLS IN THE CREEK NATION, 1905

— Legend —

1. Eufaula High School
2. Creek Orphan Home
3. Nuyaka Mission
4. Colored Orphan Home
5. Pecan Creek Boarding School
6. Tullahassee Boarding School
7. Coweta Boarding School
8. Wealaka Boarding School
9. Euchee Mission
10. Wetumka Boarding School

a girls' boarding school, admitting both whites and Indians. Boys were subsequently admitted as day students and in a few years the institution was completely coeducational.

In 1907, a number of business men of the city of Tulsa decided that the town needed a college. Funds were raised, a campus was provided, and Henry Kendall College was moved to Tulsa where it subsequently became Tulsa University.[8]

Bacone College had its beginnings at Tahlequah as Indian University in 1880. It was founded by the Baptists with Reverend Almon C. Bacone as the organizer and principal teacher. Four years later the Creek Council donated to the church the present site of the school and the following year, 1885, the institution was moved to Muskogee.[9]

Wealthy Indians contributed liberally to the support of the school. This made it possible for the Creek Council to devote most of the funds provided by the tribal government to buildings and equipment. Thus, by the combined efforts of private individuals and the Creek government the school grew rapidly and its success was assured. By 1891 more than 600 Indians and several hundred whites had been students in the institution.[10]

Bacone continued to hold its place after 1900, catering to both Indians and whites, with the government paying the expenses of the Indians while the whites were charged tuition. In 1902, the school had an enrollment of 145, ninety-seven of whom were white, forty-eight being Indians. By 1907, the year of statehood, the enrollment had climbed to 155, ninety-two being whites and sixty-three being Indians.[11]

Nazareth College, the forerunner of St. Joseph's in Muskogee, was founded by the Vicar Apostolic of the Catholic Church for Indian Territory in 1903. The teaching congregation of Catholic men assumed charge and has owned and directed the school ever since.[12]

A number of other small church and private schools were organized at various times in the Creek Nation. Sango Baptist College and Industrial School, for instance, reported that it had an enrollment of sixty-eight students in 1905, sixty-two of whom

---

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 456.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Indian Inspector*, 1902, p. 82; 1907, p. 33. Bacone continued after statehood and is today one of the better Indian schools in the state.

[12] Benedict to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 10, 1905, in *DCF*. As the years went by, an extensive campus was provided, new buildings were added, the curriculum was broadened and the same requirements pertaining to public schools were met.

were Creek citizens.[13] Another such institution was the Session Industrial School near Choska. It lasted only a few years, being forced to close in 1902.[14] At least, eight or nine other small private schools, some with church support, were organized and operated during the years from 1900 to 1907. Most of these schools lasted only a short time and enjoyed varying degrees of success.[15]

In common with the other Nations, the Creeks regarded their boarding schools as expressing the best of their educational attainment. Consequently, by 1900, they were maintaining nine boarding schools and helping the Presbyterian Church support Nuyaka, as a tenth institution.[16] Most of these schools had started as mission enterprises and as long as the boards were in charge, they had enjoyed steady growth and progress.[17]

When the Federal government entered the field in 1899, John D. Benedict reported that he found the boarding schools and orphans' asylum in a "deplorable condition." School officials were woefully incompetent, "funds were being wasted and favoritism reigned in the selection of teachers and students." He further charged that real scholarship was lacking, that poor teaching was the order of the day and that "almost stupid business practices" prevailed.[18]

As stated elsewhere, Benedict may have been harsh in his criticism. However, when the records are impartially surveyed,

---

[13]Quarterly Report of Sango Baptist College, March 31, 1905, in *DCF*. This school, designed for Negroes, was located near the center of the city of Muskogee. In 1907, the president of the school stated that they were the educational hope of eight-tenths of the Negroes in the area, that the city of Muskogee was crowding them out and that they would be required to close unless help was forthcoming.

[14]Foreman Transcripts, 38812-A, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society. At the time the Session Industrial School closed, it had about thirty-five pupils, both Indian and Negro, and properties valued at about one thousand dollars.

[15]*Ibid.*

[16]*Indian Inspector*, 1899, p. 19. When the tribal government took over the schools, efficiency gave way to Indian politics.

[17]See *Appendix A* for list of private and denominational schools in the Creek Nation, 1901-06.

[18]*House Document*, No. 5, 59th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 107. In one case, a school official had his sister, two sisters-in-law, his uncle, his niece, and six cousins on the payroll. Calvin Ballard, the first Federal supervisor for the Creek Nation, blamed the boarding school superintendents for this situation. He roundly condemned them, bringing charges of drunkenness and incompetency, and forcing a number of them out of office.

In spite of attempts to make the boarding schools real institutions of higher learning, favoritism and politics kept them at the common school level. Primary pupils always outnumbered the advanced pupils.

For a review of the life of John D. Benedict as Superintendent of Schools of the Five Civilized Tribes see Muriel H. Wright, article on "John D. Benedict . . ." in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 4, pp. 472-508.

it appears that the general superintendent was reasonably sure of his grounds. For instance, in support of his argument of poor business management, the superintendent could not understand why livestock, poultry and vegetables were not more extensively produced on the school farms as a source of food for their tables. In fact, farming and the production of livestock were largely neglected by the nine boarding schools.[19] Such meant more school money had to be expended for food and that the students did not get "the practical experience that agricultural pursuits would have given them."[20]

In common with the other Nations, the Creeks let their boarding schools out on a contract basis. Their laws were very lenient as to who could contract for a school, setting up no requirements other than that of citizenship. Since it was not required that the leaders of the boarding schools be educators and since contracts were given by the political branch of the tribal government, most of the contractors were politicians — men who were looked upon with favor by the Creek legislators or by the principal chieftain.

The contractors were voted lump sums by the Creek Council for the purpose of boarding, lodging, clothing, instructing, and the giving of medical care for a certain specified number of pupils. In evaluating this method of control, Mrs. John Robe observed:[21]

> The contractors got their positions politically. Then they are allowed so much to run the school, about ten dollars per head per month. . . . All that can be saved constitutes the salary of the superintendent. I know one school where there are one hundred students. The superintendent is putting in his pocket from five to six dollars per month for each student. I need not tell you how the students fare in such a place.

In this same connection, O. H. Lipe, former superintendent of the Indian School at Carlisle, wrote: "When I took charge of the contract boarding schools in the Five Civilized Tribes, I found conditions shocking . . . in many cases, pupils were sleeping in beds packed like sardines in a can. This condition was speedily rectified and the contract system was abolished . . .

---

[19]In criticizing the schools, an exception was ordinarily made of Nuyaka as it was still controlled by the Presbyterian Church and was considered, by far, the best of the institutions. The Creek Council established Nuyaka in 1882, nine miles west of Okmulgee.

[20]*House Document*, No. 5, 68th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 204. The Creek Supplemental Agreement of 1901, reserved forty acres of land from allotment for each of the ten boarding schools, including the orphans' homes—land that in most cases, was rented and worked by white tenants.

[21]Mrs. John M. Robe to the Ladies Presbyterian Society, Jan. 1907, in *DCF*. Mrs. Robe was the wife of the superintendent at Nuyaka. Her letter aroused a storm of protests from the other schools. It seemed as though she was getting too close to the truth.

The superintendents are now bonded officers under direct supervision of the Indian office."[22]

In each of the boarding schools there was a principal teacher who acted as executive officer for the superintendent. He was in charge of the school properties, in charge of discipline of both students and employees, and in charge of setting up and assigning duties to the school personnel. It was the principal's job to inspect all departments daily, to keep up good attendance, to keep thorough school records, arrange the daily schedule of the school, and implement the curriculum as determined by the contractor, Federal supervisor and the Creek officials.[23]

Alice Robertson, in her general report for 1904, goes into great detail in describing and locating the boarding schools.[24] The following is an excerpt coupled with the appropriations the Creek Council made for each school:[25]

Eufaula High School

Brick building, three stories, nineteen rooms, located in Eufaula, valued at $15,000, appropriation — $9,000.

Wetumka Boarding School

Wood frame building, two stories, fourteen rooms, located four miles north of Wetumka, valued at $8,000, appropriation — $9,000.

Tullahassee Boarding School

Wood frame building, two stories, twenty rooms, located north of Muskogee, valued at $8,000, appropriation — $9,000.

Euchee Boarding School

Wood frame building, two stories, ten rooms, located in Sapulpa, valued at $12,000, appropriation — $7,200.

---

[22]Warren K. Moorhead. *The American Indian in the United States* (Andover, Mass., 1914). The contract system was not abolished, however, until sometime after the tribal governments went out of existence with the coming of statehood.

[23]Foreman Transcripts, 38814, *loc. cit.*

[24]*Indian Inspector*, 1905, p. 48. Each school was open for nine months and carried an industrial staff of four to ten employees. See *Appendix B* for statistics for each of the Creek Boarding schools for 1905.

Directly under the control of the principal of each school were two or three teachers, a matron, a seamstress, a laundress, a cook, a farmer and, sometimes, a laborer. Appointment, and removal of all such personnel was left up to the contractor.

[25]Foreman Transcripts, 37364-B, 38814-D, *loc cit.* In each case, Miss Robertson lists only the main buildings. Each school had a number of smaller buildings and some of them had sizeable tracts of land figured in the evaluation. Tullahassee and Pecan Creek were maintained for the Negro citizens of the tribe.

Creek Orphan Home

Brick building, two stories, sixteen rooms, located about a mile from Okmulgee, valued at $10,000, appropriation — $6,666.

Nuyaka Boarding School

Wood frame building, two stories, located near Beggs, valued at $8,000, appropriation —$5,600.

Wealaka Boarding School

Wood frame building, two stories, located at Wealaka, valued at $8,000, appropriation — $4,500.

Coweta Boarding School

Wood frame building, located at Coweta, valued $8,000, appropriation — $4,500.

Pecan Creek Boarding School

Wood frame building, located near Muskogee, valued at $10,000, appropriation — $4,500.

Colored Orphan Home

Stone building, two stories, ten rooms, located near Muskogee, valued at $5,000, appropriation — $3,033.

From 1898 until the Federal government took complete control of the Creek schools just before statehood, the boarding institutions were subject to the financial control and the supervisory authority of the Indian office.[26] In 1900, Calvin Ballard stated that he had visited all the boarding schools and "many times took charge of classes" and made suggestions to teachers as to how they might improve their procedure.[27]

That some of the schools did not always appreciate this "intrusion" goes without saying. Many times the contractor felt the supervisor was just trying to exercise her authority. For instance, in one of her reports, Alice Robertson states that the officials at Eufaula seemed to feel they were not under her control. She reported they refused to cooperate and would not follow her suggestions. Benedict was asked to intervene and "straighten them out."[28]

It was not long until the boarding schools realized the Federal government was in a position to force the issue. By the

---

[26] As already mentioned, all accounts of the boarding schools had to be approved by the supervisor and the general superintendent before the Creek chieftain could write warrants covering them. Such warrants were taken up and made cashable about six months after issue.

[27] *Indian Inspector*, 1900, p. 86. See *Appendix C*.

[28] *Foreman Transcripts*, 36426-A, loc. cit. Miss Robertson complained that the girls were not being properly supervised and that there were sexual irregularities there. She also objected to the principal not attending summer normals.

simple expedient of refusing to approve their accounts until the supervisor's suggestions had been met, the schools were forced to cooperate.

In checking the records of the boarding schools, one is struck by the unusually poor attendance for schools of this type. Ordinarily, schools where children live on the campus and are under direct control of the authorities are blessed with almost perfect attendance. However, such was not the case with the Creek schools. It was the supervisor's contention that this was due partially to poor roads. She pointed out that when children would go home for the holidays, they often would find it impossible to return for weeks at a time, Coweta being the principal sufferer in this respect.[29]

Two of the main concerns of Benedict with reference to the boarding schools was to raise the standards of the superintendents and to introduce the practical arts in the curriculum. By using the "club of financial control" he was able, in a measure, to achieve both objectives. Supervisor Falwell reported in 1907 that "Manual training has been added to Wealaka, Eufaula and Euchee. We hope to place it in all of the schools next year . . . In all of the boarding schools we are stressing domestic science and giving more and more attention to agriculture."[30]

However, with respect to raising the standards of boarding school superintendents, Benedict was not so successful. Because of low pay it was difficult to get competent citizens to take such jobs. For example, Alice Robertson reported in 1905 that: "Henry M. Harjo recently resigned at Wealaka and Johnson E. Tiger resigned at the Creek Orphans' Home. In both cases it was because of poor remuneration. We promoted the principal teacher in each case, but I doubt if we can keep them."[31]

One of the general charges that Benedict leveled at all of the Creek schools was that of poor instruction. To eliminate this evil and to set up adequate teacher standards and methods of certification, he called upon the supervisors to institute programs of summer normals in each of the Nations and asked Congress to appropriate funds to help defray the expenses of such institutes.[32]

In some sections of Indian Territory, the idea of summer training for teachers was a new endeavor. However, such was not the case in the Creek Nation. Here the Indians, since 1894, had been holding what they called teachers' institutes, in which the

---

[29]Robertson Collection, Letter 1133, in University of Tulsa, Tulsa.
[30]Falwell to Benedict, June 30, 1907, in *DCF*.
[31]Robertson Collection, Letter 1133, *loc. cit.*
[32]*Indian Inspector*, 1900, p. 79. To his plea for funds, Congress turned a deaf ear.

teachers of the Nation would come together during the summer for a week or two and study their mutual problems. Ordinarily certain leaders from their own number were chosen and charged with the responsibility of directing the discussion.[33]

Realizing that the idea of summer normals was thus not new among the Creeks, Benedict determined to build on that which was already established. Accordingly, he called on the supervisor to broaden the base of the tribal institutes, secure competent faculties and make them the agency for the certification of teachers in the Nation.[34]

Accordingly, the First Creek Normal under Federal supervision was held at Eufaula High School in June of 1900. Calvin Ballard, the Creek supervisor, was in charge and reported a "very successful meeting with sixty white and Indian teachers in attendance."[35] After conferring with tribal officials, it was decided that the institutes should be held each year during the month of June for four weeks and that each teacher attending should pay the Normal instructors and purchase the necessary supplies.

The next year, 1901, the white and Indian teachers again met at Eufaula while the Negro teachers met at Muskogee. Miss Alice Robertson was in charge of the normals and reported seventy-five "white teachers" and forty-five Negro teachers in attendance. She highly praised the programs of the institutes and intimated that as soon as more teachers learned of the good work being done that far more would attend. She went on to state that of the teachers at Eufaula, twenty-two were natives of Indian Territory while the remainder were natives of no less than thirteen states — a situation with which the supervisor was highly pleased.[36]

At the end of each normal, examinations were given for the purpose of granting teaching certificates. By 1900, it was the policy of the supervisor to grant places only to those teachers who had attended the summer institute and had been properly certified. As to this policy, Miss Robertson reported:

"The requirement that teachers attend summer normals and take examinations for certificates, is extremely distasteful to a large number of teachers. Generally, we have tried to appoint to the best places those who make the highest grades, but

---

[33]Frank A. Balyeat, "Education in Indian Territory," (Unpublished Ph.D., dissertation, Dept. of Education, Stanford University, 1927), p. 185 (Typewritten). Such institutes were being held annually among the Creeks when Benedict came to Muskogee to 1899. Attendance, however, was on a voluntary basis.

[34]*Indian Inspector*, 1900, p. 79. See *Appendix D.*

[35]*Indian Inspector*, 1900, p. 86.

some teachers have been appointed by the Creek superintendent without taking examinations. I feel my position should be clarified."[36]

However, in spite of political interference, the supervisor continued her policy of antifavoritism. It soon was broadly realized that high grades in the normals, other things being equal, meant desirable teaching posts in the neighborhood schools and that faithful service in those schools constituted an "open door" to places in the boarding schools — facts that greatly stimulated the *esprit de corps* of the Creek teachers.[37]

By 1902, the Creek Normals had hit their stride. However, fewer teachers put in their appearance than the year before. This fact was explained by the supervisor as indicating the institutes were maintaining high standards and thus weeding out the incompetent. The records indicate that fewer and fewer Creek citizens were passing the examinations and that many who held high places in the boarding schools were unable to obtain even third grade certificates — a fact accepted by most of the Creeks as indicating the need for the normal and better trained teachers.[38]

In the 1902 normal, primary methods were taught for the first time. A liberal money gift from Mrs. William Thaw of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, have enabled the directors of the institute to receive the services of Mr. and Mrs. Carter, who gave "inspiring lectures on method" and demonstrated procedure by using a class made up of full blood children.[39] This innovation, coupled with the fact textbooks in pedagogy had been secured

---

[36]*House Document*, No. 5, 57th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 310. One of the most important needs of those attending the institutes was for an adequate knowledge of the academic subjects. Thus, the first normals were given over exclusively to this type of training. Review of such subjects as arithmetic, grammar, composition, geography, history, reading, and spelling constituted the daily program. Methods and principles of teaching were not stressed until deficiencies in the academic subjects had been cared for.

Along with the meetings of white and Indian teachers the Negro teachers would meet at the Colored Orphans' Home. Ordinarily, about twenty would be present.

[37]*Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1902, p. 260. However, in spite of the leadership of Benedict and the Creek supervisor, preferment was still given to those teachers who had strong political ties. In fact, rumors continued for some time that teachers had to refund part of their salaries in order to obtain and hold certain choice teaching posts in the Nation.

[38]*House Document*, No. 5, 57th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 253. One of the members of the Creek Council, whose daughter, educated in the national schools, utterly failed on the examination, stated that such teachers as his daughter had should be in the penitentiary.

from the American Book Company, gave new life to the normal and lifted it to a higher plane.[40]

In 1903, the supervisor reported that the customary summer normals had been held at Eufaula and Muskogee and that they had been well attended. According to the report, better work was done than in former years. Lectures on pedagogical subjects were combined with instruction in the academic areas. As to the general results of the normal, Miss Robertson stated:[41] "Large numbers passed the examination . . . The Creek superintendent was there and aided with the work. Benedict put in his appearance . . . All appointments were made on the records of the normal . . . the desirable positions going to those with the highest grades . . . Pressure on the supervisor to secure good appointments has ceased. Now everybody knows that opportunity and advancement comes on merit."

Further detail pertaining to the Creek normals would add little to this study. However, it is well to note that by 1907 composition and music had been added to the requirements for certification and that a number of teachers were attending the summer sessions of the University of Oklahoma and the Teachers' College at Pittsburg, Kans.[42]

One of the provisions of the Curtis Act of 1898 provided that all Indian governments were to cease on March 4, 1906. Benedict informed supervisor Falwell that no part of the governmental appropriations would be available after that date and

---

[39]*Ibid.*

[40]Bill from the American Book Co., May 23, 1902, in *DCF*. The bill was for sixty copies of White, *The Art of Teaching*, to be used in the normal at Eufaula and fifty copies to be used at the colored normal. This normal was also unusual in a number of other respects. Attention, for the first time, was given to the teaching of reading and a series of evening entertainments were given to relieve the pressure of the institute. Benedict and supervisor Beck of the Chickasaws came and aided with the instruction.

[41]Robertson Collection, Letter 1133, *loc cit.* By 1905, uniform examinations were being given throughout Indian Territory. As a result of such examinations, certificates were granted by the supervisors and general superintendent that were good in the schools of all the Nations. Such raised requirements and eliminated a vast number of incompetent teachers.

[42]Falwell to Benedict, June 30, 1907, in *DCF*. The total amount collected for both normals, white and Negro, was $1,174.20. The cost of both normals was $1,142.40, leaving on hand a balance of thirty-one dollars and eighty cents. The instructors in the normal were paid as follows: G. W. Horton, $125; J. W. Mitchell, $125; C. W. Briles, $125; C. L Garber, $125; Walter Van Allen, $125; and Walter Falwell, $125. The instructors at the colored normal were paid $100 each.

that unless Congress took appropriate actions, all the Creek schools would be forced to close.[43]

Consequently by the latter part of 1905, uncertainty and general apathy prevailed throughout the Creek school circles. Attendance dropped, teachers lost interest, and boarding schools prepared to close.

Falwell informed the general superintendent: "I have instructed Supt. John M. Robe of Nuyaka Boarding School that there will be nothing for him to do but close on March 4 . . . There will be no way he can arrange for funds in order to continue."[44]

However, shortly before the deadline approached, Congress acted in a dramatic fashion and continued the existence of the tribal governments until "all properties of such tribes . . . shall be distributed among the individual members unless hereafter provided by law," thus quieting the apprehension that prevailed throughout the Muskogee Nation.[45]

On April 26, of the same year, Congress broadened the authority of the Secretary of the Interior and directed him to "assume control of the tribal schools and to conduct them under rules and regulations that he might prescribe." All tribal educational officers were to be retained, subject to the Secretary's dismissal, and the present school system was to continue in force until it should be taken over by a territorial or state government. The act further provided that the Secretary was empowered to set aside a sufficient amount of money from tribal funds to defray all necessary expenses of such schools, provided the amount did not "exceed that expended in the scholastic year ending June 30, 1905."[46]

With the Federal government, at last, in complete control of the Creek schools, one might have expected some rather sweeping changes in the educational picture. However, such did not prove to be the case. The only change of note was in the method used in the disbursement of funds. All function, in this respect, was completely removed from the tribal officials. No longer was the principal chieftain allowed to issue warrants against tribal funds — warrants that were to be later collected

---

[43]Benedict to Falwell, Aug. 3, 1906, in *DCF*. Obviously, it was supposed that by 1906, the Creek Nation would be served by either a territorial or state system of schools.

[44]Falwell to Benedict, Feb. 15, 1906, in *DCF*. The Presbyterians felt they could not carry the burden of the school alone.

[45]*Indian Inspector*, 1906, p. 39. (Creek law books give the spelling of the name *Muscogee Nation.*)

[46]Charles J. Kappler, *Laws and Treaties*, Vol. III, p. 172.

and cashed by the Indian office. All claims were now paid directly, out of Indian funds, by the Federal government. A situation that prevailed even after statehood.[47]

Thus, when statehood was proclaimed in November of 1907, and Creek, Okfuskee, McIntosh, Muskogee, Okmulgee and most of Wagoner, Tulsa, and Hughes Counties were surveyed from the old Creek Nation, the county superintendents found a broad educational base on which to build. As was the case in the Cherokee Nation, they inherited a system of rural and village education already in existence — a system that was taken over and modified to meet the new conditions. While in the incorporated towns, the state school authorities found a program in operation that required little or no modification. In fact, the superintendents of independent school districts such as Okmulgee or Wagoner, would not necessarily be in a foreign situation were the years suddenly rolled back to the days immediately preceding statehood when the superintendents were free to conduct their affairs, unmolested by state laws and inspectors.

[47]The Federal government abolished the contract system in the boarding schools and made the superintendents of such institutions regular bonded officers of the Indian Department.

APPENDIX A

PRIVATE AND DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS REPORTED IN THE CREEK NATION, 1901-1906[48]

Year and School	Location	Enrollment White	Indian	Total
1901				
Nazareth Institute	Muskogee	——	——	——
Henry Kendall College	Muskogee	——	——	——
Spaulding Institute	Muskogee	——	——	——
1902				
Henry Kendall College	Muskogee	144	47	191
Nazareth Institute	Muskogee	95	49	144
Spaulding Institute	Muskogee	167	85	252
Indian University	Bacone	97	48	145
1903				
Henry Kendall College	Muskogee	129	59	188
Indian University	Bacone	110	50	160
Nazareth Institute	Muskogee	143	40	183
Spaulding Institute	Muskogee	186	131	317
Slate Springs	Burney	47	——	47
1904				
Nazareth College	Muskogee	15	35	50
Henry Kendall College	Muskogee	225	45	270
Spaulding Female Institute	Muskogee	209	69	276
Bacone Indian University	Muskogee	125	52	177
1905				
Bacone Indian University	Muskogee	87	74	161
Henry Kendall College	Muskogee	125	39	164
1906				
Bacone Indian University	Muskogee	51	29	80
Henry Kendall College	Muskogee	104	36	140
1907				
Indian University	Bacone	92	63	155
Spaulding College	Muskogee	182	——	182

[48] *Indian Inspector*, 1901, p. 82; 1902, p. 83; 1903, p. 71; 1904, p. 87; 1905, p. 50; 1906, p. 53; 1907, p. 33.

APPENDIX B

ENROLLMENT, AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE, ANNUAL APPROPRIATION AND AVERAGE COST OF THE BOARDING SCHOOLS OF THE CREEK NATION, 1905[49]

School	Enrollment	Average Attendance	Appropriation	Average Cost
Eufaula High School	98	65	$7,546.39	$116.10
Wetumka Boarding School	127	71	7,934.34	111.75
Euchee Boarding School	119	65	6,745.91	103.78
Coweta Boarding School	58	24	3,938.36	164.09
Wealaka Boarding School	56	39	4,092.21	104.93
Tullahassee Boarding School	110	82	7,143.30	82.87
Pecan Creek Boarding School	66	47	3,396.99	72.79
Nuyaka Boarding School	117	74	5,600.00	75.68
Creek Orphan Home	62	54	6,468.15	119.78
Colored Orphan Home	53	37	2,098.85	59.97

APPENDIX C

ENROLLMENT AND ANNUAL COST OF THE BOARDING SCHOOLS IN THE CREEK NATION, 1898-1907

Year	Number of Schools	Enrollment	Annual Cost
1899	10	707	$73,099
1900	9	640	65,657
1901	9	591	50,470
1902	10	932	58,693
1903	10	919	61,988
1904	10	974	64,063
1905	10	866	49,364
1906	10	734	65,472
1907	10	754	62,043

[49] *Indian Inspector.* 1899, p. 19; 1900, p. 82; 1901, p. 75; 1902, p. 81; 1903, p. 68; 1904, p. 84; 1905, p. 48; 1906, p. 50; 1907, p. 31. Nuyaka was not reported in 1900 and 1901.

APPENDIX D

SUMMER NORMALS IN THE CREEK NATION, 1900-1907[50]

Year and Place	Attendance White	Attendance Colored	Faculty
1900			
Eufaula	60	——	——
Colored Orphans' Home	——	20	——
1901			
Eufaula	75	——	——
Muskogee	——	45	——
1902			
Eufaula	51	——	——
Muskogee	——	41	——
1903			
Eufaula	55	——	——
Muskogee	——	40	——
1904			
Eufaula	52	——	Professor Gillan
1905			
Eufaula	130	——	D. Frank Redd, G. W. Horton, J. G. Mitchell, Bruce McKinley, Maud Gunn, Joseph Carter
1906			
Bacone	200	——	G. W. Horton, J. G. Mitchell, C. W. Briles, C. L. Garber
Muskogee	——	122	C. B. Bryant, E. J. Hawkins
1907			
Checotah	197	——	G. W. Horton, J. G. Mitchell, C. W. Briles, Walter Van Allen
Muskogee	——	137	C. B. Bryant, G. W. Carry

50 *Indian Inspector*, 1900, p. 70; 1901, p. 102, 1902, p. 97; 1903, p. 74; 1904, p. 89; 1905, p. 54; 1906, p. 54; 1907, p. 35. Although some items in this table are missing, it is as complete as available materials will permit. Each normal was directed by the Federal supervisor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MANUSCRIPT MATERIALS, SCHOOLS IN EASTERN INDIAN TERRITORY — 1898-1915

Alice M. Robertson Collection, University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Oklahoma. This collection consists of letters, newspaper clippings, reports and photographs owned by the Robertson and Worcester families. The 2526 letters, written during the years from 1815 to 1932. have been duplicated and filed chronologically by the library staff of the University.

Balyeat, Frank A., "Education in Indian Territory" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of Education, Stanford University, 1927). (Typewritten). In possession of Dr. Balyeat, Department of Education, University of Oklahoma. This material is a splendid background source and contains valuable leads as to other sources.

Black, Mrs. E. H., et al, *A History of the Bristow Schools.* Bristow High School Library, Bristow, Oklahoma. This material, contained in a typewritten manuscript, gives a detailed picture of the Bristow schools from the time of their founding until some years after statehood.

Carter, Bruce Gilbert, "A History of Seminole County" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Dept. of History, University of Oklahoma, 1932).

Cherokee Documents. Cherokee File, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

3007	2697	2701	2705	191
2712	2698	2703	2710	3104

This material consists of letters, reports and assorted documents pertaining to the orphans' home, the seminaries, the colored high school, and the neighborhood schools. It is arranged by school and district. Each group of documents is in a numbered folder and placed in a steel file.

Chickasaw Documents. Chickasaw File, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

10490	10598	10029	10030	9733	8814

This material consists of letters, reports and assorted documents, pertaining to the Chickasaw academies and neighborhood schools. It is arranged by school and district. Each group of documents is in a numbered folder and placed in a steel file.

Choctaw Documents, Choctaw File, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

22178	20228	19788	20059	20083	11989
20167	20227	19792	22178	19793	19793

This material consists of letters, reports and assorted documents pertaining to the Choctaw academies, neighborhood and small boarding schools. It is arranged by school, district and county. Each group of documents is in a numbered folder and placed in a steel file.

Creek Documents. Creek File, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. 37379.
This material consists of letters, reports and assorted documents pertaining to the Creek boarding and neighborhood schools. It is arranged by school and district. Each group of documents is in a numbered folder and placed in a steel file.

Dawes Commission Files. Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. This material consists of letters, re-

ports, directives, requisitions, claims, contracts, cancelled checks, clippings, bulletins, and a wide variety of other documents bearing on Indian and white education. Many of the reports and letters are in longhand, some being written in pencil. The materials are mixed with documents bearing on other subjects but they are all arranged by years and filed in four large four-drawer steel files.

Debo, Angie, "A History of the Choctaw Nation From the End of the Civil War to the Close of the Tribal Period" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of History, University of Oklahoma, 1933).

Documents Pertaining to Schools Among the Minor Tribes in Northeastern Oklahoma. Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. This material consists of letters, reports and assorted documents pertaining to schools of the area, many written with pencil or pen and ink.

Fair, C. E., *Educational History of Latimer County.* In possession of Mr. C. E. Fair, Sulphur, Oklahoma. This typewritten manuscript is primarily concerned with schools after statehood.

Foreman, Grant, ed., *Copies of Documents Pertaining to Indian Affairs.* Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

2217-B	1138-A	38816-F	38816-D	3031-B-1	36426-A
11232-A	19824-A	38790-A	38790-B	38814-E	22217-B
11293-B	11328-A	3030-A	38812-A	37364-B	19992-A
11138-A	38814-	38814-E	22229-A	38814-D	38820-A

This collection is made up of typewritten documents that have to do with the history of the Five Civilized Tribes. A number of the items pertain to schools during the period, 1898-1907. The material is divided by subject matter and each copied document is numbered.

Frank Phillips Collection. University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma. Along with government reports and books on western and Indian history, this collection consists of letters, reports, acts of the tribal councils and assorted documents bearing on education in Indian Territory.

Kiker, Ernest, "Education Among the Seminoles" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Dept. of History, Oklahoma A. & M. College, 1939. (Typewritten).

Minutes of the Cherokee Board of Education, 583. Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. This material consists of longhand reports of the Cherokee Board from 1899 until 1902. The reports are arranged chronologically, bound and filed.

Seminole Documents. Seminole File, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

39511 39544

This material consists of letters, reports, and various other documents pertaining to the Seminole day schools and academies. The documents are in numbered folders and arranged in a steel file.

Sweezy, A. G., "Development of Education in Ottawa County" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Dept. of History, Oklahoma A.&M. College, 1934).

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

History of "4-D" School District, Cherokee Strip

Notes on the history and some reminiscences on "4-D" School District in the "Cherokee Strip" have been contributed to *The Chronicles* by Mrs. Ferrol Ellis Butts of Covington, Oklahoma. She is a daughter of the late A. H. Ellis who made the run into the Outlet in 1893, and later served several terms in the Territorial Legislature. He was a prominent leader in Garfield County throughout his lifetime, and as a member of the Constitutional Convention, Ellis County, Oklahoma, was named for him. He was elected and served as a member of the First State Legislature of the State.[1] In her letter accompanying her manuscript, Mrs. Butts says that the "4-D" School was in the southeastern corner of Garfield County, on her father's homestead, a little over a mile east of old Elgin post office. The name "4-D" was the cattle brand used by the John Ford Ranch in this vicinity of the Cherokee Outlet before the Run in 1893.[2] For more than twenty years the former pupils of the school have held an annual reunion, and have erected (1966) a large granite marker on the site of the schoolhouse in memory of the old "4-D" School, a history of which follows here:

Early History of "4-D" School District

Sometime in the spring of 1894 after the opening of the Cherokee Strip settlement, a school meeting was held at the home of a resident; probably the home of L. D. Groom, as their home was one of the largest houses. The Groom family was given to hospitality and civic enterprise.

Board members were chosen as follows: A. H. Ellis, L. D. Groom, Wm. Hinson (a civil war veteran). A discussion followed on the type of school house to be built. It was voted to build a frame building (some districts built sod buildings). Lumber was hauled from Orlando and a building erected by volunteer labor. It was located on the N.E. corner of the A. H. Ellis homestead. Desks and blackboards were bought and installed. The school room was warmed by a stove in which wood was burned. Wood was furnished at $1.00 per wagon load by various residents of the district. Pupils ranged in ages from 6

---

[1] A biography of Hon. Albert H. Ellis by Angie Debo is in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (Winter, 1950-51).

[2] It was reported by Buzz Bennett that a branding iron and an iron kettle were found in this part of the Outlet on the Marion and Behimer farms before the opening in 1893. Elgin Post Office was established on this 160 acre tract in 1894, with John Behimer (or Behymer) as the postmaster.—Ed.

years old to 17 years of age. The texts studied were: McGuffeys Spelling Book, McGuffeys Readers, Rayes Arithmetic, Barnes History and Barnes Geography.

The school started with Oscar Helton as teacher. He was 18 years old. He boarded at the Millering home near by. Near spring he resigned and Miss Mollie London finished out the term.

The following families were represented in the school: 3 Grooms, 4 from Baker, Klint Port, 3 Holingers, 1 Quinn, 1 Dawson, Nellie Wood Millering (later Braithwait; she lived with her Grandparents), 2 Shoppells, 1 Allen, 4 Shaffers, 4 Daniels, 3 Hinsons, 3 Ellis, 1 Doty, 2 Knopfels, 2 Millers (Clyde and Lilly), 1 Capper, and 1 Wilson (a colored boy).

In this school house were held religious services, literary and community dinners.[1]

The second term was taught by Miss Martha Loyd who homesteaded a quarter section of land one mile south and two miles east of the school house.[2]

Miss Martha Loyd later married George Estes and her homestead is now occupied by her daughter and family, Esther Weinkauf. She rode a pony to and from school.

The next teacher was Florence Dixon, a young woman from Kansas. She boarded at the Groom's home.

The Evangelical Church was organized. A minister from Orlando, Reverend Beck, and later a Reverend Smith pastored here.

A cemetery association was formed by this Church. Emma Marion gave land located one-half mile west of the Olmstead farm. To my knowledge, there were only three burials there: Elmer Hayward, the first (first owner of the present Olmstead farm), a Siegel baby who died at the home of her Uncle Bill Taylor (located one-half mile west of the school house), and an infant child of Emmett and Mary Miller.

---

[1] Two outstanding characters in religious services were Mrs. Dawson and Emma Marion. Miss Marion drove a blind horse and buggy and lived 3 miles away. Some families drove teams and wagons, buggies and some walked. At night they carried a lantern filled with coal oil. Young men and girls often rode horse back. The girls and women used side saddles and wore overskirts.

[2] Directly west of her farm was the homestead of Lyda Potter, a young spinster. At an early date of the territory, Lyda Potter obtained a charter for a Post Office and it was named Potter for her. She later married a man named Bazzard. The office was moved to the Kaywood farm two miles east of her store for several years. The present Potter church and school took this name from the Post Office.

There were Baptist meetings held occasionally and a Baptismal service held on a creek some miles southeast of the school house. The names of the Baptist pastors officiating at different times were the Reverends Lovitt and Veach. Mr. Veach always brought his big family with him from the Crescent City vicinity.

Sometime during the first year, a sawmill was moved on the creek just west of the Olmstead house on the north side of the road. This sawmill was brought in by L. D. Groom. Cottonwood trees were sawed into lumber and, in spite of its tendency to warp, was used by the settlers for building material.

About this time a Post Office was established with John Behimer as Postmaster.[3] It was named for the Elgin family and known as the Elgin Post Office. It was located on the eighty acre tract directly north of the present Olmstead farm. The Elgin family lived on the adjoining farm east of the Behimer tract. The Elgin family still owned the land at the time of this writing, May, 1966.

According to the record I have access to, the school districts of Garfield County were reorganized in 1897. This called for the moving of school houses nearer the center of population.

The "4-D" school was put on house-moving, horse-drawn equipment, moved just over the Ellis line, and left on the John Robertson farm on the half-section line. No school was held that year. Grass grew tall around it and in late winter John Cowan, burning cornstalks on the John Robertson field, had the misfortune of letting the fire get away from him. It swept the prairie and, except for the help of the men of the neighborhood, would have destroyed the school house. Years later children starting to school where it was at last located on the west side of the Robertson farm observed blackened sections near the foundation.

J. W. Kidd was the first teacher hired at the new location (Ellis farm, T20N, R3W). He boarded at the Behimer home. He was a young man who was sincerely interested in the development of young minds and also in community activities. At this writing, he and his wife make their home at the Christian Church Home, Edmond, Oklahoma.

---

[3] Both John Behimer and Isaac Marion settled on this homestead; and by arbitration determined John Behimer as owner to the east 80 and Marion as owner of the west 80 acres. Issac Marion, brother to Emma Marion who gave land for the cemetery, was a bachelor and later married Lydia Girrard. Mrs. Behimer had a set of stereoptican pictures. When I had walked the mile from our home to the Post Office, she often invited me into her living room to have a cool drink, rest and look at the pictures. She had a book *Stanley in Africa*, my first introduction to foreign missions.

With the redistricting, new families were added and some families were lost to Potter and Red Star districts.

One outstanding family that moved into the district was the John Dykeman family. He had a large family and owned and operated a threshing machine. They lived in a house built on the John Robertson farm. The Dykeman's had a daughter, Maxine, who became the grandmother of Debbie Reynolds, who later married Eddie Fisher of T.V. fame.

In the summer of 1902, Martha Zeller taught a subscription school at "4-D." She had 18 pupils enrolled and received $1.00 per pupil each month.

We read McGuffeys Readers; its lessons stressed: (1) Providential Wisdom; (2) Advised Accuracy in all things; (3) Truthfulness; (4) Honesty; (5) Obedience; (6) Kindness; (7) Industry; (8) Thrift; (9) Freedom; and (10) Patroitism.

It would be interesting to follow the careers of the children who were products of "4-D" School. Though our formal schooling was meager, suffice to say it produced an honorable citizenry. Some have remained near the homeland and some have made homes in distant states.

"4-D" Reminiscences in the Cherokee Strip

The first year was marked by church being held in the Behimer home. It was a 3-room log house; the logs were hewed and stood perpendicular, and painted white.

I recall the congregation singing "Beulah Land" with such fervor, I was certain we had reached it when we reached Oklahoma.

The next day, a freckled faced little girl would stand on the highest hill on our farm, take off her sunbonnet and sing:

"I've reached the land of corn and wine,
And all its riches now are mine"

In that first summer of 1894, word came to the community of the drowning of Mrs. McPeet and her children in Skeleton Creek. Mrs. McPeet drove her team and springwagon into the swollen creek where no rain had fallen. A heavy rain had fallen north of it, and she was returning from the home of a relative.

The creek was searched for three days before finding the family; the drowned team was found the next day. Neighbors had gathered on the bank, hoping to find the bodies somewhere. Men working in the fields heard a woman's voice break into

a song, "What a friend we have in Jesus." Others joined in the song, even the men in the fields. As related by my father, the late A. H. Ellis, who was one of the men working in the near-by field.

In about the year 1896, the Daniels family with seven children, sold their 160 acre farm (price $800). Later it was the Elmer Cooper farm, and uncle of Dr. Angie Debo, writer, who lives in Marshall, Oklahoma.

The Daniels family moved to "Old Oklahoma," where they lived one year. They boarded the train the following winter for Illinois where he was raised. On the train some of them fell ill, and while waiting in Union Station in St. Louis they broke out with the small pox. They were all taken to the Pest house, where Mrs. Daniels and one of the boys, Roy, died. The Coroner and Marsh, the seventeen year old boy, dug the graves in the hard frozen ground and buried them; so contagious and deadly was the disease, no services were held. Nellie, the oldest daughter, wrote back to the Wm. Hinson family some months later, telling of the tragedy.

My first trip to Guthrie was when I was twelve years old. Vicki and I went with her father, L. D. Groom, and Stella McBride, the other daughter who had a baby, R. L. We went in the farm wagon and forded Skeleton Creek north of Guthrie. There was no bridge.

Oh, the rose trees bloomed in July in Guthrie! I have since learned they were pink and white Rose of Sharons.

My first trip to Enid was in 1904 where I saw my first automobile. The Frisco Railway had come through in 1903. We boarded the train at Hayward.

Anna Borren was an outstanding teacher in the lives of many of us. One morning she came, found the lock on the door had been broken, a warm fire burning in the stove. She knew a wandering tramp had spent the night there. On the blackboard were written these lines:

"Across the fields of long-ago
There sometimes comes to me—
A little lad with face aglow—
The boy I used to be.
"And yet he looks so longingly
Once you have looked within—
I sometimes think he still hopes to be
The man I might have been."

On the 4th of July and Memorial Day everyone far and wide went to Marshall (just south of the county line in Logan

County). There was a Civil War veterans parade. As I recall, there were seventy-two veterans who wore uniforms of the Grand Army of the Republic and formed that organization.

In our community we had two honored citizens who served in the Confederate army, Mose Baker and Mr. Malone.

In earlier days of the Cherokee Strip our homes were made of sod, or were dugouts.

The Ellis home was part cottonwood logs and part dugout. Walls were papered ever so often with clean newspapers.

In summer we often saw covered-wagon trains of Indians crossing the prairie going to visit other tribes where they held their tribal dances.

—Ferrol Ellis Butts

Burning of Spaulding Institute, Muskogee September 25, 1899

The following account of the burning of Spaulding Institute, written by Ella Robinson (1937), is found in the Grant Foreman Collection, "Spaulding Institute," Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society:

Spaulding Institute Destroyed By Fire

The well known institution that had developed from a little school in the old "Rock Church" on the corner of Cherokee and Okmulgee Avenue, sponsored by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was destroyed by fire September 25, 1899. The fire was discovered in the boy's dormitory at 5:30 P.M. while supper was being served in the dining room. The dormitory being a frame building, the flames spread rapidly and were soon beyond control of the fire department, which was inadequate to cope with the situation. Smoke was seen coming from the second story windows, the alarm was sounded by a switch engine in the Katy Yards [R.R.]. Twenty minutes later, the entire mansard roof of the main building was in flames. Had sufficient water been available, the brick building could have been saved.

As the town had no water system and had to depend on the cisterns on the premises, and with only a small company of firemen, it was soon apparent that any effort to save the buildings would be futile and all attention was turned to saving the personal effects of the teachers and pupils and as much furniture as possible.

As is always the case, everyone lost all presence of mind and books, chairs, mirrors, mattresses, in fact, everything that would

go through a window, was thrown to the ground. Lace curtains, portieres and pillows were dragged across the street in the dust. Three fine pianos were saved and two were lost. Quantities of furnishings were taken to the W.C.T.U. Building on C Street, half a block away.

Teachers and pupils alike were busy the next morning trying to find and identify their belongings.

The firemen worked like heroes until the danger of falling walls compelled them to leave the burning building.

The origin of the fire was unknown, but some half hour before the alarm was given, several small boys (not pupils of the school) were seen playing in the gymnasium which was on the first floor of the dormitory. It was supposed they had been smoking and had carelessly thrown the matches away.

The total loss of the main building and dormitory was $15,000; $2,000 on furnishings.

Several substantial improvements had recently been made to the institution. Mr. H. B. Spaulding had given $5,000 to the fund. A complete steam-heating system and an electric lighting system had been installed, of which the entire faculty together with the pupils and Superintendent was duly proud. Muskogee did not boast of many modernized buildings at that time.

All residences within the proximity were in danger of the fire brands blowing from the burning building.

The teachers and pupils, who were wild with excitement, not knowing where they were to sleep that night, were taken into the houses of friends all over town. No matter how small a house was, hospitality was offered to them.

Reverend C. M. Coppage, President of the school, was on a business trip to St. Louis at the time of the fire. He was notified of the disaster and started home immediately.

A meeting of the Board of Control was called early the next morning to formulate plans for the continuance of the school work. The members of the board were: Reverend Joseph S. Key of Sherman, Texas, (afterwards Bishop Key); Dr. Walter R. Lambuth of Nashville, Tennessee, who also was made Bishop; Dr. J. H. Pritchett of Nashville, Tennessee. The meeting of the Board of Directors also was called, they were: Rev. Joseph F. Thompson, Salina, I.T.; H. B. Spaulding, Muskogee; Honorable N. B. Ainsworth, McAlester, I.T. From three large comfortable buildings housing some 100 pupils and a faculty of 15 members to a mass of smouldering embers, was a matter of some three hours time.

—Ella Robinson

A Letter from Kowetah Mission, 1850[1]

An interesting letter written by Charles Barnett, one of the older boys attending Koweta Mission in 1850, gives some notes on the daily life at this old school in the Creek Nation. Charles Barnett speaks of himself as a Creek, though he was of Yuchi descent, an ancient Indian tribe of the eastern seaboard that joined the old Creek Confederacy at a early time in Georgia history. Bands of the Yuchi came west and were identified with the Western Creeks or McIntosh Creeks in the region of Coweta on the Arkansas River before the Indian Removal in 1836. Charles Barnett's letter follows here (from Creek Miscellaneous Documents, in Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City):

Kowetah Mission, March 5th 1850.

My Dear young friends

Hearing that you wished to hear something about us Creek Indian boys & all the scholars, both of the boy & the girls I proceed to give you an account of them — being one of the scholars myself. You will very readily guess who it was told us about you; I[t] was Mr. W. S. Robertson who himself was either your teacher or some acquaintance of yours. He is now teacher of the Tvllvhassee scholars which school commenced as a boarding school on the 1st of March, consisting of thirty children besides some of his day scholars. There are at this place about thirty scholars, fifteen boys & fifteen girls, a list of whose names I will give you on another piece of paper. Revd. H. Balentine has been or rather is our present teacher. Revd. J. Ross Ramsay is the superintendent at this place. He and Mrs. Ramsay takes charge of the boys, & Mr. and Mrs. Balentine takes charge of the girls. Health has been quite bad during the greater part of this term & I myself have been unable to go to school for the last two or three weeks and do not expect to go till next session if we are spared to see that time. This place is situated a few hundred yards from the prairie & about a mile or three quarters from the Arkansas River.

Most of our country is an extensive prairie & we generally live where we can procure wood for our fires & for timber to build with; all the houses at this place is mostly built of cottonwood with the exception of one of the larger houses which is of oak besides other small cabbins. The timber is of not much account except on the Rivers & some of the larger streams. The prairies & most of the wood land is generally undulating; there

---

[1] An account of "Kowetah Mission" by Augustus Loomis was published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XLVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1968). The site of Kowetah Mission and the old cemetery there have been acquired by the Oklahoma Historical Society for historical preservation. This mission site is on the south edge of present Coweta in Wagoner County.—Ed.

are no mountains but little mounds hills & hillocks. In these places the "Prairie wolves have their dens; they are comparatively small but are of great annoyance to the natives. They catch the young pigs & chickens. The[y] run at the sight of a man but in the spring of the year and along the first part of the summer they are said to be cross. The principle employment of the natives in the summer are raising corn potatoes &c besides ball playing dancing busking &c &c. But of the boys at school fishing is generally followed on Monday afternoons it being a play day. In the winter time the men generally hunt — some go for weeks & camp out in the woods untill they think it is time to come home. Sometime they take their women with them and sometimes they let them stay at home. The boys at school go squerril hunting on play days & some time the[y] kill some & some time they do not.

When vacation comes on & the boys go home & the girls too they ride about on their Ponies either to ballplays or to church. The Creek Indians are divided into various towns or tribes as it is called & hence these divisions bring on these ballplays which sometimes end with a very serious sequel — for sometimes when animated to such a degree & being also engaged in athletic exercises break each others arm, rib or collarbone, but what is worse than all this, some are killed in the contest.

Though I promised to give you the list of the scholar's names on another peice of paper I find that I can as conveniently write them on this as not so I proceed and these are they, viz — C. Barnett, J. Perryman, Wesley Perryman, D. Perryman, Wm. McIntosh, D. Steel, Jno. McKillop, Wm. Gregory, Jas. Gregory, Richard Lee, Robert Anderson, Henry Martyn, D. Porter, Thomas T. Rogers, D. Hodge, A McIntosh. The last one mentioned does reside at this place but comes to school from a near neighbour of ours. Most of the said boys are quite small with the exception of C. B. J. P, W P. who are large boys. You will see that the names of the Individuals are not placed according to the right or custom of seniority but just as they came to my thought or mind. I will be about the same way with the girls' names, And these are their names viz — L. Derrisaw K Anderson, A Anderson, D. Tiger, N. Hardage, S. Hardage, R. Milford, S Milford, M. J. Christmon, M. A. Porter, M Lee, S Vann, M. Wirts, L. Sells, F. Harper. The last one mentioned is also a neighbour Scholar. As it will very soon be vacation I do not know whether all will again return to their study or not. The Lord only knows these things & not I or any of us This being about all I can say at present I will close my imperfect letter by asking of you to look upon this poorly written epistle as just

what it is which is nothing more than a poor Indian production. You will therefore not criticise upon its imperfection.

I hope you will give my best respects to your Teacher.

Please write soon, some of you & let me know at least what is there going on and tell me about your school its progress & how many scholars there are & who they are also your present Teacher &c. all of which I would like to hear. I hope will also remember us in your prayers that we might become an enlightened & happy people. I therefore conclude by subscribing myself.

Your cincere & affectionate friend

Charles Barnett.

BOOK REVIEWS

Alfalfa Bill Murray. By Keith L. Bryant, Jr. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1968. Pp. 287. $6.95).

William H. (Alfalfa Bill) Murray is the most important figure in the political history of Oklahoma. In the short sixty years that Oklahoma has been a state, no other individual contributed so greatly to the formation of its political institutions. No more colorful or controversial character ever strode onto Oklahoma's political stage. Flamboyant, unpredictable, and stubborn, Alfalfa Bill became a legend to several generations of Oklahomans.

In his time, he was president of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention and author of many of the provisions of the constitution, speaker of the first House of Representatives, two-term congressman, and governor of the state. The Texas-born Murray made an indelible mark on his adopted state.

During the early 1900's the political atmosphere in the nation was still based on a rural economy, thus making the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention a perfect setting for the agriculturally-minded Murray. Looking back over a period of sixty years, it seems as if destiny had a hand in making him the "right man at the right time." As president of the Convention, he had the ability to keep vital issues moving. A word here and a word there broke up many a verbal "log jam."

When Bill Murray made enemies, he didn't care how big they came. In his time, he butted heads with U. S. Presidents, (Teddy Roosevelt, Taft, Franklin Roosevelt, Truman), oil companies, newspaper interests and even the state of Texas. From the early 1930's to 1945, he waged a bitter, unrelenting, but futile attack on FDR and his New Deal policies. In 1932, Alfalfa Bill sought the Democratic nomination for President, but lost out to Roosevelt.

The most interesting section of the book deals with the four years that Murray was governor of Oklahoma. To enforce many of his programs, he relied on the National Guard. During his tenure as governor, he called out the guard forty-seven times for duties ranging from policing ticket sales at University of Oklahoma football games to patrolling the oil fields and guarding the Red River bridge. It was truly said that he "fought the depression with the National Guard."

In Mr. Bryant's hands, the subject gets the 360 degree treatment. This is particularly true in evaluating Murray's rec-

ord as governor. He accomplished major tax reforms and equalized the tax burden. The Oklahoma Tax Commission and the equalization boards proved to be lasting accomplishments. The state system of higher education suffered drastically under his administration.

Two themes dominate Mr. Bryant's book: Murray's lifelong agrarianism and his efforts to stem the tide of urbanism and industrialization. In describing Murray's frustrated efforts to preserve the agricultural America of the nineteenth century, Mr. Bryant has written a perceptive biography, presenting the first clearly defined portrait of this determined man. It has been said that history is a great equalizer; if so, then the protrait of the legendary Alfalfa Bill has become tarnished.

On The Tour With Washington Irving. The Journal and Letters of Count de Pourtales. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, By George F. Spaulding. Translated By Seymour Feiler. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman. 1968. Pp. 96. $4.95)

The Count de Pourtales was but twenty years old when he made the western tour of the prairies in 1838 with Washington Irving and company. The Count's journal and letters of this trip remained hidden and unknown for 133 years until discovered in 1965.

Four men, each from a different background, made this trip to the "unknown" Indian Territory in the autumn of 1832. The journals of Henry Ellsworth, Washington Irving and Charles Latrobe have long since been published.

This newly discovered journal pits the observations of the young, eager Prussian autocrat against his older traveling companions. This young man had a zest for life and adventure and his writings reflect this. He was excited with prospect of mingling with frontiersmen and Indians. He took advantage of every occasion to meet people and study them.

For one so young, the Count was well educated and he was able to see things that his companions seemed to have missed. Pourtales' account of this tour is notable for its atmosphere of excitement and exuberance more than for any factual information that it adds. What really distinguishes his report is his attitude toward the Indians. It remained for him to see the Indians as individuals, as refugees, as victims of a clash of civilizations.

As to format, pictures and illustrations, this book is up to the usual standard of excellence that can be expected from the University of Oklahoma Press.

It is disappointing, however, that no mention was made by the editor of the great interest in Irving's *Tour on the Prairies* as an Oklahoma classic. Several editions of this book have been printed in the state, and every Irving campsite has been located. Many of them have monuments or historical markers.

The discovery of this new journal was an exciting and important find. It does much to complete the picture of the early days of frontier Oklahoma.

Cowboys and Indians. Characters in Oil and Bronze by Joe Beeler. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1967. Pp. 80. $7.95)

In the preface to his book, Mr. Beeler gives one reason for his painting the old west.

"I am an American living in the twentieth century obsessed with our rich heritage and history. Even today, the West is the last stronghold of our rugged American individualism, where we can still find old customs and traditions being followed. The cowboy and the Indian are still colorful characters, and there are places in the West that are yet unspoiled. These are the things I want to record for my own pleasure and for coming generations."

Having this beautiful book, with its stunning reproductions, is almost as nice as having an original painting by the artist, but not quite. It is a superb, representative collection of works by the creative Joe Beeler. Eight paintings appear in full color, the rest in fine line monochrome.

Mr. Beeler is equally at home with water color, charcoal, and pen and ink. To this, he has added another talent; that of writer. He furnishes the background narrative to his painting. The free and easy style he uses seems to bring each picture to life.

This is one book that can be enjoyed and appreciated each time it is picked up and opened. The work of a true artist never, never grows dull.

The Story of Ajax. Line in the Big Hole Basin. By Alva J. Noyes. (Buffalo Head Press, New York. 1966. Pp. 158. $8.50)

When it first came out in 1914, this book was reported to have been the first autobiography ever published in Montana. It is the story of A. J. Noyes and life in the Big Hole Basin of that state.

Mr. Noyes went to Montana in the 1860's and could be called a true pioneer in every sense of the word. He was a miner, cattleraiser, farmer, merchant and a County assessor. Among other things, he and his wife founded the town of Wisdom, Montana.

In writing of his life in the early west, Mr. Noyes had almost total recall. What he lacked in style, he more than made up in detail. It is amazing how many names and dates he was able to cram on each page. All in all it is a most interesting piece of Americana.

The Western Frontier Library

University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, reprints. $2.95.

Bill Doolin, Outlaw O. T. By Bailey C. Hanes. With an Introduction by Ramon F. Adams. (1968. Pp. 207)

There can be no doubt that Bill Doolin was Oklahoma's premier outlaw during territory days. Before he hit the owlhoot trail, Bill was an ex-farm boy turned cowboy. He had been a member of the Dalton gang and just narrowly missed out on the fiasco at Coffeyville, Kansas. In time, Doolin gathered together a tough and nerveless crew that robbed trains, looted banks and harassed U. S. Marshals for four years.

Over the years, many books and magazine articles have given but scattered accounts of Doolin and his activities. And unfortunately, most of this information has been completely unreliable. Many writers have continued to repeat time-worn fables without trying to do any factual research. Until now, there has never been a complete biography of Doolin. One wonders why this was not done years ago.

Colonel Hanes has researched and documented his material extremely well. He has cut away many of the myths surrounding the outlaw leader and his men; particularly the affair at Ingalls. Much new information is published here for the first time and one must agree with the author, that Doolin was a likeable person. This book will become a prime source of Oklahoma's Territorial period and is a welcome addition to a Western Americana bookshelf.

A Tenderfoot In Colorado. By R. B. Townshend. (1968, 282 Pp.)

To be fresh off the boat from Cambridge, England and then book passage across the U.S. to the Rockies would be quite an undertaking for a total stranger. Such a trip, in 1869, would surely place that person in the class of tenderfoot first rank.

Such an adventure did happen to R. B. Townshend and as a result, we have this delightful account of an English college student arriving in the Rocky Mountains with $300 in the pockets of his tailored trousers. He was indeed a tenderfoot.

As is so often the case, some of our best accounts of the opening of the west, have been written by persons who seemed completely alien to their surroundings. Mr. Townshend's narrative is no exception. He brought with him the uncluttered vision of youth and an unprejudiced ear with which to appreciate the subtleties of frontier speech patterns. Few writers have recorded the true Western vernacular more accurately.

Although marked as easy prey by tinhorn gamblers, he was able to elude them and every other pitfall to become an experienced frontiersman. The Englishman also learned to cook beans and to forget his proper English accent.

A Trip to the Yellowstone National Park in July, August, and September, 1875. By General W. E. Strong. With an Introduction by Richard A. Bartlett. (1968. Pp. 165).

This is the journal of a trip to the Yellowstone National Park in the summer of 1875 by a small party of V.I.P.'s from the east. These very important people were what might be called "military brass." All together, there were five generals, one colonel, and one lonely lieutenant. Of course, when camp was established in the Park, no less than twenty-four enlisted men, nine of whom were assigned as orderlies, chopped wood, started fires, prepared meals, pitched tents, polished boots, and cleaned guns for the prominent travelers.

Regardless of who made this trip, we are indebted to General Strong for writing his journal and having it privately printed. In rich detail he paints a picture of the beauties of Yellowstone, its majestic falls, hot springs, and geysers. Even more important are the thrills of the hunt in this sportsman's paradise, from fighting trout to stampeding buffalo herds.

Enlightening too, is the story of how the party was greeted by the "red carpet" treatment at every settlement and frontier post along the way. They were feted with all the pomp and splendor available at the time.

When Strong had his journal printed, he included photographs of members of the party and a few sketches of events along the way. As a result we have a most interesting and delightful bit of Americana.

—Arthur Shoemaker

Hominy, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
July 25, 1968

The Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society were called to order in quarterly meeting by President Shirk at 10:00 a.m., Thursday, July 25, 1968. The meeting was held in the Board Room of the Oklahoma Historical Society building in Oklahoma City.

President Shirk welcomed to the meeting Mr. Nolan Fuqua of Duncan, new Board Member, and Mr. Paul Rogers of Ft. Gibson, who was a guest of Mr. Earl Boyd Pierce.

Members present for the meeting were: Lou Allard, Mrs. George Bowman, Q. B. Boydstun, Dr. E. E. Dale, W. D. Finney, Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Bob Foresman, Nolen Fuqua, Dr. A. M. Gibson, Morton R. Harrison, Joe W. McBride, R. G. Miller, Dr. James D. Morrison, R. M. Mountcastle, Fisher Muldrow, H. Milt Phillips, Earl Boyd Pierce, Genevieve Seger, George H. Shirk, and H. Merle Woods. Those members absent were: Henry B. Bass, Joe W. Curtis, Judge Robert A. Hefner, John E. Kirkpatrick, and W. E. McIntosh.

Mr. Mountcastle moved that all members absent from the meeting be excused. Miss Seger seconded the motion which carried.

Mr. Fraker reported that thirty-eight new annual members had made application during the last quarter, and numerous gifts had been received by the Society. Miss Seger moved that all applicants be elected to membership and that the gifts be accepted. Mr. Phillips seconded the motion which passed.

People from forty-nine states and twenty-seven foreign countries, said Mr. Fraker, had visited the Oklahoma Historical Society during the period from June 1 to July 25, 1968.

It was reported by the Administrative Secretary that a monthly bulletin could be printed and mailed to the entire membership for approximately $2,520 per year.

In discussion of the Chickasaw House Project at Tishomingo, Mr. Pierce moved that Vice-President Fisher Muldrow be authorized to act as a liaison representative of the Society in coordinating this project with all interested parties, including the local people of Tishomingo and the Chickasaw Nation. Dr. Gibson seconded the motion which passed.

Mrs. Bowman reported a profit of $113.11 on the 1968 Tour, leaving a balance of $503.74 in the Tour Committee Account.

In regard to the Life Membership Endowment Fund of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Mr. Phillips moved that the Oklahoma Historical Society forgive the entire amount due on July 1, 1968 from the Endowment Fund and that amount be placed in the corpus of the Endowment Fund. This motion was seconded by Dr. Fischer and passed by the Board.

Dr. Fischer moved that $400 be transferred from the Oklahoma Historical Society Tour Committee account into Account Number 18. Mr. Harrison seconded the motion which was carried by a vote of the Board.

Dr. Morrison moved that a formal tribute and resolution expressing a sense of loss and sorrow appear in the minutes because of the drowning on May 31, 1968 of Miss Dorothy Orton. Dr. Fischer seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

In his report for the Publications Committee, Mr. McBride stated that THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA was ten days late this quarter. He also suggested that gift lists be printed separately, such as the index and mailed to the membership. President Shirk said the Publications Committee has full and complete authority to list or not list any collections as space permits in THE CHRONICLES.

President Shirk reported to the Board Members that the Executive Committee has voted to use $5,000 from the Historical Sites General Survey and Development fund in listing, investigating, and nominating sites for the National Register. Dr. Fischer and a young man from Oklahoma State University, recommended by Dr. Fischer and Dr. Knight, will help prepare this list of nominations of approximately 100 sites.

The fact that a number of trade tokens have disappeared from the collection in the museum was related by President Shirk. He stated that this was first discovered by Mrs. Martha Blaine, Chief Curator, and that he had turned the matter over to the State Crime Bureau.

President Shirk stated that the Housing and Urban Development Authority (HUD) has funds available on a matching funds basis for the purchase and development of historic sites. To qualify a site must be within urban areas known as Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA). These types of funds would not be available for use at Erin Springs, but would be available to acquire the Overholser mansion in Oklahoma City on a 50/50 basis with HUD and the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Pierce moved that the President be given the authority and directed to pursue the matter of processing through HUD such applications. Dr. Fischer seconded this motion which passed with the provision that it should be deferred until after November for further action.

Miss Wright, on behalf of her neice, Katherine Reid Katona, presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society a hand bound book entitled "The Golden Book of the Osages". Mr. Pierce moved that this item be accepted by the Board of Directors with thanks. Dr. Fischer seconded this motion which passed unanimously.

The personal file of President Shirk on the grave marker of Senator Robert L. Owen was turned to Mr. Pierce with the request that he investigate and report at the next meeting his findings.

President Shirk reported that a special committee he had appointed to work with the State Department of Education on Oklahoma history requirements in high schools had furnished him a report, which is greatly appreciated, and was laid before the Board.

Information was also announced that approximately a quarter section of land at Honey Springs had been acquired and the Battle of Honey Springs Committee will continue with its work.

Announcement was made that Governor Bartlett had appointed two commissions: (1) The Fort Sill Centennial Commission and (2) The Battle of the Washita Centennial Commission. Dr. Fischer moved that Governor Bartlett be commended for appointing these Commissions. Miss Seger seconded this motion which passed unanimously. It was moved by Mr. Allard, and seconded by Mr. Muldrow, that the Oklahoma Historical Society give full support to both of these Commissions. This motion carried unanimously.

After discussion of increased interest of the youth in the Oklahoma Historical Society, President Shirk appointed a committee consisting of

Dr. Fischer, Bob Foresman, and Mr. Fraker to endeavor to enlist the aid of the Neighborhood Youth Corps Program in getting young people interested in the O. H. S.

Mayor Fuqua of Duncan reported that a time light had been installed to shine on the Chisholm Trail Marker at Duncan.

Dr. Morrison moved that the meeting be adjourned. Dr. Fischer seconded, the meeting was adjourned at 12:30 p.m.

GEORGE H. SHIRK
President

ELMER L. FRAKER
Administrative Secretary

GIFTS RECEIVED IN SECOND QUARTER, 1968

LIBRARY:

To Whom It May Concern by Frank D. Hall.
Donor: Frank D. Hall by Dr. B. B. Chapman, Orlando, Florida.

Challenge: *The Age of Complexity* by Hudgins, Thompson, Ball and Associates, Inc., Architects, Engineers and Planners, Oklahoma City, Tulsa and Washington, D.C.
Boots and Bullets — The Life and Times of John W. Wentworth by Jess G. Haynes, 1967.
Women in Levis by Eulalia Bourne, 1967.
The Frontiersmen by Allan W. Eckert, 1967.
The Fiddle Book by Marion Thede, 1967.
Will James — The Gilt Edged Cowboy by Anthony Amaral, 1967.
Rocky Mountain Mining Camps — The Urban Frontier by Duane A. Smith, 1967.
Century in the Saddle by Richard Goff and Robert H. McCaffree, 1967.
William Sanders Oury, History-Maker of the Southwest by Cornelius C. Smith, Jr., 1967.
The Shoshoneans — The People of the Basin-Plateau by Edward Dorn and LeRoy Lucas, 1966.
Daddy of 'Em All — The Story of Cheyenne Frontier Days by Robert D. (Bob) Hanesworth.
William and Mary Quarterly, Vol. 25, No. 2, 3rd Series, April, 1968.
"Kiamichi Vacation Land" — Tourist Map—Information, LeFlore County, 1968.
Military Collector and Historian, Vol. XX, No. 1, Spring, 1968.
The Texas and Oklahoma Official Railway and Hotel Guide, February 1915.
Continuum/One — Student Publication, School of Architecture, Oklahoma State University, 1968.
"The Kerr Foundation, Inc.", Poteau, Oklahoma.
"Family Camping."
Presidential Handbook, 1968.
"Long, Cool Summer" — 45 recording of LaBeat Recording Co., Inc., Detroit, Michigan.
"Civil War in Indian Territory" — Newspaper clippings for March and April, 1965.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

City Map of Ardmore, Oklahoma, Carter County.
The East Kentuckian, 3 issues of 1967; 1 issue of 1968.
Hawkeye Heritage, 2 issues of 1967; 1 issue of 1968.
The Kansas City Genealogist, 1 issue of 1967; 2 issues of 1968.
Kentucky Ancestors, 2 issues of 1967; 2 issues of 1968.
Balkan and Eastern European American Genealogical and Historical Society, 4 issues of 1967.

Santa Clara County Historical and Genealogical Society, 2 issues of 1967; 2 issues of 1968.
Record of Marriage Licenses, Madison County, Illinois; granted by Josias Randle previous to 1820.
Illinois in the Civil War by Clyde C. Walton.
Illinois Civil War Sketches, Nos. 1-4.
Wisconsin Helper, 1 issue of 1967; 2 issues of 1968.
Deep South Genealogical Quarterly, 1 issue of 1967; 2 issues of 1968.
Midwest Genealogical Register, 3 issues of 1967; 1 issue of 1968.
The Life-Line, 2 issues of 1967; 2 issues of 1968.
Bulletin of the Stamford Genealogical Society, 2 issues of 1967; 2 issues of 1968.
Michigan Heritage, 2 issues of 1967; 2 issues of 1968.
Southern Arizona Genealogical Society Bulletin, 2 issues of 1967; 2 issues of 1968.
A Romance in Research by Alexander McQueen, 1951.
Surname Index, 1968, Ohio Genealogical Society.
Missouri Pioneers, Vol. 2, 1958.
Raines of Cocke County, Tennessee by Fredna Raines Threatt, 6821 Hyde Park Drive, Dallas, Texas 75231.
Iowa County Heritage, Vol. I — *The Census Records.*
Iowa County Heritage, Vol. II — *LaFayette County.*
Donor: Oklahoma Genealogical Society, Oklahoma City.

Notes on McDaniel-McDonald Families, collected and given by Mrs. Daniel Byrne.
Donor: Mrs. Daniel Byrne, 175 Janes Street, Mill Valley, California, 94941.

Medical Examiners Directory of American General Life Insurance Company of Oklahoma.
Donor: Mrs. M. S. Cooter, Oklahoma City.

Information on Union Mission.
Donor: Mrs. W. R. (Hope) Holway, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Copy of Script of "The Invisible Empire" — KWTV Series on Ku Klux Klan in Oklahoma, 1922-1923.
Donor: KWTV News Department and Dick Goff, Channel 9, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

To Remain Ready For Action — On the Occasion of the 70th Birthday of Gen. Dr. Hans Speidel, October 28, 1967.
Donor: Markus-Verlag G. M. B. H., Federal Republic of Germany.

Clipping on "Oklahoma's First Two Senators" from "Believe It Or Not" by Ripley of May 8, 1945.
Card from Ripley of "Believe It Or Not."
Donor: F. W. Cherryholmes, 1909 East 35th Place, Tulsa, Oklahoma by Mrs. Maurine Lee, 2000 N.W. 19th, Oklahoma City.

Groseclose Genealogical Information.
Donor: Elgin Groseclose, 1010 Vermont Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20005.
Indiana Magazine of History — 42 back issues.
Indiana History Bulletin — 85 back issues.
Donor: Mrs. Walter E. Deacon, 6608 North Omaha, Oklahoma City.

A Pioneer Family, 1736-1966 by E. Irene Miller.
Donor: Mrs. E. Irene Miller, 817 N. Westedge Drive, Tipp City, Ohio 45371.

The Emile Arthaud Family, compiled by John Bradley Arthaud; privately printed by Donald Howard Arthaud.
Donor: John Bradley Arthaud, 175 Elizabeth Blackwell, Syracuse, New York.

"The Old Chisholm Trail", a poem by John Livingston
"Visions of the End", a poem by John Livingston.
Information regarding Mono Melvin Tate.
Donor: Kent Ruth, 619 North Broadway, Geary, Oklahoma.

Tigner History, compiled by C. P. Tigner, 1953.
Donor: Mrs. Adelia (Stewart) Sallee, 1020 McNamee, Norman, Oklahoma 73069.

Centennial History of Washington County, Indiana by Warder W. Stevens, 1916.
Donor: Mrs. Alene Simpson, Edmond, Oklahoma.

The 89ers Constitution and By-Laws.
The 89ers Year Books, 1937 to 1968.
The 89ers Annual Banquet Programs.
Donor: Alice B. Whitten, 2829 N.W. 19th, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior, 1904, Indian Affairs, Part II; including "Map of the Choctaw Nation, Indian Territory 1904."
Donor: Irvin Peithmann, Carbondale, Illinois.

Two Hundred American Ancestors: The Progenitors of Richard William Loveless by Richard William Loveless, 1963.
Donor: Richard W. Loveless, 125 Orchard Avenue, Hubbard, Ohio, 44425.

Journal of National Convention, 1967 of National Woman's Relief Corps.
Donor: Oklahoma State Library, State Capitol Building, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Western Yesterdays — Thomas Fitzpatrick, Railroadman by Forest Crossen.
Donor: Forest Crossen, 2002 Spruce Street, Boulder, Colorado.

"Cluttered Corner — Anniversary Celebration" by Milt Phillips from *The Seminole Producer*, June 4, 1968.
"Cluttered Corner — Final Day of Tour Leisurely" by Milt Phillips from *The Seminole Producer*, June 2, 1968.
"Cluttered Corner — Scribe Enjoys 18th OHS Tour" by Milt Phillips from *The Seminole Producer*, May 29, 1968.
"Cluttered Corner — History Buffs Enjoy A Tour" by Milt Phillips from *The Seminole Producer*, May 31, 1968.
Donor: Milt Phillips, Seminole, Oklahoma.

Special Holdings, Monte Cassino High School, Tulsa, Oklahoma, 1968.
Donor: Monte Cassino High School Library, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

The Legacy of Neglect by James Parton.
Donor: Detroit Historical Society with compliments of H. Richard Steding, III, President.

Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, Vol. XLI, No. 103, May 1968.
Donor: Goldsmith's Librarian, University of London Library, The Senate House, Malet Street, WCI.

Oklahoma Boy by Ross T. Warner, 1968.
Donor: Ross T. Warner, Box 1529, Tulsa, Oklahoma 74101.

United Daughters of Confederacy Magazine, March, April, 1968 issues.
Oklahoma Today, Autumn 1967.
Sooner Magazine, January 1968.
Donor: Mrs. King Larimore, 1924 N.W. 20th, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Seventy Years of Masonry by Clarence M. Lockhart.
Donor: C. M. Lockhart, Shawnee, Oklahoma.

Thesis: *The Edwards Site*, Beckham County, Oklahoma by Timothy Gene Baugh, May 1968; Anthropology 370, The University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.
Donor: The Timothy G. Baughs, 2019 N.W. 19th, Oklahoma City.

Polk's Oklahoma City Directories, 1932 through 1961.
Donor: Shirk-Withington-Work and Robinson, Attorneys-at-Law, Colcord Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Index to *Kentucky*: *A History of the State* by Perrin, Battle and Kniffen, 6th Edition, 1887.
Donor: Mrs. Dayton B. Royce, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Old Sturbridge Village 1967-1968.
Donor: Compliments of The President, Alexander J. Wall, Old Sturbridge Village, Sturbridge, Massachusetts.

Oklahoma County Booklet, 1957.
The Chronicles of Oklahoma, 6 back issues.
Donor: J. A. Jackson, 537 N.W. 35th, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Missouri State Records.
Donor: Betty Harvey Williams, Johnson County, Missouri.

History of Womens Christian Temperance Union of Indian Territory, Oklahoma Territory and State of Oklahoma, compiled by Abbie B. Hillerman, Sapulpa, Oklahoma.
Donor: Clarence D. Norris, 6335 East 25th Place, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Chariton County, Missouri: *Wills and Administrations*, 1861-1865, compilled by Elizabeth Prather Ellsberry.
Cemetery Records of Chariton County, Missouri, Vol. II, compiled by Elizabeth Prather Ellsberry.
Donor: Mrs. Ray Blevins, 6710 N.W. 59th Terrace, Bethany, Oklahoma.

Oklahoma Genealogy: "The Life of Virgil Pitts" by great-granddaughter, Ann Brooks, 1968.
Donor: Mrs. P. W. Brooks, 2537 West Flower Avenue, Fullerton, California.

Petroleum Facts and Figures, 1967 Edition.
Donor: Oklahoma Petroleum Council, 1615 4th National Bank Building, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Federal Outdoor Recreation Programs, July 1968.
Youth Power — National Youth Conference on Natural Beauty Conservation, 1968.
Donor: Judge N. B. Johnson, Oklahoma City.

Official Commemorative Folder of 6-Cent American Flag United States Postage Stamp Dedication, January 24, 1968; jointly sponsored by United States Post Office Department and Government Employes' Council (AFL-CIO).
Program of Dedication Service, January 24, 1968.
Donor: Hon. A. S. Mike Monroney, Chairman, Post Office and Civil Service Committee, U. S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

When The Heart Speaks by Louise Dale Nelson, 1968.
Donor: E. E. Dale, Norman, Oklahoma.

The American Colonial Jew — A Study in Acculturation by Jacob R. Marcus, 1967.
Donor: William Pearson Tolley, Syracuse University and American Jewish Historical Society.

"Choctaw Indian Ball Game."
"Skullyville."
"Joseph Smedley."
"Spiro Mounds."
Donor: Elbert Costner, Poteau, Oklahoma.

Pamphlet: The 1964 Crisis for the Seneca Indians; Kinzura Project of the Indian Committee Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends.
Donor: Milton Ream, Cherokee, Oklahoma.

Xeroxed Copy: *Genealogy of the Stansbury Family*, 1658-1938 (also includes Sater and Towson Ancestry), compiled and collected by Iva Scheffel, 105 W. Adams, Fairfield, Iowa.
Donor: Mrs. Mary Reid Warner, 4229 N.W. 52nd, Okla. City.

History of Washington County and Surrounding Area, Vol. 2 by Margaret Withers Teague and Bartlesville Historical Commission, 1968.
Donor: Mr. H. E. Winn, Librarian, Bartlesville Public Library, Bartlesville, Oklahoma 74003.

Big Bend History Sites by C. Hubert Smith, 1968; Publications in Salvage Archaeology No. 9.
Donor: The Author and the River Basin Surveys of the Smithsonian Institution, Office of Anthropology.

Microfilm: Alabama 1840 Census Roll #2, Fayette County (part) to Lawrence County (part).
Donor: Mrs. John W. Ervin, 2619 N.W. 65th, Oklahoma City.

Home, Sweet, Home(s) — An Adventure into the Cherokee Country and John Howard Payne among the Cherokees by Judson Franks Brooks, July 1968.
Donor: Judson Franks Brooks, 1407 Johnson Street, Key West, Florida.

INDIAN ARCHIVES DIVISION:

Report meeting Inter-Tribal Council Five Civilized Tribes, April 12, 1968. Report meeting Executive Committee Cherokee Tribe April 6, May 11 and June 29, 1968.
Donor: Muskogee Area Office

Paper back book of 157 pages "Muskogee Indian Territory" published 1905.
Donor: Mrs. George A. McCulley, Dallas, Texas.

"Oklahoma Indian Council Calendar" July 5, 1968.
Donor: Will T. Nelson.

Xexox copy leaflet "Historical Tablet" with history of Methodism in Okmulgee, Okla., and list of ministers 1869-1964.
Pamphlet "Chief Samuel Checote" Preacher, Soldier, Statesman.
Donor: Ernest Lambert.

Texas Public Library Statistics, 1967.
Texas Libraries, Spring, Summer and Fall 1967, and Winter 1967-1968.
Donor: Texas Library and Historical Commission.

Amerindian, The, March-April, 1968.
Henry B. Bass *News Letter*, April 15 and May 15, 1968.
Sources of Indian & Eskimo Arts and Crafts, Fact Sheets 1 and 2.
The Cherokee Nation News, April 16 and June 25, 1968.
Indian Affairs News Letters of Association on American Indian Affairs, April-July, 1967, January-March and April-May, 1968.
Cherokee Nation vs. U. S. Docket No. 173-A: Petitioner's Statement, Request for Findings of Fact and Brief.
Donor: N. B. Johnson, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Records from Indian Claims Commission:

Turtle Mountain Band Apache Indians vs. U.S. Docket 113: Petitioner's Proposed Findings of Fact and Brief.
San Carlos Apache Tribe and White Mountain Tribe of Fort Apache Reservation, Navajo Tribe vs. U.S. Dockets 22D and 229: Proposed Findings of Fact on issues of Title and Liability submitted by petitions in Docket 22D.
Northern Tonto Apache Tribe and Navajo Tribe vs. U.S. Docket 22J and 229: Proposed findings of fact on issues of title and liability submitted by petitioners in Docket 22J.
Fort Sill Apache Tribe of Oklahoma, Chiricahua Apache Tribe and Warm Springs Tribes of Apache Indians vs. U.S., Docket Nos. 30 and 48: Petitioners proposed findings of fact on issues of Title and Liability and accompanying Brief.
Jicarilla Apache Tribe of New Mexico vs. U.S., Docket No. 22A.
Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Tribes vs. U.S., Docket No. 257: Defendant's requested Findings of Fact, Objections to Petitioner's Proposed Findings of Fact and Brief.
Jicarilla Apache Tribe of New Mexico vs. U.S., Docket No. 22A: Request for findings of Fact and Brief on behalf of Petitioner.
Red Lake Pembina and White Earth Bands, and Minnesota Chippewa Tribe vs. U.S., Docket No. 18A: Complaint; Answer.
Delaware Tribe vs. U.S., Docket 27A; Absentee Delaware Tribe vs. U.S., Docket 241: Amended Answer; Defendant's Request for Findings of Fact and Brief on Offsets.
Kickapoo Tribe of Kansas and Oklahoma vs. U.S., Docket 316: Petitioner's Proposed Findings of Fact and Brief; Defendants requested Findings of Fact and Brief on Offsets.
Kickapoo Tribe of Kansas and Peoria Tribe of Oklahoma vs. U.S., Docket No. 317 consolidated: Supplemental Findings of Fact and Brief.
Miami Tribe of Oklahoma, et al, vs. U.S., Docket No. 251: Petitioner's Proposed findings of fact; Petitioner's Brief; Defendant's requested findings and brief.
Osage Nation vs. U.S., Docket No. 105: Petitioner's Reply Brief; Petitioner's Brief on value and acreage.
Osage Nation vs. U.S., Docket No. 106-107 Consolidated: Petitioner's Request for Findings of fact and brief.
Ponca Tribe of Oklahoma, et al, vs. U.S., Docket 322: Petitioner's Proposed Findings of fact and brief on use and occupancy.
Citizens Band Potawatomi Indians vs. U.S., Docket No. 146; Prairie Band of Potawatomi Indians vs. U.S., Docket No. 15M: Petitioners' Proposed Findings of Fact and Brief; Defendant's Requested Findings of Fact,

Objections to Petitioners' Proposed Findings of Fact and Brief.

Citizen Band of Potawatomi Indians vs. U.S., Docket No. 96; Defendant's requested Findings of Fact and brief on affects.

Sac and Fox Tribe of Oklahoma vs. U.S., Docket No. 153: Brief of petitioners re Damages; Proposed Findings of Fact of petitioners re Damages.

Sac and Fox Tribeof Oklahoma vs. U.S., Dockets 158, 209 and 231: Petitioner's objections to defendants requested findings of fact and reply brief on valuation; Proposed findings of fact of petitioners re damages.

Sac and Fox Tribe of Iowa and Oklahoma vs U.S., Docket 219: Petitioners' Proposed findings of fact; Appendices to petitionres' proposed findings of fact; Brief of petitioners on issues of value and liability.

Sax and Fox Tribe of Oklahoma and Iowa vs. U.S., Docket No. 220: Defendant's requested findings of Fact, Objections to findings of fact requested by petitioners and Brief.

Sac and Fox Tribe of Oklahoma, Missouri, and Iowa vs. U.S., Docket 231: Petition relating to Lands in East Central Iowa.

Winnebago Tribe vs. U.S., Dockets No. 243, 244 and 245: Defendant's Requested Findings of Fact, Objections to plaintiff's proposed finding of Fact and Brief.

Donor: Jean Hanna, Washington, D.C.

American Indians residing on Maricopa-Ak Chin Reservation vs. U.S., Docket No. 235: Order Dismissing Claims designated Second and Third courses of action.

Cherokee Tribe vs. U.S., Docket No. 173: Order allowing attorneys' fees.

Cherokee Nation vs. U.S., Docket No. 167: Order Denying Defendant's Motion for entry of judgment; Opinion on Defendant's motion for entry of judgment.

Absentee Delaware Tribe of Oklahoma vs. U.S., Docket No. 337: Additional Findings of Fact re attorney fees; Supplemental order allowing Attorney fees; Order correcting errors in commission's additional findings of fact re attorney fees.

Hualapi Tribe vs. U.S., Dockets 90 and 122: Additional Findings of Fact in compromise settlement; Opinion of Commission; Final judgment.

Kickapoo Tribe of Kansas and Oklahoma vs. U.S., Docket No. 193: Findings of Fact on Compromise settlement; Opinion of Commission; Final judgment.

Kickapoo Tribe vs. U.S., Docket No. 316: Order allowing attorney fees.

Robt. Dominic, et al, on behalf of members of Ottawa Tribe vs. U.S., Docket No. 40-K: Additional Findings of Fact on Compromise settlement of offsets; Opinion of commission; Final judgment.

Peoria Tribe of Oklahoma and Ab. Delaware Tribe of Oklahoma vs. U.S., Docket No. 289: Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order; Opinion.

Quechan Tribe of Fort Yuma Reservation, California vs. U.S., Docket No. 319: Order allowing attorney's Reimbursable expenses.

Pueblos de Zia, de Jemez and de Santa Ana vs. U.S., Docket No. 137: Petitioners' Proposed findings of fact; Additional findings of fact; Opinion; Interlocutory order; Order correcting opinion.

Navajo Tribe, Pueblos de Acoma and of Laguna vs. U.S., Dockets 227, 229, 266: 2 orders amending Findings of Fact and opinion.

Sac and Fox Tribe of Oklahoma vs. U.S., Docket No. 83: Order granting motion to exclude grants, etc.

S'Klallam Tribe vs. U.S., Docket No. 134: Order reopening the record.

Lower Sioux community, petitioners, Sisseton and Wahpeton Bands, intervenors, vs. U.S., Dockets 359, 360, 361, 362, 363: Findings of Fact on attorney fees; Order allowing attorney fees.

Yankton Sioux Tribe vs. U.S., Docket 332-A: Opinion on petitioner's motion for summary judgment; Order granting petitioner's motion for summary judgment.

Native village of Unalakleet, Aleut Community of St. Paul Island, Aleut Tribe vs. U.S., Dockets 285, 352, 369: Opinion on motions for summary judgment; Order denying motions for summary judgment.

Federal Register, Vol 33, No. 121, Part II, Indian Claims Commission, Rules of Procedure.

Donor: Indian Claims Commission, Washington, D.C.

MUSEUM

Saudi-Arabian currency, one riyal.
Donor: Al-Hazmy, A.V., Medina, Saudi-Arabia.

Core Sample, Marchand Sand, Hoxbar formation. (Oil Museum)
Donor: Mr. E. Arnold, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Campaign button, "John Fields for Governor."
Donor: Ella M. Burgess, Mannsville, Oklahoma.

Knife with horn hilt
Donor: Ralph A. Caldwell, Austin, Colorado.

Rocking chair, door knob, lock and shaft, twenty-nine window panes for Sod House site, wooden boxes, and door hinges.
Donor: Mr. Raymond Cash, Cleo Springs, Oklahoma.

School globe map.
Donor: Cleo Springs School District, Cleo Springs, Oklahoma.

Map of the Indian and Oklahoma Territories, 1891.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. John L. Colombo, Midwest City, Oklahoma.

Barometer, Ameroid barometer, altimeter, and inclinometer. (Oil Museum)
Donor: E. G. Dahlgren for Mrs. Everett Carpenter.

Sewing box, two fans, framed dry bouquet, butter dish, written documents of Godfrey Lillich, three tintypes, a cane, school award of Alexander Crow in 1860, Chinese iron vessel, Osage war bonnet, woman's beaded legging boots, silk shawl, and beaded headband.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Clyde G. Gray, Santa Barbara, California.

Convention badge, "Seventh Annual Session, Okla. Territorial Teachers Association."
Donor: Mr. Charles E. Jones, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Woman's beaded shoulder cape
Donor: Mrs. Hettie McCauley King, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Surveyor's chain used by Dawes Commission.
Donor: E. H. Peithman family, Carbondale, Illinois.

Buggy lap robe, handwoven coverlette, homespun wool blanket, United States flag, Confederate flag, two razors, knife case with five razors and knives, two razor hones, GAR Post badge, GAR veteran's star.
Donor: Mrs. Ethel Porter, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

A ten centavo piece, the Philippines.
Donor: Wilfredo Samson, Pampango, Philippines.

Marriage certificate, 1872, tintype and photograph, Primitive Baptist Hymn Book, a hymnal, a prayer book, 1858.
Donor: Elizabeth D. Slusher, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Doctor's office equipment, including, blood pressure instrument, upright scales, metal examining chair, metal chair with head rest, and support mattress.
Donor: Mr. Elmer Steanson, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Day-bed couch.
Donor: Mrs. Esther Ward, Aline, Oklahoma.

Early Oklahoma schoolroom equipment including six desks, a set of wall charts, desk runners, a stage curtain, a stove, and a stove coal bucket.
Donor: Waynoka School District, Waynoka, Oklahoma.

Sewing machine and cabinet.
Donor: Mr. Orval Williamson, Aline, Oklahoma.

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS*
April 25, 1968 to July 25, 1968

Alexander, Mrs. Norman D.	Tulsa
Altland, Ruth A.	Woodward
Arrington, Miss Ruth M.	Tahlequah
Brewer, Veldo H.	Holdenville
Burns, Louis F.	Santa Ana, California
Carter, David H.	APO, New York
Carter, Myrtle E.	Oklahoma City
Chief, Mrs. Raymond	Charlottesville, Virginia
Collins, Rowland L.	Rochester, New York
Crumpler, Lillian	Wewoka
Duke, Rebecca Jo	Oklahoma City
Duncan, Dwight R.	Oklahoma City
Duncan, Lucretia M.	Oklahoma City
Evans, Roy L.	Oklahoma City
Fisher, Janet L.	Tulsa
Hankey, John	Palm Springs, California
Harris, Claude C.	Muskogee
Harris, Knox	Baltimore, Maryland
Herron, Margaret	Winslow, Arizona
Hoelscher, Lester L.	Tulsa
Holland, Edward J.	Tulsa
Howe, Elliott H.	Tulsa
Humphrey, James E.	Sallisaw
Humphrey, Louise C.	Sallisaw
Jones, Buford W., Jr.	Oklahoma City
Kelley, Mrs. Jack M.	Midwest City
King, Ted	Lookeba
Lockhart, C. M.	Shawnee
Lytle, Albert E.	Oklahoma City
Perry, Dr. Hugh Jr.	Tulsa
Petree, Mrs. Lucy	Anadarko
Proffitt, Miss Ora	Anadarko
Schreiner, Conrad	Tryon
Smith, Van Carlton	Tulsa
Treanor, Aline E. J.	Oklahoma City
Van Hooser, Howard C.	Prairie Village, Kansas
Walton, James L.	Norman
Watson, Mrs. J. Travis	Tulsa

NEW LIFE MEMBERS*
April 25, 1968 to July 25, 1968
NONE

*All members in Oklahoma unless otherwise designated.

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publications Committee.

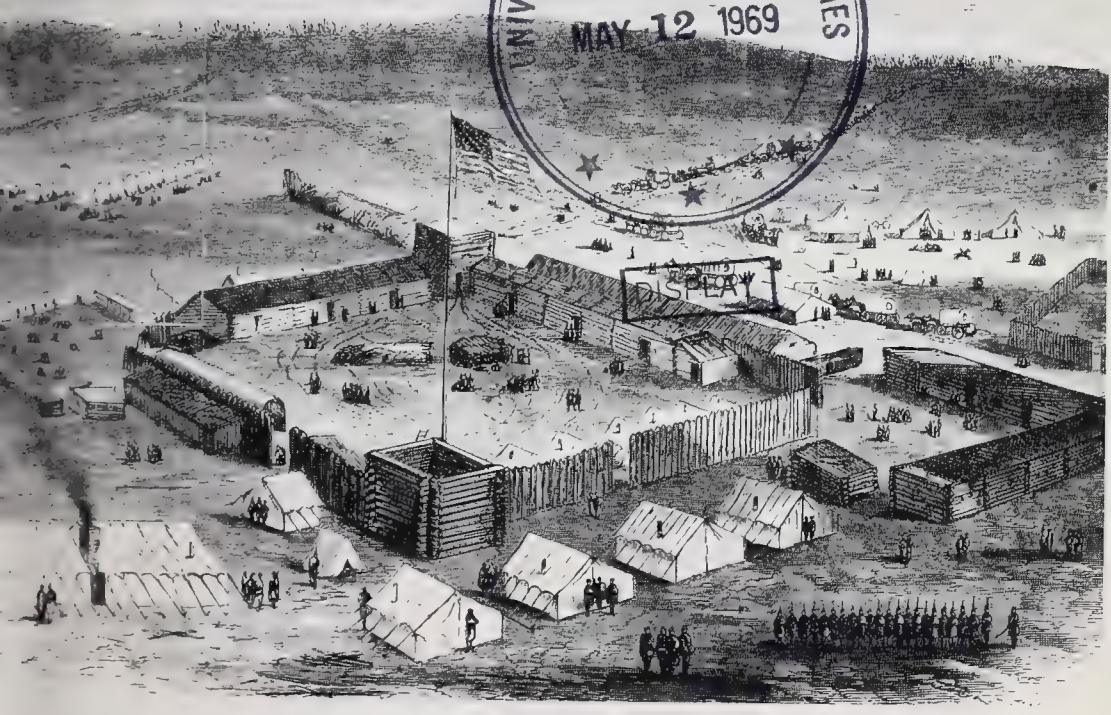
Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are $5.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* Life membership is $100.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is $6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine (1937 to current number), $1.50. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA
1907

The CHRONICLES of OKLAHOMA

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA LIBRARIES
MAY 12 1969
DISPLAY

Winter, 1968-1969



CAMP SUPPLY
INDIAN TERRITORY, 1868

Volume XLVI Number 4

Published Quarterly by the
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
Organized by Oklahoma Press Association, May 27, 1893

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Officers

GEORGE H. SHIRK, President
H. MILT PHILLIPS, 1st Vice President
FISHER MULDROW, 2nd Vice President
MRS. GEORGE L. BOWMAN, Treasurer
ELMER L. FRAKER, Administrative Secretary
Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Directors

GOVERNOR DEWEY BARTLETT

Term Expiring in January, 1969

Joe W. McBride, Oklahoma City — E. E. Dale, Norman
Henry B. Bass, Enid — R. M. Mountcastle, Muskogee
Nolen Fuqua, Duncan

Term Expiring in January, 1970

Fisher Muldrow, Norman — Lou Allard, Drumright
Robert A. Hefner, Oklahoma City — LeRoy H. Fischer, Stillwater
Bob Foresman, Tulsa

Term Expiring in January, 1971

Miss Genevieve Seger, Geary — H. Merle Woods, El Reno
H. Milt Phillips, Seminole — George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City
A. M. Gibson, Norman

Term Expiring in January, 1972

Joe W. Curtis, Pauls Valley — R. G. Miller, Oklahoma City
Mrs. George L. Bowman, Kingfisher — W. E. McIntosh, Tulsa
Earl Boyd Pierce, Muskogee

Term Expiring in January, 1973

W. D. Finney, Fort Cobb — James D. Morrison, Durant
Morton Harrison, Tulsa — John E. Kirkpatrick, Oklahoma City
Q. B. Boydstun, Fort Gibson

CHANGE OF ADDRESS—Send notice of change of address to Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma—73105.

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be addressed to the Editor, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* is published quarterly in spring, summer, autumn, and winter by the Oklahoma Historical Society with its editorial office located in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City.

The Oklahoma Historical Society distributes *The Chronicles* free to members. Annual membership dues are five dollars; Life membership, one hundred dollars. Membership applications and dues should be sent to the Administrative Secretary.

Second-class postage paid at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

The Oklahoma Historical Society assumes no responsibility for statements of facts or opinion made by contributors, in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.*

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

ELMER L. FRAKER, *Business Manager*

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE
JOE W. MCBRIDE, CHAIRMAN
EDWARD EVERETT DALE — H. MILT PHILLIPS
JOE W. CURTIS — LOU ALLARD
R. G. MILLER

WINTER, 1968-1969

Volume XLVI — Number 4

CONTENTS

Battle of the Washita Centennial, 1968 358
By Francis Thetford

In Memoriam: Louis McLane Hamilton, Captain 7th U.S. Cavalry 362
By Brevet Major-General G. A. Custer

Oklahoma Ghost Town Journalism 387
By Gary McKinney

The Oklahoma Ethnological Inventory: Museums 409
By Alex F. Riccardelli

Houston's Politics and the Cherokees 418
By Robert L. and Pauline H. Jones

The Use of Madstones in Oklahoma 433
By Kenneth L. Ketner

The Illinois River 450
By T. L. Ballenger

Notes and Documents 460
Report from History Department, Oklahoma State University
Recent Accessions to the Library

Book Reviews 474

Necrology 477
Dorothy Jane Orten
By Frances Imon

Minutes 480

COVER: A view of Camp Supply in 1869 from an old print in *Harper's Weekly*. The location of this historical site in Oklahoma is shown on the map of the article, "In Memoriam: Louis McLane Hamilton . . . ," this issue of *The Chronicles*.

BATTLE OF THE WASHITA CENTENNIAL, 1968

*By Francis Thetford**

Like the original battle itself, the Battle of the Washita centennial observance has become a part of Oklahoma history. Unlike the epic conflict of November 27, 1868, however, the pageant in which Colonel George A. Custer's attack on Black Kettle's little Cheyenne village was re-enacted was observed by an estimated 3,500 chilled spectators.

Temperatures which hovered in the mid-30s, augmented by a biting north wind, lent a touch of realism to the 1968 spectacular, presented one hundred years to the day from the time Custer led his troops of the U.S. 7th Cavalry Regiment in a charge across the waters of the Washita River.

Setting for the pageant, one of the highlights of the solemn, day-long observance at Cheyenne, was the approximate site of Chief Black Kettle's village. The battle area is now an official National Historic Landmark, a site about two miles northwest of Cheyenne, in Roger Mills County.

Nucleus of the pageant's attacking force was an organization of young Californians operating out of Los Angeles County under the formal name of U.S. 7th Cavalry Association, Grand Army of the Republic. Reactivated. Members of the Cheyenne Centennial Committee brought seven of the unique organization's members to Oklahoma for the 100th anniversary event, for the express purpose of adding authentic color to the observance.

Equipment of the now-vanished 7th Cavalry Regiment — including Spencer .50 caliber carbine rifles, saddles, harness and military uniforms of a century ago — was brought along by the Californians. The troupe, although not officially associated with the historic horse cavalry, has appeared in numerous pageants all over the U.S. where there has been a need for the "cavalry."

Throughout two days of public appearances — at Woodward, Fort Supply and Cheyenne — the uniformed visitors never permitted themselves to get out of character. The unit leader, Captain Eric Saul, as well as other members of his troupe, is an honorary member of the 1st Cavalry Division Association and the 7th Cavalry Association.

Community actors in the Cheyenne area joined the "7th Cavalry" in their mock attack, staged in the early afternoon of November 27, 1968. The Oklahoma riders' uniforms closely re-

* Francis Thetford is the well-known writer of the column, "Date Line: Oklahoma," in *The Daily Oklahoman.*

(Photograph courtesy of *The Daily Oklahoman*)

AUTHENTIC EQUIPMENT OF U.S. 7TH CAVALRY REGIMENT, GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC

Carried by Californians participating in Oklahoma's recent Centennial Observance in 1968. Unit Leader, Captain Eric Saul, appears at left, bugler Chuck Paulu, at extreme right. This photograph was taken on the west bank of Wolf Creek, near present Fort Supply, from which point Colonel George A. Custer and men of the famous 7th Cavalry Regiment began their march on November 23, 1868, in search of hostile Indians.

sembled the authentic "horse cavalry" uniforms of the Californians. Blue denim trousers had a broad yellow stripe stenciled down each leg, and blue denim jackets bore stenciled arm patches similar to the 7th Cavalry's shoulder patch.

The Californians earned their pay. On the afternoon of November 26, they mounted horses on the west bank of Wolf Creek, southeast of Fort Supply, and started a symbolic campaign southward toward the distant Antelope Hills. On November 23, 1868, Colonel Custer led eleven companies of the 7th Cavalry out of Camp Supply, along the same creek, on the start of a thirty-day march against what General Phil Sheridan considered "hostile" Indians.

Custer launched his march in a wintry storm. The Oklahoma weatherman cooperated on the afternoon of the symbolic march, too. Overcast skies and a bitterly cold north wind added to the realism, causing spectators gathered along Wolf Creek to shiver and seek shelter behind each other from the cold. Some 211 students from the Fort Supply School were among those who turned out to see Captain Saul lead his small force down the sandy bank of Wolf Creek thence to the south.

Accompanying Saul to Oklahoma to play cavalry roles were Sergeant Chuck Paulu, Corporals Robert Baron and Bill Zito, Private Ed Green and Indian scout Stewart S. Hoffman, the latter an Arapaho whose Indian name is Young Wolf.

For the most part, the audience that watched the re-enacted Battle of the Washita unfold was a quiet and pensive crowd, their thoughts doubtlessly going back one hundred years, to the time the scene was a grim reality and not harmless pageantry.

Another solemn occasion came later in the afternoon, when, in an Indian burial ceremony in the flag circle of Black Kettle Museum in Cheyenne, the skeletal remains of an Indian unknown were laid to rest. The skeleton, unearthed during a bridge excavation project on the Washita River near Cheyenne in 1934, was thought for years to be that of Black Kettle. Experts said otherwise, so the inscription on the granite marker in the flag circle reads: "The unknown who lies here is in commemoration of Chief Black Kettle and the Cheyenne tribal members who lost their lives in the Battle of the Washita."

Interment services were directed by Lawrence H. Hart, Clinton, himself a Cheyenne, an ordained Mennonite minister and a member of the Oklahoma Indian Affairs Commission.

A tribal blanket covered the handsome little bronze casket containing the remains. Hundreds watched in respectful silence

as Cheyenne bearers carried the casket from the museum to the flag circle, chanting the tribe's funeral cry as they walked.

Captain Saul's men presented arms in a military salute as the casket was lowered into the ground, then fired their antique carbines in a parting, three-volley salute to the dead.

"It is a Cheyenne tradition, after a funeral, to hold a give-away," Hart explained to the assemblage. One of the Cheyenne bearers then stepped forward and draped the blanket from the casket around the shoulders of Captain Saul in a touching gesture of eternal peace between the tribe and men of the 7th Cavalry.

IN MEMORIAM:

Brevet Major

Louis McLane Hamilton

Captain 7th U.S. Cavalry

"remember only
Such as these, have lived, — and died."

These same words appear printed on the title page of a small pamphlet containing a letter written to Mrs. Philip Hamilton, mother of young Captain Louis McLane Hamilton who died in action leading the first charge of 7th Cavalry troops against the Cheyenne Indians in the Battle of the Washita, November 27, 1868. The pamphlet is one of the mementos of Captain Hamilton, sent under the date of 1908, as a gift from his family to the Oklahoma Historical Society. Another item of this collection is the Captain's army coat with his cap shown in a special exhibit in the Historical Society's Museum, commemorating the Centennial of the Battle of the Washita in 1968, upon the field of which this young soldier, grandson of the noted Alexander Hamilton in American History, had lost his life. The letter dated August 29, 1869, to Mrs. Philip Hamilton, paying tribute to her son was written by George A. Custer who signed himself Brevet Major-General, U.S.A. General Custer was stationed near Fort Hays, Kansas, when he wrote the letter. This was after his return from his campaign as Colonel commanding the 7th Cavalry, under orders of General Philip H. Sheridan against the Plains Indians southwest. After the Battle of the Washita, Custer's forces were at Fort Cobb, and then at Fort Sill at the time of its founding in January, 1869. Early in the spring, Captain Hamilton himself was posthumously commissioned "Brevet Major" of the 7th Cavalry, U.S.A. The letter to Mrs. Hamilton from General Custer along with other notes and reports printed in the "Memorial Pamphlet"[1] makes its republication here in *The Chronicles* another memorial to Captain Louis McLane Hamilton, in the history of Oklahoma and the Western Plains during this centennial year of the Founding of Fort Sill, 1969.

—The Editor

---

[1] A crude paper cover is pasted on the pamphlet, bearing a note written in ink "Custer — Memorial, 1868." This date does not coincide with the dates (1869) given in the pamphlet so the crude cover with its inscription in ink must have been pasted on many years after the pamphlet was printed. Also, there is no date nor credit line given for its publication. The pamphlet was probably printed by Captain Hamilton's family or friends in his honor within a year or so after the Battle of the Washita when criticism and controversy had arisen over the attack and annihilation of Chief Black Kettle's Cheyenne village. (All numbered footnotes added by the Editor.)

In Camp, near Fort Hays, Kansas,
Sunday, August 29, 1869.

Mrs. Hamilton:

My Dear Madam:

I now undertake what I have long promised myself to do, to write you a few lines relative to your son, and to his untimely death, which, although occurring almost one year ago, seems as fresh in my mind as if but yesterday. At times, since that event, I have feared that my unbroken silence might be unfavorably judged therefore; but knowing how well you understand the character of the soldier, his aspirations, his fraternal associations with comrades, I was content to bide my time, fully believing that though my tongue was silent and my pen idle, the sympathies of my heart were throbbing in unison with yours. To clearly convey upon paper a correct idea of the relationship existing between myself and your son, prior to his death, is simply impossible. My position was both peculiar and pleasant. While holding commissions in the same arm of the service, and in the same regiment, and while mutually sharing in that esprit de corps, which seems to prevail more largely among officers of the 7th than is usually observable, I occupied, as it were, the position of military head, or adviser, to those over whom I had the honor to command, and however lacking I may have been in fully discharging the many and responsible duties which fell to my lot, I never failed to appreciate the importance of my trust. Standing as I did in the two-fold light of comrade and commanding officer, I was, from necessity, brought into more or less intimate fellowship with the officers of my command. As commanding officer it became my province and duty to study closely the character and qualities of those serving under me, to the end that in times of need, when emergencies were pressing, I would know upon whom to rely for co-operation. In this way I came to know Captain Hamilton as probably no other person knew him. How shall I speak of this knowledge of one of whom it can be truly said, "to know him was to love him." In garrison, where the duties of the soldier are discharged in the most perfected manner, and where all the little niceties, formalities and courtesies of military life are closely observed, Captain Hamilton, in my experience, was without a superior, and with few equals; I might say with none. His brother officers, thinking it needless to study the regulations or forms of service, were content to take him as their standard, and no officer commanding a troop, or squadron, desired a higher compliment than to be told that its appearance or conduct rivalled that of Captain Hamilton's command. Upon the march, or when engaged in an active campaign,

(Photo Oklahoma Historical Society)

THE BATTLE OF THE WASHITA CENTENNIAL EXHIBIT 1968

Exhibit of relics relating to the Battle of the Washita, November 16, 1868, on display in the Museum of Oklahoma Historical Society, 1968

his strict and earnest attention to duty, and to the care and comfort of his men, was equally remarkable. When, as was often the case, detachments were necessary, and an officer to be selected in whom I had the greatest confidence, whose judgement was always correct, and whose conduct was equally so, I would direct the Adjutant to detail Captain Hamilton; and once, when I had a hazardous march to make, of hundreds of miles through an Indian country, I was to select from several hundred men one hundred and fifty "picked men," and from all the officers of my command one to command this detachment, without hesitating as to choice, I at once designated your son, and after almost three years of continuous service and intimate association, I have the happy satisfaction of saying that never, not even once, or in the slightest particular, did Captain Hamilton ever fail to answer my fullest expectations and those of his brother officers. Page after page might be written in testimony of the high character and manly qualities of him of whom I write, and in giving expression to these sentiments I know that I but echo those of every member of this regiment.

Among the officers of the army are numbered those whose every instinct is soldierly duty, and its proper discharge their constant study; but in those qualities of the heart and mind which go to make the accomplished gentlemen, they are lacking. Then, too, we have those who, while fitted for every association of the gentleman, are totally disqualified from acquiring or performing the duties of the soldier. In Captain Hamilton, I believe, was to be seen the most happy blending of the desirable traits just attributed to those two classes of officers. He was without question, the true representative of the ideal soldier and accomplished gentleman. Passing over the many events and incidents which might be referred to, I will come to the day preceding the battle of the Washita.

Under the regular routine of duty, it was Captain Hamilton's tour as officer of the day, which duty separated him from the active portion of the command and placed him, with but a few men, in charge of the train. Usually the trains and troops march in close proximity to each other, but on this particular day our scouting party sent us the intelligence that they had discovered a fresh trail of an Indian war party. In a moment all was excitment. I gave directions for immediate pursuit; to this end it was necessary for us to leave our large trains under suitable escort, and provided with a small amount of provisions for the main body of the command, to push forward as rapidly as possible.

Captain Hamilton being officer of the day, it devolved upon him to remain in charge of the train and escort. To a soldier of

his pride and ambition, to be left behind in this inglorious manner was galling in the extreme. He foresaw the situation at once, and the moment that the intelligence reached him he came galloping up from the rear in search of me. I was busily engaged at the moment superintending the issue of ammunition to the men. Coming up to me, and with a countenance depicting the most earnest anxiety, his first words were, "Why General, you are not going to leave me behind, are you?"

Fully appreciating his anxious desire to share with his comrades the perils of the approaching conflict, and yet unable to substitute another officer for him without the consent of the former, I could not give him the encouragement he desired. In the army, as you are doubtless aware, duty is performed by detail in regular order, and upon this occasion, Captain Hamilton's detail placed him in the rear, beyond the probability of all danger. The moment I began forming my plans for pursuit and attack, I remembered that the accidents of service were to deprive me of the assistance of him upon whom I had always relied. Some of his brother officers had bethought themselves of the same, and at once came to me with the remark, "General, we ought to have Hamilton with us;" another said, "It will kill Hamilton if he has to remain behind, and his men are led into battle by another."

My only reply was, that while my desires were all one way, my duty prescribed that Hamilton should remain with the wagon train, it being his detail, and it also being necessary that some officer should remain. I had thought the matter over before your son came to me with the inquiry I have given above. I replied, "Hamilton, you know I desire you with me in command of your squadron, particularly now, of all times, but I am powerless to have it so without being unjust to some other officer." He admitted that this was true, also that some one must remain behind, but added, "General, it seems hard that I must remain." Finally I said to him that all I could do would be allow him to get some other officer to willingly take his place, adding that some officer might be found in the command, who, from indisposition, or other causes, did not feel able to undertake a rapid and tiresome pursuit such as we would probably have, and under such circumstances I would gladly order the change. He at once departed in search of someone who would assume his duties with the train and leave him free to resume his post at the head of his noble squadron, that squadron on whose organization and equipment he had displayed such energy and forethought, and whose superior excellence and efficiency to this day, bears the impress of his hand.

He had been absent but a few minutes when he returned overflowing with joy, and remarked, "General, Lieutenant Mathey consents to take my place as officer of the day. Shall I join my squadron?" To which I gladly assented, and he galloped to another part of the field to where his men were, to hasten and superintend their preparation for the coming struggle. Lieutenant Mathey had that day been afflicted with snow blindness, and felt himself disqualified and unable to join in the pursuit, it was exceedingly proper for him, under the circumstances, to forego sharing with his troop the coming danger and privations.

As you have probably been informed already, we marched steadily all that day (Nov. 26) until nine o'clock at night, when we overtook Major Elliott and his party, consisting of three companies, who had discovered the trail in the morning and sent scouts to us with the intelligence. Upon overtaking them we formed into one party, and I concluded to halt for one hour to enable the men to prepare a cup of coffee, and the horses to obtain a little rest. The moon too, by this time, would be up, and by its light we could follow the Indian trail through the snow. At once small fires were started along the banks of the creek, and our simple meal of coffee and bread was soon prepared. No bugle calls were permitted, as in this peculiar country, sound travels a long distance, and we knew not but that our wily foes were located near by. Ten o'clock came and found us in our saddles. Silently the command stretched out its long length as the men filed off four abreast. First came two of our Osage scouts on foot; these were to follow the trail and lead the command; they were our guides, and the panther, creeping upon its prey, could not have advanced more cautiously, or quietly, than did these friendly Indians, as they seemed to glide, rather than walk, over the snow clad surface. To prevent the possibility of the command coming precipitately upon our enemies, the two scouts were directed to keep three or four hundred yards in advance of all others; then came, in single file, the remainder of our Osage guides and our white scouts; with these I rode, that I might be as near the advanced two as possible. The cavalry followed in rear at the distance of a quarter or half mile; this precaution was necessary from the fact that the snow had thawed slightly during the day, and was then freezing, forming a crust which, broken by the tread of so many hundreds of feet, produced a noise capable of being heard at a long distance. Orders were given to prevent a single word being uttered above a whisper. No one was permitted to strike a match or light a pipe, — the latter a great deprivation to the soldier.

In this silent manner we rode mile after mile; occasionally an officer would ride by my side and whisper some inquiry or

MAP OF CUSTER'S CAMPAIGN OUT OF KANSAS TO THE WASHITA RIVER IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY 1868

This map (not to scale) shows the locations of forts in the Indian Territory with dates of their founding, and cities in Oklahoma today relating to the site of the Custer fight on the Washita River

suggestion, but, aside from this, our march was unbroken by sound or deed. Soon we discovered that our two guides in front had halted, and were awaiting my arrival. Word was quietly sent to halt the column until inquiry in front could be made. Upon coming up with the two Osages we were furnished an example of the wonderful powers of the Indian. One of them could speak broken English, and in answer to my question as to "What is the matter?" he replied, "Me don't know, but me smell fire." By this time several of the officers had ridden up, and upon being informed of the Osage's remark, each endeavored, by sniffing the air, to verify or disprove the report. All united in saying that our guide was mistaken. Some said frightened; but we were unable to shake the confidence of our guide in his first opinion. I then directed him to advance even more cautiously than before, and the column, keeping up the interval, resumed its march. After proceeding about half a mile, perhaps further, again our guides halted, and upon coming up with them I was greeted with the remark, uttered in a whisper, "Me told you so;" and sure enough, looking in the direction indicated, were to be seen the embers of a waster fire, scarcely a handful, yet enough to prove that our guide was right, and to cause us to feel the greater confidence in him.

I called for a few volunteers to quietly approach the fire and discover whether there were Indians in the vicinity, if not, how long since they had been there. This point was soon settled again by the knowledge of our Osage friends. From examining the fire, and observing the great number of pony tracks in the snow, the Osages were convinced that we were on the ground used by the Indians for grazing their herds. The fire had been kindled by the boys, who attend to the herding, to warm themselves by, and, in all probability, we were then within two or three miles of the village. I will not endeavor to describe the renewed hope and excitement that sprung up. Again we set out, this time more cautiously, if possible, than before. The command and scouts moved at a greater distance in rear than ever.

In order to be able to judge of the situation more correctly, I this time accompanied the two Osages. Silently we advanced, I mounted, they on foot, keeping at the head of my horse. Upon nearing the crest of each hill, as is invariably the Indian custom, one of the guides would hasten a few steps in advance and peer cautiously over the hill. Accustomed to this, I was not struck by observing it until once, when the same one who discovered the fire advanced cautiously to the crest and looked into the valley beyond. I saw him place his hands above his eyes as if looking intently at some object, then crouch down and come creeping back to where I waited for him. "What is it?" I in-

quired as soon as he reached my horse's sides. "Heaps Injuns down there," pointing in the direction from which he had just came. Hastily dismounting and giving the reins to the other guide, I accompanied the Osage to the crest, both of us crouching low so as not to be seen against the horizon, looking in the direction indicated I could indistinctly recognize the existence of a large body of animals of some kind at a distance of what seemed about half a mile. I looked at them long and anxiously, and was unable to discover anything in their appearance different from what might be presented by a herd of buffalo under similar circumstances. Turning to the Osage I inquired if he thought there were Indians there. "Me heard dog bark," was his satisfactory reply. (Indians are noted for the number of their dogs.) I waited quietly to be convinced; I was assured, but wanted to be doubly so. I was rewarded in a moment by hearing the barking of a dog in the heavy timber just beyond the herd, and soon after I clearly heard the tinkling of a small bell, this convinced me that it was really the Indian herd I then saw, the bell being one worn around the neck of some pony who was probably the leader of the herd. I turned to retrace my steps when another sound struck my ear; it was the cry of an infant; and savages though they were, I could not but for a moment regret that in a war such as we were forced to engage in, the mode and circumstances of battle would present discrimination.

Hastening back to where I found the main party of the scouts and Osages, they were halted and a message sent to halt the cavalry, enjoining complete silence, and directing every officer to ride to the point we then occupied. Soon they came, and after dismounting and collecting in a little circle, I informed them of what I had seen and heard, and in order that they might each learn as much as possible of the character of the ground and the location of the village, I proposed that all should remove their sabres, that their clanking might make no noise, and we proceed quietly to the crest and there obtain a view beyond; this was done; not a word was spoken until we crouched together and cast our eyes in the direction of the herd and village. In whispers I briefly pointed out all that was to be seen, then motioned all to return to where we had left our sabres, then, seated upon the ground or crust of snow, the plan of the attack was explained to all and each assigned his part. The command was divided into four nearly equal columns; two of them set out at once, as they had to make a circuitous march of several miles in order to arrive at the proper points for making the attack. The latter was to begin the moment it began to grow light; the third column moved to get in position an hour before day. The fourth I commanded in person, and was to make the attack from the point from which we had first observed the herd and

village. In dividing the command, I so arranged it that the column I was to accompany should have the greater number of the most efficient officers and men. First of all I designated Captain Hamilton and his squadron, consisting of "A" and "D" troop to form part of my column. Colonel West with his troop and "C" troop were added, and Colonel Cook with forty chosen sharp-shooters formed the advanced guard. After the first two columns had departed for their posts, it was still four hours before the hour of attack; the men of the other two columns were permitted to dismount, but much suffering was unavoidably sustained. The night grew extremely cold towards morning; no fires could be permitted, and the men were even ordered to desist from stamping their feet and walking up and down to keep warm, as the breaking of the snow produced so much noise. During all these long weary hours each man sat, stood, or laid by his horse, holding to the rein of the latter. The officers buttoning their huge overcoats closely about them, collected in knots of four or five, and seated or reclining upon the snow's hard crust, discussed the probabilities of the coming battle, for battle we knew it would be, and we could not hope to conquer or kill an entire village without suffering in return more or less injury. Some wrapping their capes about their heads, spread themselves at full length upon the snow, and were soon wrapt in deep slumber. All remained quiet during the night.

I anxiously watched the opening signs of dawn in order to put the column in motion. We were only a few hundred yards from the point from which we were to attack. The moon disappeared about two hours before dawn, and left us enshrouded in thick and utter darkness. At last signs of approaching day were visible, and I proceeded to collect the officers, awaking those who slept; all were ordered to get ready; not a word to officer or men was spoken above a whisper. It began growing lighter, and we moved forward; Colonel West on the extreme right; Captain Hamilton with his squadron forming the main and centre part of the column. In forming for the attack I had frequent occasion to confer with your son regarding the dispositions for battle. And when once formed, and moving forward to the attack, he and I rode side by side. Never had I seen him more calm or self possessed, and never had I seen him when he so completely answered my idea of the model soldier as on that morning. In executing an order, or giving his direction to his command, he preserved his calm demeanor as perfectly as if moving upon the parade or review, and just before the first assault, he rode along the front of his line, although I was fully occupied with the responsibility of what was transpiring there and elsewhere upon the field of battle, I could not but be

(Photo Oklahoma Historical Society)

CAP AND COAT WORN BY CAPTAIN LOUIS McLANE HAMILTON, 7TH U.S. CAVALRY, 1868

Captain Hamilton's cap and coat were sent in his memory to the Oklahoma Historical Society in 1908

thrilled with admiration as Captain Hamilton addressed his command, saying, "Now men, keep cool, fire low, and not too rapidly."

I was with him a few moments longer, conversing upon the subject which was then uppermost in the minds of all of us — the battle — and how to make it a success, when I was called to that part of the field held by Colonel West. That was my last interview with your son; he met his death within a few minutes after I left him. I was in a distant part of the field when one of his men reported to me that he had seen Captain Hamilton fall from his horse as if shot. I could not believe it, but caused steps to be taken to verify the truth or falsity of the report. Alas! it was but too true!

His faithful followers, hearing the statement of his fall, instituted instant search in that part of the field where the Captain had been last seen. There his lifeless remains were found, and by sorrowing comrades borne to a spot in the interior of the village where our wounded were being collected. It was there I first saw him — wrapt in the embrace of death — and never shall I forget the sad scene, nor its attendant circumstances.

A guard of honor, chosen from his immediate followers, had been placed on duty in charge of the corpse. While seated here and there, in the immediate vicinity, could be seen the men of his troop, some badly wounded, but all seemingly forgetful of everything but the fact that their beloved leader was no more. My brother, the Colonel, who was Captain Hamilton's 1st Lieutenant, was placed in charge of the prisoners, and it was only by a great effort that the lives of the latter were not taken in retaliation for the Captain's death.

Officers and men would gather round the body of their loved comrade and leader, and as they gazed upon his calm quiet face, tears would start unbidden, and those who were willing to brave the perils of the battlefield unterrified, were not ashamed to weep over the loss of their favorite. I will not attempt to describe how the joy of our successful encounter was suppressed, if not forgotten, in our grief for him who was not permitted to rejoice with us; nor will I refer to the long weary march while returning to Camp Supply. My letter has almost imperceptibly been drawn to an unreasonable length. You have been informed, doubtless, of all the circumstances of his funeral; a funeral, which, in the manifestation of spontaneous and unbounded grief, in the universal attendance of all whose presence was practicable, and in the strict but sincere observance of all those details which render a military funeral so imposing and solemn, might have been appropriate for a commander-in-chief. Yet not one of us but realized that the cherished and departed

hero was more than worthy of all the respect we could offer.

I must close, and yet I have said but little of that I would love to say. But who speak of his goodness, his gentleness of mind and manner, his generosity and kindness of heart, his affable and genial disposition, and last, but not least, his high sense of manly honor. And I know it will be pleasing to you to know that it was often remarked of him, "How devoted he is to his Mother." Of all his noble traits you, who knew him so well, must have been aware. He has left us, no more to return; he cannot come to us, but we may go to him; and his close observance of the rules of morality and virtue, his great and unvarying respect for all matters pertaining to sacred things, his regularity in attending divine service whenever such a course was practicable, in fine, his whole character and life justifies us in the happy belief that he has gone where there are neither wars, nor rumors of war. Where the soldier is at rest, and all is peace. May He who tempers the wind to the shorn lamb, comfort you in your great affliction, is the heartfelt prayer of

Truly yours,
G. A. CUSTER
Brevet Major-General, U.S.A.

From THE ARMY AND NAVY JOURNAL, January 2, 1869.

CAPTAIN L. M. HAMILTON

Died, on the field of battle, November 28, 1868, Captain Louis McLane Hamilton, aged 24 years.

Such are the words which announce to family and friends a heart-rending bereavement. No eulogy is needed to place this brilliant young soldier's name on the scroll of fame, by the side of his grandsire's, the illustrious Alexander Hamilton, or to keep his memory pure and fresh in the hearts of his sorrowing comrades.

The battle of the Washita was fought on the morning of Nov. 27, 1868, by General Custer's command — eleven companies of the 7th cavalry, and Black Kettle's band of Cheyenne Indians, assisted by other bands of Sioux, Kiowas, and Arraphoes. The fighting commenced at dawn of day. The dispositions for attack, which had been arranged, placed Hamilton's squadron in the centre to charge the enemy's camp mounted. Thus charging and marshalling his squadron in splendid style right up to the enemy's lodges, the heroic Hamilton fell dead from his horse, shot by a bullet from a Lancaster rifle in the hands of a savage, who was concealed in his wigwam. Yet he could see that complete success was secured; he could hear the shouts of victory going up from the throats of his men. So the angel of death met him

with a beaming smile on his countenance, the thrill of glory in which he died.

Tenderly his comrades lifted him and bore him from the scene of his death, leaving only his precious blood to be absorbed by the hard, red clay of the Washita. Friends and comrades gathered around; manly hearts swelled with deep emotion, and eyes became suffused with tears, as they looked upon the lifeless form of the genial, gentle Hamilton. He had become indispensable to us. His ready wit, his keen appreciation of the ludicrous, his admiration for the beautiful, and, more than all, the sympathy of his great, warm heart, had served to entwine him so completely around us, that in losing him, we felt that we had lost the better portion of ourselves.

He was devoted to his men, and to the regiment. On the day before the battle he was officer of the day for the command, and when, for the purpose of more rapid pursuit, the troops were ordered to leave the train behind under guard, his place, as officer of the day, was with the train. But his soldier spirit could not brook the thought of allowing his squadron to face danger without him. So he appealed to his commander, with the earnestness almost of demand, to be allowed to accompany the pursuit. The request was granted, and we mourn the dead soldier all the more, as we reflect that the shaft of death might have been averted had he remained with the guard and train.

Though we knew him well and loved him dearly, he was not all ours, nor was his fame all made with us. Long before we knew him he had won encomiums from great heroes on the bloody fields of Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. He entered the Third Regular Infantry in September, 1862, and served in the famous Regular Infantry Division until the close of the war, partly with his regiment, and for some time aide to General Romeyn B. Ayres, for whom he cherished the most devoted affection up to the hour of his death. From thence he came to us upon the re-organization of the Army in 1866, when, as First Lieutenant in the Third Infantry, he was commissioned Captain in the Seventh Cavalry, a distinction conferred upon him in consideration of his gallant bearing and the enthusiasm of his nature, which better fitted him for dashing service. Here the resources of his fruitful mind and the energy of his character came into full play. Out of the chaos in which he found his recruits in December, 1866, he brought a company the finest in his regiment, and equal to any in the service. Thus laboring, he contributed largely toward perfecting the organization and discipline which enabled his regiment to win victory and distinction in the battle which cost him his life.

(Oklahoma Historical Society Collections)

PEN AND INK DRAWING
BY CAPTAIN LOUIS McLANE HAMILTON

This drawing by Captain Hamilton is on the front of a page received in the Hamilton Collection to the Historical Society in 1908. The character shown could have been seen by the artist as one of the motley crowd of politicians, government agents, troops and Indians outside Major General Philip H. Sheridan's conference that resulted in the Expedition against the Indians southwest out of Kansas, under the command of Colonel George H. Custer in the fall of 1868.

Hamilton's ambition was to be a perfect soldier. He was gallant in everything. It would have been safer to have aroused a sleeping lion than to have cast a shadow of suspicion upon his honor. While he was susceptible of the perfect phrenzy of enthusiasm, and would brave danger and death in every form of duty, yet, in the quiet hours of life, he was gentle and winsome as a maiden. His strong intellect, refined by careful culture, enabled him to comprehend the "fluctuations and vast concerns" of life with rare discrimination. His well stored mind was as delightful and fragrant, so to speak, as a beautiful garden. — The training of his youth, and the examples suggested by parental affection and solicitude, were kept green in his memory by his overpowering attachment to parents and home. His conceptions of the Holy Scriptures were sublime. Thus attuned and trained, he lived a noble and blameless life, an honor to his profession and a worthy possessor of the great name which he inherited.

He died on the field of honor

The roll of the funeral drum, and the volleys which will be fired by his devoted men, will be the last outward token we shall have to give of his great worth and of our undying love. That His feet with angel feet may vie

And tread the palace of the sky,

will be the aspirations which will arise from our breasts as we mournfully leave him in his grave *R. M. W.

Camp on the North Fork
Canadian River, I. T., December 3, 1868.

Camp on North Fork Canadian River, *I. T.*,

December 6, 1868.

Philip Hamilton, Esq., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.:

Dear Sir: I respectfully transmit herewith the proceedings of a meeting lately held in this Regiment, expressing in a feeble manner the estimation in which your beloved Son Louis was held by his contemporaries here, and the sincere sorrow they feel for his untimely end.

The resolutions fail entirely to express the depth of our affection for the deceased, or the extent of the loss we sustain

---

*Brevet Colonel West resigned his commission in the army in the following February, and died of sunstroke near Fort Arbuckle, September 3, 1869. He was an accomplished soldier and noble hearted man. He served in the Mexican War, and with distinction throughout the late civil war, at the close of which he was appointed Captain in the 7th U. S. Cavalry.

by his death.

In the earnest hope that the sympathy we have endeavored to express, may serve in some measure, however slight, to assuage the grief which this sad bereavement has brought upon you, I remain, dear sir, with profound respect.

Your obedient servant,
ROBERT M. WEST,
7th Cavalry, Bvt. Col. U.S.A.
Secretary of the meeting.

A meeting of the officers of the 7th U.S. Cavalry was held in the camp of the regiment, on the North Fork of Canadian River, Indian Territory, the fourth day of December, 1868, to take into consideration the untimely death of Captain Louis M. Hamilton, of the regiment, who was killed in the battle of the Washita, Nov. 27, 1868, and to testify by resolution the respect and estimation in which the deceased was held by his comrades in arms; Brevet Major General Geo. A. Custer was chosen to preside over the meeting, and a committee was appointed to draft resolutions. The following were reported by the committee:

Resolved, That the death in battle of our late comrade, CAPT. LOUIS M. HAMILTON, has bereft us of a dear and valued friend, who, while living, we cherished as a rare and gifted gentleman of unsullied honor and spotless fame; that we miss the genial face, the sparkling wit, the well-tried, warm and trusty heart of him whose loss we mourn more deeply than words can tell.

Resolved, That by the death of the heroic Hamilton, the Army has lost one of its brightest ornaments; that he was a thorough, gallant soldier, with heart and hand in his work, whose highest aim was to be perfect "without fear, and without reproach" in all things pertaining to his profession; that among the brilliant soldiers who were selected after the closest scrutiny from the Armies of the East and the West, for the new Army which was organized at the close of the late war, our lamented Hamilton stood in the foremost rank; that the genius of his mind, and the qualities of his heart stamped him as one of the purest and brightest soldiers of his years and time; that his blameless life and glorious death entitle him to a place among the departed heroes of his race.

Resolved, That the patriotic ardor and devotion to country and duty, which rendered the Grandsire, Alexander Hamilton, illustrious, were truthfully perpetuated in the Grandson, the best efforts of whose life were directed towards the re-establishment

of the government which his progenitor had aided to build; whose life's blood was shed in visiting just retribution upon those who had savagely outraged every principle of humanity, and who had persistently refused to recognize the authority of that government which he had learned from infancy to venerate, and for the supremacy of which he had fought on many famous fields.

Resolved, That the officers and soldiers of the Seventh Cavalry do express their heartfelt sympathy with all who mourn the loss of the deceased, especially do they tender the same to his relatives and family friends.

Resolved, That the Secretary of the meeting be directed to transmit a copy of these proceedings to the relations of the deceased, and that he also be directed to transmit a copy of the same for publication to the Army and Navy Journal, and to *The Daily Eagle,* a paper published at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., where the deceased resided.

The report of the committee was approved, and the meeting adjourned sine die.

G. A. CUSTER,
Bvt. Maj. Gen. U.S.A., President.

R. M. West, *Bvt. Col. U.S.A., Sec'y.*

A correspondent of the *New York Herald,* wrote as follows, from the Camp: "Captain Louis M. Hamilton, killed in the battle of the Washita, was buried this afternoon with military honors. The entire regular troops at present here turned out. The body of the deceased captain was carried in an ambulance as a hearse and covered with a large American flag. The ambulance was preceded by Captain Hamilton's squadron, commanded by Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Weir, as escort, and was followed by his horse, covered with a mourning sheet. Major General Sheridan, Brevet Major General Custer, Brevet Lieutenant Cols. Crosby, Cook, and T. W. Custer, Brevet Major Beebe, and Lieutenant Hale acted as pall bearers."[1]

After his death, the Brevet of Major was conferred "for gallant and meritorious services in engagements with the Indians, particularly in the battle with the Cheyennes on the Washita River, November 27, 1868, where he fell while gallantly leading his command."

From *The New York Evening Post.*

CAPTAIN LOUIS M. HAMILTON

Captain Hamilton, who was killed in the battle of the Washita, fought between United States cavalry under General Custer, and Indians under Big Kettle, on the 27th of November, 1868,

[1] See *Appendix* at the end of this article.

was the youngest officer of his rank in the regular service. He was born in the city of New York on the 21st of July, 1844. He was the eldest son of Philip Hamilton, Esq., of Poughkeepsie, who is the youngest of the surviving sons of the eminent statesman, Alexander Hamilton.

His maternal grandfather was Louis McLane, of Delaware, who was twice minister to England, and was a member of President Jackson's cabinet, as Secretary of the Treasury, and also as Secretary of State.

In the second year of the late Civil War, young Hamilton, then not eighteen years of age, went into the service for three months at Harper's Ferry, as a volunteer private in the Twenty-second New York State militia. On his return to Poughkeepsie he immediately engaged in raising a company of volunteers for the service, and while so employed he received (Septembr 21, 1862) the commission of second lieutenant in the Third Regular Infantry. In that capacity he commanded a company in the battle of Fredericksburg, in December following. There, where the regulars were most fearfully exposed under the most trying circumstances, young Hamilton's calmness, fortitude and bravery were fully tried. He was again in command of a company in the desperate struggle at Chancellorsville, early in May, 1863, when the regulars covered the retreat of the army across the Rappahannock. So conspicuous was his soldierly behavior on that occasion, that on the day after the passage of the river he was placed on the staff of General Ayers, who commanded the division of regulars. In that capacity he performed excellent service in the battle of Gettysburg, when he was not yet nineteen years of age. He soon afterwards received two brevets, on the recommendation of a board of officers, one for "gallant and meritorious conduct" at Chancellorsville, and the other for the same at Gettysburg. In every position in which he acted during the war, young Hamilton was distinguished for his ability and faithfulness.

On the reorganization of the army in 1866, Lieutenant Hamilton was appointed captain of the Seventh regiment of regular cavalry, and went with General Custer to the hostile Indian country. He at once took rank as one of the best officers in that arm of the service. During the winter and spring of 1867, he so perfected the discipline of his company that the Inspector General, in his report, mentioned it as the best at the post. In the ensuing summer he was in active service on the Plains. In June he had his first conflict with the Indians, concerning which General Custer said in his report to General Sherman: "On the 24th ultimo, forty-five Sioux warriors attacked a detachment of twenty-five men of this regiment under Captain Louis M.

Hamilton, near the Forks of the Republic. Captain Hamilton's party, after a gallant fight, defeated and drove off the Indians. * * * To Captain Hamilton, as well as to his men, great praise is due for the pluck and determination exhibited by them in this, their first engagement with the Indians."

Since last August, the service of the Seventh regiment has been particularly severe and perilous. General Sheridan had determined to carry on the campaign against the Indians with great vigor. General Custer was restored to his command early in November; and under that, his old gallant and energetic commander, Captain Hamilton, full of the chivalric spirit of his profession, addressed himself assiduously to the important business before them. In a letter written to his parents only a week before his death, and received after the sad intelligence had reached them, he said, in describing the new arrangements in the regiment, made by Custer: "He has transferred the horses from squadron to squadron, so as to have them assorted by color. I have got black horse, (picked,) and he has given me the honor of arming my squadron with Colt's revolvers, and making mine the light squadron."

A few days afterwards the troops, marching, struck the trail of an Indian war party in snow a foot deep. The savages were pursued with vigor until past midnight, when they were discovered in fifty lodges, with their families and provisions. A simultaneous charge of the troops in four columns, was made at dawn on the 27th of November. The national forces were victorious. Big Kettle the leader of the hostile band, and others, were killed; and all the survivors, with their effects, were captured. In the charge that struck this first serious blow which the savages have received during the war, Captain Hamilton fell. General Sheridan, in a congratulary order to the troops dated in the field, Nov. 29, 1868, says: "The energy and rapidity shown during one of the heaviest snow storms that has visited this section of the country, with the temperature below freezing point, and the gallantry and bravery displayed, resulting in such signal success, reflects the highest credit upon both officers and men of the Seventh Cavalry; and the Major-General commanding, while regretting the loss of such gallant soldiers as Major Elliot and Captain Hamilton, who fell while gallantly leading their men, desires to express his thanks to the officers and men engaged in the battle of the Washita."

Such is the brief outline of the military record of one of the most promising young men of our country. His character and his achievements during his short but eventful life deserve more than a passing notice, yet only such may here be given. Goodness, integrity, and a deep religious sentiment, formed the basis of his

moral character. From earliest childhood he was governed in his conduct towards others by the nicest sense of honor. His ever-flowing good humor, sparkling wit, quiet vivacity, and generous modesty, made him one of the most loveable companions, and the favorite among officers and men. While he possessed all the tenderness of a woman, when human sympathies and sweet emotions stirred his heart, and was oblivious of self, he was stern, inflexible and uncompromising towards all that was mean, false, oppressive and unrighteous.

His intellectual qualities were in unison with those of his moral nature. He was fluent and impressive in conversation; and he wrote with force, perspicuity and purity of diction. His contributions to the press before he was seventeen years of age, were marked by a breadth and strength of thought, and by terseness of language seldom displayed excepting by experienced writers; and his private letters from the camp and field would need very little revision to please the most fastidious taste. He possessed the elements of an accomplished artist. The products of his pencil, thrown off as occasion offered, generally in illustration of something ludicrous in his experience, were quite remarkable.[1] His patriotism led him into the military service in defense of the life of his country. He acquired such a taste for the profession of arms, and so perfect a knowledge of its requirements, that he chose it as his vocation. His bravery, General Ayres said, was "perfect." His devotion to his country, on all occasions, was most generous and disinterested, and gives him an abiding place among the purest patriots. B.J.L.

APPENDIX

Special research on the death and reburial of Captain Louis McLane Hamilton was done by the Editor of *The Chronicles*, in the Civil War Records Division of the National Archives, Washington, D.C., in the summer of 1959. Documents checked included the Custer reports, the Louis M. Hamilton file, Regimental Returns of the 7th Cavalry (1868), Selected Letters Sent—Fort Supply Indian Territory, and the Fort Dodge (Kansas) Letter Book 19. The following communication was found in the file "Selected Letters Sent" given here:[2]

---

[1] *Sheridan's Troopers on the Borders* by De B. Randolph Keim, a journalist present at the burial, describes (p. 125) the funeral services for the "gallant, young officer, Hamilton," held on December 4, 1868, at Camp Supply.

[2] Early in 1959, the Oklahoma Historical Society's Committee on Historic Sites planned to erect a memorial plaque and marker at the grave of Captain Louis McLane Hamilton at Fort Supply. Nothing was found in this vincinity to indicate the burial place of the young officer, and only a rumor that the remains had been removed from Fort Supply many years ago. The *Appendix* at the end of this article gives a brief report on the discovery of Captain Hamilton's grave given in Notes and Documents, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 3, pp. 355-59.

(Oklahoma Historical Society Collections)

PENCIL DRAWINGS
BY CAPTAIN LOUIS McLANE HAMILTON

These drawings and "doodling" by Captain Hamilton are on the back of the page in the Hamilton Collection of the Historical Society. Here is the artist's sense of the ludicrous that he saw in his army life on the frontier.

Head. Qr. Infantry Battalion
Camp Supply, Ind. Ter.
January 20, 1869

Mrs. Philip Hamilton
Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
Madam:

I have the honor to transmit herewith a copy of special Order No. 24 C.S. from these Hdqtrs., in order to advise you in regard to the action taken in forwarding of the body of L. M. Hamilton, late Captain 7th U.S. Cavalry.

I have the honor to be Madam

Very Respectfully
Your Obt. Sevt.
Signed/ W. N. Williams
2nd Lt. 3rd Infantry
Batt. Adjutant

SPECIAL ORDER NO. 24

Brvt. Maj. Henry Asbury, Capt. 3rd Infantry, with Srgt. Scott and Pvt. Kelop, Co. A 7th Cavalry, Srgt. Geary, Co. F 3rd Infantry and Srgt. Luckman; Co. B 3rd Infantry will proceed to Fort Dodge, Kansas as escort to the remains of Capt. L. M. Hamilton, 7th Cavalry. Upon arrival at Fort Dodge, Bvt. Maj. Henry Asbury will report to Comdg. Officer of that Fort. The Quartermaster Dept. will furnish necessary transportation.

By order of Bvt. Maj. Page
Signed/ W. N. Williams
2nd Lt. 3rd Infantry
Batt. Adjutant

The monument at the grave of Louis McLane Hamilton in the old "Rural Cemetery" on Livingston Road out of Poughkeepsie, New York, represents the broken trunk of a tree hung with the shield of the 7th Cavalry with the following inscriptions on three sides:

(1) Brev't. Maj. Louis McLane Hamilton
Capt. 7 U.S. Cavalry
Aged 24 Years.
Son of Philip &
Rebecca Hamilton.
Killed in the Battle of
the Washita Nov. 27, 1868
While gallantly leading his command.
"A little while and ye shall see me."

(2) Born July 21, 1844, at the City of New York. Joined 22 N.Y. Militia as private June 1862. Entered the 3 U.S. Infantry as 2nd Lieut. the following September. Served throughout the War with the Army of the Potomac, in Sykes Division. Brevetted for gallantry at Chancellorsville and again at Gettysburgh, and was appointed Capt. 7th Cavalry July 1866

(Photo by Mary Jeanne Hansen, 1959)

GRAVE OF
LOUIS McLANE HAMILTON

BREVET MAJOR 7TH U.S. CAVALRY

The final burial place of young Hamilton with its handsome monument is in the old "Rural Cemetery" on Livingston Road out of Poughkeepsie, New York.

(3) After death, he was brevetted Major U.S.A. "For Gallant and Meritorious Services in Engagements with the Indians, Particularly in the Battle with the Cheyennes on the Washita River, Nov. 27, 1868, where he fell while gallantly leading his Command."

OKLAHOMA GHOST TOWN JOURNALISM

1893-1907

*By Gary McKinney**

Much that remains of old Grand, the one-time thriving seat of Day County government during Oklahoma's territorial years, is gone. The large county found itself divided into two separate counties called Roger Mills and Ellis in 1907 just before it had any chance of becoming part of the state. The new counties soon selected new county seat locations and left old Grand to shrivel up and wither away on a hillside overlooking the left bank of the Canadian River.

But before this pioneer town died it left a written legacy, a bold testimony that still lives in print on the few remaining pages of old yellowed newspapers published from 1893 to 1907 during old Day County's short life.

During these years, the frontier newspapers that served old Grand, as crude and untamed as they may have seemed, published a fair reflection of the attitudes and expectations that molded a majority of pioneer thought. The newspapers did their best to entertain and inform the mind of each Day County resident while they homesteaded America's last frontier; the newspapers became an indelible imprint on paper issued each week telling about a people, strong and vital, who kept one foot firmly planted in the traditions of the nineteenth century, the other foot poised to take a giant stride into the next century.

But like many other typically robust territorial townships, the weekly newspaper was a salesman for the area and when viewed from the present day, it appears overly boastful, pretentious; an annal claiming a land of milk and honey. But when the papers were not speaking with self pride, they were printing large amounts of generally dry subjects. This would include local and personal news items, commissioners' proceedings, registration of ranch brands, and all other official county notices. In addition subscribers also read in an average four-page Day County newspaper a copyrighted two-page inside section which was not an uncommon method. The inside pages included a young people's column, items for women and the home, some stale national news presented as editorial comment, and columns of advertisements usually for medical or farm needs.

---

* Gary McKinney is an undergraduate in the School of Journalism at the University of Oklahoma. His paper here on Oklahoma "Ghost Town Journalism" was written for Dr. John Whitaker's class—Journalism 311. —Ed.

Although the newspapers were filled with a large variety of relatively current interest, editors still found it all hard to sell to the public. Even if subscriptions were sold, the editor found it harder to collect his money each month from his subscribers. These factors may have contributed to the fact that most of Day County's editors were not usually editors by profession but professional men who found it convenient to moonlight in the printing trade. Most editors who came to Grand were educated responsible men in their community drawing their main livelihoods as lawyers, real estate men, or county government officials. Obviously, a few editors allowed this factor to appear as political prejudices in their own weekly editorials.[1]

But during its fifteen years as a progressive county on the territory's extreme far western border, Day County counted only a few territorial newspapers which included *The Day County Tribune* (1893-1902), *The Grand Republican* (1902), *The Canadian Valley Echo* (1902-1907), and *The Day County Progress* (1902-1907).

However, to gain any perspective as to the manner in which the various papers started and maintained themselves, this study will be divided into two segments: a brief history of the *Tribune*, and a commentary, as complete as possible, on a journalistic donnybrook between the editors of the *Progress* and the *Echo*.

The history of *The Day County Tribune* began about a year after the new territorial lands were open for white settlement in 1892. One bleak gray October day in 1893, a migrating printer named F. M. Smith rode an old cattle trail south through the middle of Day County. With him riding in his loaded wagon was his young apprentice son, Harry, and all their worldly possessions including an old Washington hand press, an ample supply of printer's ink, and a bundle of newsprint sheets. When the traveling twosome came to the Canadian River they were stopped by high flood waters caused by recent upstream rainstorms and were forced to pitch camp in a nearby clump of bushes until the swollen river would lower and allow a safe crossing.

It was at this spot next to the rapid waters of the Canadian that Smith and his son decided to remain and set up a temporary print shop in the back of their wagon. Next they wasted little time fording the river to the temporary county seat of Ioland where they busily gathered all the local news possible in one day, mainly official notices and a few personals that would interest most of the surrounding citizenry. With these spotty

---

[1] For history of Day County see C. A. Squire, "Old Grand, Ghost Town," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 4; also, C. A. Richards, "Early Days in Day County," *ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, No. 3.

news items and a handful of subscribers editor Smith and his son returned to their printing press by the river and published the first copy of the *Tribune.*

Smith set the subscription rate at a dollar a year, with a special price offered to subscribers wishing to send a copy east to a friend or relative. This inducement was best explained by Smith as he believed that "by these inducements we best advertise our county."[1a]

The *Tribune* editor in one of his first issues told about the mechanics of his enterprise with a confession that ". . . invention and machinery may be detrimental to the working people but the printer of a country paper would not object to a little steam to run his paper through the press instead of grinding it through by hand . . . like turning a grindstone."[2]

It was soon after the issuance of the *Tribune's* second edition that the county seat was moved from Ioland to Grand, accomplished by a process typical of frontier action. After some delay over a petition, some impatient citizens and officials loaded the county records and other properties into a covered wagon and rolled off to the site of Grand.

Apparently at about the same time as the relocation of the county seat overnight, the *Tribune* also moved to Grand to record the story of the removal:[3]

> On Monday, the thirteenth (November, 1893) the county officials together with all county effects were moved from Ioland to Grand near the center of the county where a large tent was awaiting occupancy in a fine grove of timber, and was soon converted into a courthouse. On Tuesday and Wednesday the townsite was surveyed and plotted and Saturday at ten o'clock several selected their lots and are making preparations to build at once. Sealed bids will be received up to the twenty-fifth for a courthouse which will be built immediately.

This new location had been known as Robinson Springs for some years past because its natural advantages had been evident to many cattlemen, some of whom had wintered there. But just when or how Grand got its name is not quite certain. Some have felt that the name may have resulted from a thirsty settler's exclamation that the cool water from Robinson Spring was just "grand." And so the name stuck.

On the relatively small sheet that the *Tribune* was printed on, twenty by thirteen inches, the editor made room for the

---

[1a] M. A. Ranck, "Some Remnants of Frontier Journalism," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. 7, pp. 378-385.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Day County Tribune,* November 16, 1893. (This paper and other old papers referred to in these notes are in the Oklahoma Historical Society's Newspaper Files.)

MAP OF COUNTIES IN OKLAHOMA TERRITORY, 1901-07

Day County was originally designated County E, comprising thirty townships in the northwestern corner of the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation opened to white settlement on April 19, 1892. The name of County E was changed to Day County in the first election after the opening. Grand became the county seat on November 13, 1893.

discussion of a bank to be established in the fledgling town by a group called the Day County Townsite Company.

From most of the descriptions printed in the paper during the next couple of months in Grand, the whole town was stirring with a noisy swirl of activity as wagons pulled by teams of big horses pulled heavy loads of lumber to the young town, saws singing as the boards were cut to size and hammered into place:[4]

Work has commenced on the courthouse.

The saw mill has moved in and will be ready for work by Monday.

H. E. Downing, treasurer, has a store building 14x26 feet under construction.

Adam Walck moved into his new residence. It has three rooms and a pantry, is comfortable, convenient, and will be supplied with water from the spring.

. . . Come! Come! Where the earth glows with the colors of civilization; the banks of the rippling streams are enameled with the richest grasses; the birds of spring find their delight in the woodlands; while brilliant flowers decorate the hills and valleys, and the God fortune opens his bountiful treasury to the poor and downtrodden.

John Price subscribed for the Tribune and had it sent to a friend and his mother in Ohio.

A typical editorial pitch for Day County usually went something like this:[5] "Day County, Queen of western Oklahoma, offers a safe haven and extends a cordial invitation to the poor and homeless . . . O, you downtrodden horney-handed Sons of toil! Rise up! Take Mary and the children, go out to western Oklahoma, Day County, get you a homestead $1.50 per acre and five years to pay it in, throw off the shackles of being a tenant before it is too late."

As hinted in issues before, the situation of recognizing the sovereignty of Day County came to a head. Before the end of 1893, the *Tribune* printed a main article claiming the self-sufficient and self-determining spirit by the county:[6]

REBELLION IN OKLAHOMA

The time is now ripe for the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Country to rebel and demand recognition; to throw off the yoke which tyrants and demagogues have been forcing upon us. We have been imposed on and done great injustice by old Oklahoma, and now demand a recognition of our rights which they have got to respect or something we'll "drap." Since the opening of our country old Oklahoma has considered and treated us as a mere dependency to furnish employment and to be ruled by egotistic non-entities from their own ranks. As a free and independent people we are simply following the first impulse of all enlightened nations when they are being forced into the narrow confines of monarchy by rebelling, as a result we will establish a proud Republic here in C and A Country that will be fawned and courted by old Oklahoma ere many years have elapsed.

---

4 Ranck, *op. cit.*
5 *Day County Tribune*, January 4, 1894.
6 *Ibid.*

The residents of this frontier outpost found very little disobedience to territorial law, said the *Tribune* in one article, and the editor scoffed at the necessary burden to the taxpayers of the county for a jailhouse and promised to fight its construction with all his strength:[7]

> Day County is surely filled up with the best class of citizens in the world, as there is not enough meanness done in the county to get a court. People in the east would not believe that wild and wooly Day County hasn't cases to court but once a year, while they are two years behind in court in some eastern counties.
>
> We have heard it rumored recently that the county commissioner at the next meeting will let the contract for a jail. If this is actually the intention of the commissioners the Tribune will coil up and get "pison." We venture to say there are not two taxpayers in the county that would be willing to set the county back $800 or $1000 for a jail—something that wouldn't be needed but once a year . . . We feel confident that upon consideration of jail expenses the commissioners will not undo in a minute what they have been eighteen months building up—a par basis.

The editor not only felt that a jailhouse was highly unnecessary and a taxpayer's burden, but that a county attorney was also an unnecessary waste in what he considered a law-abiding county. This opinion came after the resignation of a Day County probate judge in Woodward county. The editor's short editorial went like this:[8] "We scarcely see the need of a county attorney in this county at present; there has not been half a dozen cases to prosecute since the county has been organized. It would be cheaper to employ council when needed than to keep a salaried officer." But despite the editor's objections a jailhouse was built and a county attorney was put into office.

An April issue in the *Tribune* of 1893 printed instructions for a round-up in Woodward County, which included a rather large parcel of territory. The *Tribune* indicated that at this point in its history the reign of the cowboy and the large cattle barons were not a thing of the past:

> The round-up will commence on May 5, at Dead Man's Creek on the Washita River, with the foreman of the various ranches as superintendents, and will start up the river to its head, thence up the North Canadian River to the ranch of Hunt and Pryor, then outfits will divide, going up Wolf Creek to the state line, the others up Beaver Creek to Beaver City; thence north to Cimmaron River to Perry's ranch; thence down the river, to the mouth of George Creek.

But it was not soon before the citizens of Day County, as well as other counties, were beginning to see their frontier life around them change as in the case of the annual round-up. Some could sense the passing of the era of the American cowboy:[9]

---

7 *Ibid.*, May 30, 1894.

8 Ranck, *op. cit.*

9 Ranck, *op. cit.*

THE DAY COUNTY TRIBUNE.

VOL. I HARRY SMITH Associate Editor. GRAND, OKLAHOMA TERRITORY, DEC 21, 189 F. M. SMITH, Editor and Publisher

THE DAY COUNTY TRIBUNE.

Published Every Thursday

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF DAY COUNTY.

The first and only paper published in Day County

Subscription per annum $1.00
Six months .50
Advertising rates made known on application.

COUNTY OFFICIAL DIRECTORY.

H. I. Welch, County Clerk
Robt Alcorn, Probate Judge
Shannon McCray, County Atty. and Supt. of Public Instruction.
H. E. Downing, County Treas.
L. D. Welch, County Surveyor.
Jas. T. Hastings, Register of Deeds.
R. L. Ramsey, Sheriff,
Board of County Commissioners.
John Reed,
J. N. Webb,
Chas Blackmore, } Chairman.

GRAND.

In the banks of the Canadian River
In the center of a beautiful valley
There has sprung up a lovely city.

The pride of this fair county. Grand is astonishing many by its rapid growth in the past two weeks, and the changes are that they will in the next six months be more surprised than ever. Grand is in her infancy, and for one so young her rapid growth seems almost marvelous, and yet she is just beginning to grow, and with proper care her development will be even greater than before. She will in the near future rival any city in Oklahoma to her greatness. She is peopled by a high class of moral citizens easily distinguished from the common run of mortality by their intelligence, push and enterprise, a characteristic of every true westerner.

It is their intentions to make Grand the manufacturing center of Oklahoma, and a seat of learning rivaled by none.

A large and commodious school house will soon be erected, which will in a few years be succeeded by a large brick building.

A number of lines of business that are not represented here, but that are badly needed are a good grocery store that will carry a line of hardware, a good hotel, a livery and feed stable, a dry goods and clothing establishment, etc., etc.

Water, a wet fluid of much importance, so essential in the upbuilding of any town or city, we are glad to say is abundant. It is supplied by several springs close by, which send a volume of water gushing down the hill and over the townsite that will supply a city of ten thousand inhabitants. This alone is enough to insure prosperity.

There are other advantages too numerous to mention all of which tend towards the progress and development of our town.

Come and spend a few days with us; become acquainted with our people and county and feel the bracing influence of our climate, and we trust you will see the opportunities and advantages to be derived here yet you a lot cheaper in business and that aid to the general welfare of all.

So do others have been disappointed to almost every person's manner; have to some lines passed and have lost your grip on us. Come to Day County and we assure you that our bracing air will renew your energy and vigor and urge you on to prosperity and success.

Did you ever think what there is to give life or pleasures and enjoyments what strengthens the muscles and sends the father and brother lighthearted and cheerful to their hard days labor; what is it that cheers us and gives to life new incentives?

Reader, the secret of all our happiness and success is expressed in one word. Hope! It is this that ever impels us onward with buoyant spirits, and lends to life all its charms, its joys and contentments.

The National Legislative Manufactory has again started up and will run for the next six months on full time, of four hours per day, with ten hours pay. The strike by the employees of that concern occurred just after they had worked off the Sherman Silver Purchasing Blanket Act, without any agreement by thereof that they should have anything in lieu of it, consequently there were dire murmurings and threats by many of the laborers, as they thought that they had been promised a better wage scale by him to less than a year before, and the out look was that many of the strikers would not go to work again under the old foreman, and under the wage scales that he had made and that they would have to accept if they did, but a day had been appointed for the employees of that manufacturing institution to meet to take into consideration what must be done by them. But the foreman, the great and mighty Grover land, had written a composition, full of mighty wisdom and weighty words, in which he frequently exhorted them to lay aside selfish aims and local interests, and aid in securing the manufacture of a great Tariff spell, that would clothe all and feed many as little or no cost, and that the choicest of the Angel of happiness and prosperity would almost hover over the American people if they would but take hold and pass ed via. (vs) Lorem Tariff duties, as per schedule of chairman Wilson, of the ways and means committee, and the breath was bended, and they all with one accord said amen! "So mote it be"

In that schedule he has salt, coal, iron, lumber and wool, come in free, for the benefit and aid of the poor man. As we are home producers of all of these articles we want competition so that the manufacturer can buy cheap that he may be able to hire the poor. Then they put a tariff on tea, coffee and sugar, that the poor man may aid in the support of his government.

(To be continued.)

DAY COUNTY.

Day County is receiving a great deal of attention at present, and her wealth of resources as truthfully advertised by the press, are becoming known to and between the land the citizens in the spring months. But most of the good farms will be taken by men who want to farm and have small means only.

We have a number of letters from parties residing in Day County and friends, and they are coming on even the poorest have more than they were looking for. Some have stopping to locate were off for home, to close sales of their places while some of them have made, and were going to try and locate in Day County by the middle of January. Others were going to take the first offer on their places and move their stock at once to this place.

We need not enhance in regard to our real advantages and things, cause a boom. All that is essential to a steady immigration is to let the people of other states and countries know of the benefits that they may possess themselves of by coming here locating, and becoming citizens of Day County, and entering into and interesting themselves in the progress and prosperity of our county to aid in the development of woods, pasture, minerals and home industries, that are sure to start up in this county, and these other grand results will be realized by the county, and greater by those who will take stock in them.

As we have the country and all the other essentials necessary to crown our efforts with success it is well but within the means that are within our grasp, and handle the same with economy and in a business like manner.

We have many facilities for shipping, to be the A. T. and S. F. R. R. passes through our county. By being progressive we will be the leading county of the C and A counties where now the Rangers cowboy framework which has been brought to that commendable standard by the common country, to encouragement and every of action of our county. Seize. We are the envy of many other counties in respect to our fine climate, and the many kind of resources to be developed at this time. A very short time in succession of the Choctaw Nation and by economy and enterprise we will prove a second to no county in the C and A country in point of wealth and home industries, which means more than surrounding counties will be the element to prosperity and [illegible] success.

Day County ever the best for morality and never has there been committed in the county save the rum shops near the line. For having more timber, for having more water as well as better, and for more natural stock shelter, and summer and winter grasses, and the finest cattle, the most thoroughgoing and honest county, for we say that is nearest par and for saying the least about it of any county in the C and A country.

H. E. DOWNING, Pres. HARRY SMITH, Sec.

GRAND REALESTATE -IN VESTMENT CO.

[illegible]

(Oklahoma Historical Society)

FRONT PAGE OF *THE DAY COUNTY TRIBUNE*

F. M. Smith, Editor and Publisher, Grand, Oklahoma Territory
December 21, 1893

Round-ups are nearly a thing of the past. Ten years hence some of the old "Punchers" will be sitting around comfortably by their firesides some winter evening with a kid on each knee telling them how their Dad used to round up cattle in the early days of this country. They are getting to be more of a sham each year. We can see the round-up rapidly going. It has changed wonderfully since we came here twelve years ago. We do not think it is because cattle are scarcer; but cattlemen are fencing large areas . . .

After Smith left the *Tribune,* the paper passed through the hands of at least ten other editors, owners, and publishers, during its six-year life. Included in the list of ownerships were members of the Judge Alcorn family and a woman named Lizzie Mead.

The records of the *Tribune* during the years of 1895 and 1896 are very few indeed, but of the remaining copies one indicated the tone of the township:[10]

When the fat steers go to market this fall money in Day County will become burdensome, and have to be spent; as a result you may see fine dwelling houses; schoolhouses, churches, and a lively town in the county, a man in Grand who will sell $20,000 worth of General Merchandise within a year.

District Court will convene in Grand October 10, when the first Grand Jury for Day County will be organized. Just think of it. A county organized over four years and no use for a grand jury.

. . . The organization of Day County marked its first epoch, during which plunder, theft, and finally bankruptcy occurred. The important events of the second epoch were the dethroning of King Kirtley and ejecting of his Lords, replenishing the treasury and a county seat fray. Epoch third begins with an era of good feeling.

A high point each year for the county must have been the Fourth of July celebrations such as the one in 1898 which could not be dampened by recent rains and high waters:[11]

The celebration is over at last and grand and glorious it was; such a mass of American citizens was never before assembled within this county . . . As we have stated, it was the largest gathering of people that was ever together at one time. There were about 500 in all here the fourth, and yet only about one-half the citizens of this county were out owing to the condition of the river. The raise that came down last week left the river in bad condition. If there had been no rise in the river there would have been fully 1,000 people here.

Captain Price delivered a short address of welcome which commanded the close attention of the audience. At the close of his speech he introduced the Hon. George E. Black of Taloga, O.T., who delivered a highly elating speech which drew the close attention of the audience for an hour and a quarter . . .

We will not attempt to describe the sumptuous repast which was spread and everyone adjourned to the tournament grounds to see the performers. There were many who were offering to bet that there would not be thirteen rings caught. In the following we give a list of the afternoon races and those who were winners . . . After the tournament everyone went

10 *Ibid.*

to the race tracks to witness the sights there . . . Then the sack race came; we did not learn the names of all who took part in the race . . . Then to cap off the day's sport the grand tug of war was pulled . . . When the word "go" was given everyone that could possibly get a hand hold did so causing the rope to break letting everyone turn heels over head backwards. It was some time before the crowd could be held at bay so those chosen could get a fair pull, but finally everyone let them alone and a grand tug it was sure enough . . .

Then everyone moved to the large platform in the grove and tripped the light fantastic toe to the splendid music furnished by Messrs. Tousley and Newcomb until daylight the next morning . . .

Everything went merry as a marriage ball. Even the "scrap" up at the saloon was an artistic affair and gave generally satisfaction.

Three issues later the *Tribune* reported an incident which probably disrupted the peaceful town of Grand for several months. It started late one Sunday night after vespers when most of the residents turned their sheets for bed. Around the hour of midnight the town awakened from its sleep to find a brilliant glow illuminating the streets. Soon residents miles away and far up and down the river valley could see the huge yellow and red flames gushing high above the town:[12]

Last Sunday night, July 24, at about 12 o'clock the court house and all its contents were consumed by fire. By the position of some articles which were found after the fire it is evident that it was done with incinerate intent. The fire was not discovered until the house was half burned to the ground, and help could not be summoned in time to save anything and all of the records of the county since this county opened were burned to ashes . . . A reward of $500 is offered for the arrest of the party or parties who fired the building and if he had been captured soon after the fire he would have been roughly handled.

With the county commissioners estimating the fire loss at about $7,000, the *Tribune* announced plans for the immediate reconstruction of the Day County courthouse:[13]

The new court house will be built on the court house block, one block east of where it originally stood. The county commissioners adjourned until Monday in order that they might negotiate with the lumbermen of Higgins (Texas) and Woodward for lumber to rebuild the court house.

The commissioners met Tuesday to make arrangements to rebuild the court house. J. E. Bull was in Wednesday figuring on the basement which is to be built under the court house.

After building a new courthouse, Day County residents sat down in a political convention in Grand and chose for their new political party called the "People's Ticket," and their emblem was a western steer.[14] Before the upcoming November elections, the People's party met again in Grand to place in nomination candi-

---

11 *Day County Tribune*, July 7, 1898.
12 *Ibid.*, July 28, 1898.
13 *Ibid.*
14 *Ibid.*

dates for the various offices to be voted for in the election. At this convention, J. Y. Callahan, "an anti-Republican candidate for congress," spoke on "Free Silver and the interests of the masses."[15] People's ticket candidates may not have scored well in the election, since the editor avoided any mention of newly elected officials after the votes were counted.

During the month July, 1897, the newspaper reported a meeting which completed plans for the construction of a school building. They decided on a building 18 by 28 feet. And some six months later, in November, 1897, the *Tribune* cheerfully announced that "on the 26th the school house would be dedicated by a ball and a supper." Now the citizens of that area had not only a school but a community center.

Another civic issue took root in July of 1897. At Grand that month a meeting made plans to have fresh water piped from Robinson Springs to the townsite of Grand. But the project had to be shelved a few months when committee members could not agree on a favorable terminal location. More than six months went by, until on March 25, 1898, the issue went to District Court. Upon reaching a decision, the *Tribune* announced: "There were 876 feet of pipe and the fixtures unloaded in Grand Friday morning and the water will be run to the center of Main Street as soon as the work can be done."[16] And finally, the citizens of Grand received piped water, for the *Tribune* stated that "the water pipe is at last laid from the spring on the hill to the county house."[17]

The *Tribune* may have gained a sudden rise in circulation February 25, 1899, with a front page bulletin:

GOLD IN DAY COUNTY

There is an old California miner prospecting in this county for gold. He claims he can find colors in the canyon that runs just north of Grand He also claims that there are several sections marked on the government plot as mineral and not subject to homestead entry. They are in the Antelope Hills west of Grand. The man is a practical miner and found a regular Klondike. There have been other gold hunters here but so far they were unsuccessful.

There is no explanation whether the so-called discovery of gold in Day County region was a mistake, a hoax, or just a way of launching a last effort rush for land in the young county. But from then on the few surviving copies of the *Tribune* immediately lost its frontier luster. Some items, however, still held special interest: "The District Judge after calling court and dismissing all the cases, then dismissing court, sat down on the court

---

15 *Ibid.*, September 25, 1896.
16 *Ibid.*, April 1, 1898.
17 *Ibid.*, July 22, 1898.

house steps and drew a long breath and said, 'This is useless for me to ride four hundred miles and go through the farce of holding court.' We certainly agree with him."[18]

For a while before the gradual influx of additional settlers during 1901 and 1902, the township of Grand diminished in glow. And during these cold unproductive winter months, the *Tribune* would subsist by doing federal printing from time to time.

After its eventual death, *The Day County Tribune* was followed in 1902 by a new weekly, *The Day County Progress,* founded by Albert L. McRill. McRill later became city manager of Oklahoma City during the 1930's. In 1902-1903 Samuel A. Miller was editing the *Progress* in Grand which then had a peak population of about 150.[19] The *Progress* measured 15 by 22 inches with eight pages of six columns.[20] Sometime later, *The Grand Republican,* another publication using numerous notices from the Land Office plus a patented inside, joined forces with the *Progress* and enjoyed a circulation of 700.[21] The editor was Abraham L. Squire, also an attorney-at-law, from 1905 until the township of Grand dissolved along with the *Progress in 1908-1909.* The paper measured 20 by 26 inches, and sold at a dollar per year.[22]

Since the *Progress* had established its political affiliations with the Republican party in Day County at the onset of its career, the Democratic faction in that area demanded a political organ to air their opinions and to be a tireless watchdog over the Republican *Progress.* A young member of the *Progress* firm named "Cap" Mitchell dropped from his Republican cohort's side in 1902 and along with his brother, Elza "Leon" Mitchell, immediately molded another new weekly in Grand and Day County. It was called *The Canadian Valley Echo.* This weekly was issued Thursdays with four pages, 17 inches by 24 inches,[23] and it was supported by the Democratic party. The price was a dollar per year, and circulation was reported at 800[24] Leon Mitchell became proprietor of the *Echo,* while his brother, Cap, assisted in editing and publishing. E. L. Mitchell established the editorial policies of the *Echo* until he and his brother moved the newspaper from Grand after statehood divided Day County

---

18 Ranck, *op. cit.*

19 U.S. Census Bureau, 1900; and Squire, "Old Grand Ghost Town," *loc. cit.*

20 Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints,* 1837-1907, (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1950).

21 N.W. Ayers & Son's, *Newspaper Annual,* (Philadelphia, 1907).

22 Foreman, *op. cit.*

23 Foreman, *op. cit.*

24 Ayers, *op. cit.*

into Roger Mills and Ellis counties. The *Echo* moved to Cheyenne and became part of *The Roger Mills Sentinel* in 1907.

A free-style competition between these two politically different papers—the *Progress,* established as a Republican organ, and the *Echo,* the Democratic voice of Day County—began a pyrotechnical revival of Oklahoma Territorial journalism displaying the multicolored spirit of settlers in Day County.

The first evidence of a mild journalistic sally was discovered in the very few remaining copies of the *Progress* and the *Echo* found in the Oklahoma State Historical Society Newspaper Collection. In a June 16, 1904 issue of the *Echo,* the editor apparently came nose to nose with the *Progress* editor in defense of the heavily criticized Day County officials: "If the editor of the Progress in roasting our officers and citizens every week, will just call names instead of getting off his filthy insinuations, he will probably get himself plenty of employment. Get yourself some moral and physical courage, Steve, and name 'em. Let's have something doing."

Unfortunately, there are no known available copies of the *Progress* before January, 1905, making any evaluation difficult if not completely one-sided. This leaves one to only guess the reaction, if any, in columns of the *Progress.* It may be assumed that for the remainder of the summer of 1904 there was observed no noticeable comment issued by the *Echo* on the manners of the *Progress.*

However, in the September 29 issue of the *Echo* there is evidence of an open letter published in the *Grand Republican* before it was consolidated with the *Progress* during the third week in September, 1904, supposedly directed to *The Canadian Valley Echo* editor, E. L. Mitchell. Evidently the editor of the *Republican* and the *Echo* could not see eye to eye. Editor Mitchell answered:[25]

REPLY TO AN OPEN LETTER

Dear Republican Editor:

. . . The Echo has been published in Grand for more than two years and during that time, has never found it necessary to engage in a newspaper controversy until drawn into it by you. Can you say that you ever ran any newspaper without stirring up strife? Can you say you ever published three consecutive issues of the Grand Republican without war against some paper or mudslinging assaults on some individual? No one seems free from your slings. You never sought to meet issues fairly. You never have shown me or any other man, whom you have fought, the courtesy of fair and unbiased statements.

---

[25] *Canadian Valley Echo,* September 29, 1904.

(Oklahoma Historical Society)

MAIN STREET OF GRAND IN DAY COUNTY OKLAHOMA TERRITORY

In Mitchell's *Echo* of October 13, 1904, he printed a very eloquent essay on "True Journalism:"

There never was a wholesome demand for a rabid, fire eating newspaper in any community. The sensational papers, it is true, build up large subscription lists, because a great many of the human family take delight in reading cheap literature whose short existence is spent in assailing character or even the best system of culture. These sensational sheets, aside from being a great social bane, are properly termed "blood suckers." They seek by a system of blackmail, to become voluptuous. They cause troubles innumerable. Happy families have been mercilessly assailed and their good names blackened. These filthy and malicious periodicals can always be expected to stir strife, and cause communities to fall to the lowest ebb. The editor who will fall to this low stage of moral living is a disgrace to the profession.

On October 27, 1904, the *Echo* commented:

The editor of the Grand Republican evidently left the land of Carrie Nation and sunflowers in order to clean up things in Oklahoma. He has always fought valiantly for what he terms "the man." In nine cases out of ten, the "man" has been the little fellow from Kansas, who like Carrie Nation is fully entitled to be sainted . . .

The *Echo* wants him to tell next week—

1. How long he has been a Republican.
2. Whether he fought his party organization in Blaine county.
3. Whether it isn't true he is a Republican for revenue only.

A letter to the editor of the *Echo* in the same issue was sent by an angry Day County Democrat, who also protested the alleged character attack of a candidate in an upcoming election by the *Grand Republican.* It was reported in this letter that the *Republican* had intimated the candidate was "a rascal, an outlaw, and a scoundrel."

With the *Echo's* hair roughed up by accusations, it soon lowered the boom on the front page of its November 3, 1904 issue:

Refused Space
Editor Republican Had to Wilt
Sheriff called the Bluff
The Editor was made to hedge

The very righteous editor of the Republican, who used a whole page of his paper last week to show up the alleged record of Sheriff Smith, for no other reason than to make a few enemies for the sheriff, has been tried and like Belshazzar, found wanting. It is evident the Republican editor is small in other ways besides in stature.

This is the last issue of the *Echo* before the battle of the ballots. The paper is proud that it has not wilfully or maliciously misrepresented in either man or facts . . .

. . . We found it necessary to make a vigorous fight in behalf of honest methods and fair dealings.

As the *Echo* had proclaimed it "the battle of the ballots," newspapers in Day County stated the issues and supported their candidates by their political affiliations. Other than the Grand

newspapers, the other weeklies found in Day County included *The Hamburg Blade* and *The Texmo Times.*[26] They were all concerned with local elections as well as the national presidential elections which pitted Theodore Roosevelt against Alton B. Parker.

On November 10, 1904, the *Echo* announced the election results: Teddy Roosevelt had won the presidency and an all-republican slate in Day County easily won seats with the only exception of the democratic candidate for sheriff which had been hotly contested in the county papers. Although it was a sweep for the Republicans, the *Echo* seemed overjoyed that at least it was not a complete Republican victory and that the candidate that they supported and fought for the most was their champion, their man of the hour. It seemed that the editorial printed in the *Echo* supporting Smith for sheriff had paid off. They had won a spot in a Republican majority and proudly announced it in a small one-column woodcut of a crowing Democratic rooster with a cutline saying "a grand 'hallelujah' fowl proclaiming Democratic Victory in Day County."

However, the next month on December 1, 1904, the *Echo* became a rather embarrassed newspaper. It had to report to the Day County citizens how their newly-elected sheriff was unable to capture two escaped prisoners in Grand who had stolen his horse and saddle:

Prisoners Broke Jail
Tom Howard and John Orr Perform
a Get-away feat

And Make Hurried Flight
to parts Unknown

On Sunday night there was a thoroughly up-to-date jail delivery here. Tom Howard, charged with cattle stealing, and John Orr, charged with attempt to rape, filed the shackles from their ankles and by burning away other barriers, released themselves from close confinement and sniffed the free air. One or both of the men stole Sheriff Smith's horse, saddle and bridle and took rapid transit out of town. Sheriff Smith and Deputy Ellis went in pursuit of the fugitives Monday, but up to this time no definite trace has been found.

The prisoners had the use of files and ample water to quench the fire. This is evidence that somebody from outside rendered valuable assistance. It is strange that a community of law-abiding citizens has one or more persons who are willing to help men escape the law and its penalties.

In regards to the law, another important story was printed in the May 25, 1905 *Echo.* It concerned an alleged shooting involving two Day County youths. The detailed one-column heading explained:

---

[26] Foreman, *op. cit.*

WAS KILLED
Arthur Bull, a Day County Youth
Shot by Comrade
Quarrel over a Dog
Boy who did shooting Made His Escape

It must be remembered that although residents in the county may have been mainly concerned with local and domestic events, they also held great interest in the effects of territorial and federal legislation, and the progress made by neighboring communities. They were neither limited to only local news nor of national appeal; they were made aware of world-wide situations. For example, the *Echo* of June 1, 1905, expanded to six pages of special news, informed readers of the armistice ending the Russo-Japanese war using a large head stating:

JAPS WIN
In Greatest Sea Fight in History
TOGO A HERO
Sinks, Scatters, Captures, Pursues,

During the hot summer of 1905, the "newspaper controversy" flared up again as it had a year ago. As previously stated *The Day County Progress* and *The Grand Republican* had already consolidated into a single Republican weekly newspaper, under the leadership of Abraham Lincoln Squire, who, according to the *Echo,* had been in the past one of the highest paid officials in Day County as its county superintendent. The competing newspaper, *The Canadian Valley Echo,* was still well-established under the pen of Leon Mitchell and his brother, Cap. From the very few issues preserved between 1905 and 1906, it seemed that the recorded obloquy between the Mitchell brothers and Squire's forces began suddenly lasting long and strong for what could be observed as some four months.

The reason, or series of reasons, for this newspaper battle is not fully known or even completely understood. Using merely these biased newspaper statements to document or reconstruct this editorial melee would be, in this case, an unreasonable and unwarranted breach of histrionics. But, however, it should be of interest to present some prudent evaluation, not immediate speculation, in interpreting the situation which did exist between these two divergent weeklies found in Grand during this period. There may be evidence to believe that the *Progress* had wished to break a printing monopoly held by the *Echo,* who printed as the official "organ of Day County." Yet, on the other hand, an observer may read written between the lines of the *Echo* an equal feeling of

animosity towards the Republican support given by the *Progress* editor. Democrat Mitchell may have stepped on the toes of Day County Republicans.

A few particular circumstances surrounding frontier journalism in Grand merit closer examination. Where most towns in this area and of this size were fortunate to have one regularly printed newspaper, the citizens of Grand could be selective, and at one point in their history, buy from as many as three newspapers located in their town. For reasons that were economical, the *Republican* and the *Progress* probably consolidated because of the large competition in such a comparatively small town as well as the practicability of being under one Republican leadership. As a result of having one Republican paper and one Democratic paper for a reading audience estimated at some 1,500, the *Echo* and the *Progress* may have seen the need to gain a better circulation. All of this seems to emphasize that one paper in the town of Grand could be more profitable than two. At the height of the journalistic rhubarb between the two papers, one may wonder how in such a small town could Mitchell and Squire stroll down main street without passing and firing a few verbal rounds of ammunition at each other.

The first series of conflicts between the two papers became evident on August 24, 1905. It appeared that the *Echo* delivered the first punch directed personally at the *Progress* editor Abraham L. Squire with an editorial on the front page. The *Echo* accused him of misappropriation of funds while he was county superintendent. It also challenged his diploma from a theological school in Ohio:

A LEAK FOUND

Squire Asked to Replace

the $1,600 *He Drew*

A. L. Squire, late superintendent, so-called, head the office two years, yet he did not possess the qualifications required by law . . . His claim to culture depends on a diploma issued from the theological department of a "nigger" college in Ohio. Over in Ohio he attended school surrounded by the color and stench of darkest African wenchdom . . .

Let us sum up: Mr. Squire did not hold a certificate to teach, nor did he hold a diploma from any institution of higher learning . . . The statue forbades his being a county superintendent on that account . . . He never made a correct apportion of school funds . . .

. . . we have at the head of our school system a man from a "nigger" school in Ohio. It was a bitter pill for the white people of Day County, but they will not let it occur again.

The Echo, therefore, demands that you produce a diploma showing that you have a literary, classical or scientific education or even a certificate from any normal school indicating training as a teacher. Do this and we will come to your rescue, and help you get properly before the taxpayers.

After demanding proof of Squire's education and his right to have been county superintendent of Day County, the *Echo* gleefully supplied more salt to the fresh wound when in the same issue Mitchell printed a short but trenchant poem:

Who is A. L. Squire Pa,
  Who thinks himself so great?
Is he the founder of the law,
  The ruler of the state?
Oh, no my son, intelligence
  A. Lincoln is but small.
He's dwarfishness of moral sense
  and largeness of the gall.

And immediate reaction hit the *Progress,* for its editor felt he had been wounded by a character assassin. In the August 31, 1905 edition of the *Progress,* Squire printed his college diploma on the front page along with a defense under the heading:

—GEORGE WASHINGTON—

In the first column of the first page of the Echo of August 24 the editor bragging about himself said: "Mr. Mitchell prides himself on his integrity." Let us see about his integrity . . .

Last week the Echo contained a wholly unwarranted attack on the editor of the Progress. Both this paper and its editor have always treated the Echo with the utmost respect. Several times recently the Echo has cast slurs and innuendoes at the editor of the Progress but we have in no way replied to them hoping that a controversy might be avoided. Last week the Echo went so far that we feel that we could not maintain our self-respect and keep quiet any longer . . . Many of the insinuations were false and were also unfit for public print and we would not lower the character of our paper by quoting them for the purpose of reply. We have known for sometime, that the Echo (while it gets pay from the county for publishing the legal news) has not given to the people a full and correct report of the acts of the county officials. Mitchell admitted in his paper that he was not qualified legally. The paper of last week showed that he was not qualified morally. This should settle the question.

The following issue of the *Echo* wasted little time in preparing another attack on Squire. This time it would try a double dose of criticism in the September 7, 1904 issue:

SOME THINGS ABOUT SQUIRE

Dark Passages from History—
Rotten Record

Back in 1901 the little town of Grand was not the awe-inspiring burg it is today . . .

One day a peculiar specimen of humanity rode into Grand astride a bicycle. The old settlers were informed by the newcomer that he was "some pumpkin." He had with him a copy of a newspaper published by himself in Nebraska . . .

Carpet-Bagger

. . . He has the distinction of being a carpet-bagger in a friendless land.

Being installed into a job that belonged to another and more competent man, he, like the negro, began to "show his authority" and make himself obnoxious.

The article went on to describe how Squire, "the rankest compound of villainies that ever offended a nostril" like Simon Legree, stole the land claim of "a poor, helpless woman . . ." The article ended asking Squire to "please tell the public about the price he paid for the superintendent's office." Also published in the *Echo* was a public notice:

NOTICE

The public is directed to take notice that Abe Squire has a certificate which grants him authority to preach, baptize, and perform the marriage ceremony. Abe printed his certificate in the Progress last week, and because it is in Latin, he says it certifies he has finished an eleven year's course in a "nigger" school . . .

The *Progress* replied to Mitchell's attack of September 7 in hopes of acquiring the official right to county printing held by the *Echo* office. In the September 14, 1905 issue, the *Progress* printed a house ad for itself and promised to print legal blanks, envelopes, letter heads and similar work at 75 percent the rate charged by the *Echo*.

There was a short notice in the September 21, 1905 issue of the *Progress* stating that *Echo* editor Leon Mitchell had left Grand for a four-day trip in South Day County. After returning from his trip, Mitchell only mentions the *Progress* editor in reference to the upcoming county fair in the issue of September 28, 1905: "A. L. Squire, who is recognized as the wearisome and the most meddlesome chunk of gall that manifest this country, is to make an address to the county fair."

The feud seemed to calm down for a few months and the *Echo* claimed an additional fifty subscribers to its list. There seemed to have been a truce agreed on both sides until Squire opened up fire in defense of an *Echo* made he had falsified a school certificate to former *Republican* editor, A. L. McRill. The October 26, 1905 issue stated: ". . . It is up to Mr. Mitchell now to tell what certificate was wrongfully issued so that the public and Mr. Squire may know what the charge is.

The next week, November 2, the *Echo* answered a challenge issued by the *Progress* editor, A. L. Squire, to provide proof that as county superintendent, he did not fake any issued certificate:

Mr. Squire asks us to name the person who received the fradulent certificate issued by him. At the close of the Normal in August of 1904, A. L. McRill received a second grade certificate, when by law he was entitled to only a third grade. Mr. Squire being superintendent issued the certificate and did it in violation of the law. No further comment at this time.

The *Progress* headlined November 23, 1905:

MORE INTEGRITY

In the Echo of August 24, 1905, E. L. Mitchell says of himself: "Mr. Mitchell prides himself on his Integrity" read the following and see what it is that he is proud of.

. . . The original certificate, . . . is in this office and we invite everyone to come in to see it. It shows conclusively that Mr. Mitchell charge is absolutely false and could not have been made for anything but a malicious purpose.

Mr. Mitchell's accusation is that there is a difference between the certificate and the record, that A. L. Squire made the record showing a third grade and at the same time fradulently issued a 2nd grade to Mr. McRill.

Then remember who it was that told this malicious falsehood and in the future give his statements such credence as you think they are worthy of.

The *Progress* printed on December 7, 1905, an article labeled "Still More Integrity," providing with a letter from the Department of the Interior, U.S. Land Office, dated November 18, proof of Squire's good conduct. The letter upheld Squire and disaproved the claim of fradulent papers issued in 1904.

Meanwhile, on December 7, 1905, in the *Echo,* Mitchell printed an article again in his own defense. Then, as never before, the word, integrity, had become an important byword in the Grand newspaper dispute:

INTEGRITY O.K.

The Echo Sustained in
Every Particular
Even Progress Editor Makes
Admission That Do Violence
To His Contention

The human vampire, malicious slander and character assassin whose ideas never arise above the scent of a sewer, took four columns in his filthy sheet last week in a bold effort at belittling the editor of the Echo. Whipped and made to whine like the cowardly cur, he spends three full months making medicine with his dirty little gang . . . He has not the moral courage of a hound nor the physical stamina of an infant.

Finally, the *Progress* of December 14, 1905, did offer some insight as to a possible explanation for the newspaper fight. It seemed that at the last annual Fourth of July celebration all Republican speakers were eliminated from the *Echo's* coverage, including a speech by the *Progress* editor Squire. Also inflaming the furor between Squire and Mitchell was the fact that the *Progress* objected to Mitchell's appointment to the school examination board. In the same issue, the *Progress* also insured the public of Day County that it would continue to take the part of "watchman" of county politics despite the tactics used by the opposition newspaper.

(Oklahoma Historical Society)

VIEW OF GRAND, COUNTY SEAT OF DAY COUNTY OKLAHOMA TERRITORY

On December 28, 1905, the *Echo* answered an "Open Letter" from Editor Squire:

Dear Progress Editor:

Your letter was a very interesting one. It brought lots of news. I hadn't even dreamed that I caused you so many pains. You say I hit you too hard. Now honest, Abe; you are to be blamed for hanging that chip on your shoulder and daring me to knock it off. When you pushed that busy nose of yours into matters in such a cowardly manner the 17th of last August, you invited something to fall on you, and as soon as it fell you sent up an awful wail and said I "Hadn't ought" to sling mud at you and try to blacken your "good name."

You will remember you got after me under an assumed name at the time and that the next week I painted a picture of you true to life in several respects.

There are no copies available of the *Day County Progress* during 1906, but the newspaper fight at Grand seemed to slowly kill itself. Before the fight was over the *Echo* had to have the last word on January 4, 1906: "Squire says there is a difference between Mitchell courage and moral courage. If you are right, Abe, you must confess that Squire courage and skunk courage are identical."

When delegates assembled in Guthrie on November 20, 1906, plans were made by the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention to abolish Day County and to attach it to the neighboring counties of Ellis and Roger Mills. The periodical flooding of the Canadian River—dividing in half old Day County, north and south—had made it extremely hard for southern residents of the county to cross the river to conduct official county business.[27] It was felt that the county seats of the adjoining counties would be more accessible.

With the birth of the new state of Oklahoma on November 16, 1907, came the death of the old county of Day and its county seat, Grand. The *Progress* soon folded after the removal of the county seat. The *Echo* moved to nearby Cheyenne in 1907, with E. L. Mitchell still at the helm, the paper bearing a new name, *Roger Mills Sentinel.*

---

27 Letter of Mrs. J. F. Cole to Oklahoma State Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, (no date given).

THE OKLAHOMA ETHNOLOGICAL INVENTORY: A NEW TOOL FOR MUSEUMS

*By Alex F. Ricciardelli**

Oklahomans have long been aware of the role played by their museums as custodians of an impressive cultural resource. But, until recently, no one really knew how many items Oklahoma museums had, what types of holdings were most prominent, and what the major gaps were in holdings. In 1957, Dr. Stephen Borhegyi, then Director of the Stovall Museum of the University of Oklahoma, made a limited survey of Oklahoma museums and included in his general description some information on the nature of the collections.[1] No attempt was made to do an actual inventory of the collections. As a result of a recent inventory project sponsored by the National Science Foundation (G.S. 719), a more comprehensive inspection is possible. This paper provides details on the volume and nature of some of the collections, and also discusses the implications for research, educational and acquisition programs.[2]

The actual magnitude and significance of Oklahoma's museum collections impressed us shortly after we began the project three years ago. The purpose was to establish an effective inventory procedure for ethnological collections. We hoped that the findings might lead to establishing a nationwide file — that is, a file which would list the ethnological collections of all the museums in the United States. This file would be invaluable as a tool to researchers interested in locating materials pertinent to their studies. Scholars would be made aware of many small relatively unknown museums with objects of great research potential. Exhibit and acquisition programs would also benefit. Curators could more easily locate loan specimens needed for special exhibits. And, by knowing the scope of their neighboring museums' collections, curators and directors could avoid unnecessary duplication of efforts in acquisition programs.

To find out if a nationwide inventory would be feasible, we decided to do an inventory on a statewide basis. The idea was

---

* Alex F. Ricciardelli is Director of the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology of Brown University, located at Bristol, Rhode Island. During five years (1963-68) on the staff of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Oklahoma, Mr. Ricciardelli had some experience with the museums of Oklahoma. He expresses his appreciation to Ralph Martin of the University of Oklahoma Research Institute and Barbara Qandil of the Stovall Museum for their helpful suggestions in the preparation of this paper. The writer also expresses his full responsibility in the presentation of this paper.—Ed.

[1] S. F. deBorhegyi, "A Survey of Oklahoma Museums, 1893-1957," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXV, No. 2, 1957.

[2] See *Appendix* for tables giving general descriptions in this survey.

to become familiar with time and cost factors, type of personnel needed, reliable procedures and effective storage arrangements for the accumulated data. Oklahoma was chosen because we felt the state's forty-seven museums presented a broad range of curatorial and administrative conditions, kinds and degree of documentation of specimens, and conditions of storage. This represents a good sampling of the conditions that can be expected in a nationwide inventory. The Stovall Museum was used as a base of operations for the study.

The actual inventory began in the summer of 1966. Specifically, the survey focused on ethnological items, the material remains of contemporary and recent historical cultures, and photographs related to ethnological subjects. Limited time and funds made it necessary to exclude archaeological artifacts and materials from Western Civilization, although there are good reasons for ultimately including them in a more comprehensive inventory program. Because the study was concerned with material culture, we omitted geological, paleontological, and natural history objects. Finally, we did not attempt to survey ethnological collections belonging to private individuals or those located at trading posts. In some cases these represent significant cultural resources, but they were excluded because they normally are not as accessible to the public as the collections belonging to museums. The file which resulted from this inventory is now located at the Stovall Museum and is available to anyone interested in learning more about Oklahoma's museum collections.

The following categories of information were established for the inventory: Museum, Object, Material, Modification-Technique, Function, Culture, Outline of World Culture Code, Earliest Date, Catalog Number, Accession Date, Specific Locale, Collector, Donor, Inventory Date, and Remarks. The last category, "Remarks", gives any useful information about the object not provided for in the other categories. Anyone familiar with museum collections will note that complete data is not available for every specimen. In fact, it is unusual to find this amount of information accompanying a specimen. Our procedure was to record whatever documentation existed. A minimal base was established: information on cultural source and object identification had to be present before accepting a specimen for the inventory.

There are forty-seven museums of all kinds listed for Oklahoma in the 1965 edition of the *Museums Directory of the United States and Canada.* There are at least four others which are not listed: Ottawa County Historical Society (Miami), Five Civilized Tribes Museum (Muskogee), Long's Museum (Claremore), and Vinita-Craig County Historical Museum (Vinita). Of the

forty-seven, twenty-six are known to have ethnological collections, ranging in size from nineteen at Black Kettle Museum to 3,667 at the Stovall Museum. The total number of ethnological specimens for the entire state in our file is almost 19,000. Table I in the *Appendix* at the end of this article lists the number of ethnological holdings on an individual museum basis.

The *Museums Directory* lists a total of 4,603 museums for the United States. Of these, about 550 indicate the presence of ethnological objects in their collections. A general estimate by the pilot study placed the total number of ethnological specimens in the country at 1,660,000.[3] Over half of this figure is made up of the holdings of five great museums: the Smithsonian Institution, the Field Museum, the American Museum of Natural History, The Museum of the American Indian, and Harvard's Peabody Museum. Although Oklahoma has no institution comparable to the Smithsonian or the American Museum, the combined collections of the museums of the State represent a substantial resource. In fact, only one-third of the states in the United States have for their combined museums ethnological collections amounting to around twenty thousand specimens or more.

How can the file at the Stovall Museum, with its wealth of information, be used? For the researcher, the student of material culture, it is obvious that there now exists a valuable tool for learning in a short period how much material of potential research value exists and its precise location. In the case of Oklahoma's collections, the most valuable portion is obviously the Southern Plains Indian materials. The importance of these materials is not measured by size alone, but, in addition, by their specific geographic location. The fact that Oklahoma has a large Indian population adds a valuable dimension to the collections. The researcher is capable of visiting the living representatives of the cultures from which the objects originated to obtain further information. From these people, many of whom still produce arts and crafts, it is possible to learn more about construction techniques, design elements and symbols, intended use of the object, and recent innovations imposed on the traditional patterns. In fact, by beginning in the museum with the more ancient materials and then moving outside, one may follow the course of history and trace the changes which have occurred in some patterns of American Indian material culture.

The study of material culture can in most instances rarely be done satisfactorily within the confines of the museum alone. It frequently requires a triad of approaches: analysis of the museum object, talking with the representatives of the culture, and

---

[3] A. F. Ricciardelli, "A Census of Ethnological Collections in U.S. Museums," *Museum News*, Vol. 46, No. 1, pp. 11-14.

library research. As we have seen, there is much potential for fulfilling the first two requirements. In addition, library research offers a fertile area. Institutions such as the Oklahoma Historical Society and the University of Oklahoma Bizzell Memorial Library possess excellent libraries of manuscripts and books for the scholar. A comprehensive analysis of a culture's material objects involves a constant movement among these approaches.

Every museum stands to gain immeasurably through the opening of its doors and storerooms to visiting scholars. The exchange of ideas cannot result in anything but positive benefits for all concerned. During the Oklahoma inventory, our staff, which had acquired a certain amount of expertise in the identification of material culture, was able to add some documentation to specimens which had only minimal identification. Visiting scholars with their specialized knowledge can add even more. It cannot be stressed enough that the most important specimens in any collection are those which are accompanied with substantial documentation. Unidentified objects have the least potential for research and exhibit purposes. In this respect, next to field documentation, probably the most significant is that provided by scholars who study and analyze the objects. For the small museum without a professional curator, this additional information represents a fringe benefit obtained at no cost to the museum. Also, we want to emphasize that professional museology requires an active interest in the support of scholarly activities within the museum.

Besides supporting and encouraging basic research, another major responsibility of a museum is to provide an educational service for the general public. Oklahoma museums appear to have been eminently successful in this respect. Many of our museums have attractive exhibits capable of stimulating interest in further independent study on the part of the viewing public. Guided tours for various age levels are found at some institutions, and in at least one museum there is a workshop program for children. Climbing museum attendance figures reflect the positive public endorsement of museums in Oklahoma. Also, one must not overlook the inspirational value of museum exhibits for one significant proportion of Oklahoma's population — the American Indian. In a period when many minority peoples are struggling to achieve some meaningful social and cultural identity, it must afford some sense of satisfaction to discover that the objects depicting the life of their forefathers are regarded as a part of our heritage worthy of preservation and display. In the area of university education, however, we have hardly begun to tap our resources. There are numerous research topics involving use of museum collections which are still awaiting student as well as faculty research efforts.

With the file now in existence at the Stovall Museum, Oklahoma has a powerful tool which can make our educational programs even more effective. A visit through the museums in the state will show that not much has been done beyond the traditional method of presenting ethnological materials. At the present time the exhibits seem to be saying two things: that one culture is different from another and that peoples of all cultures made things which are esthetically pleasing or interesting to behold. This is useful and should be retained, but it is possible to say much more. For example, the relationship one tribe had with other surrounding tribes and the relationship of that tribe with the geographical environment are two essential areas of societal concern practically ignored in exhibits. There now exists in museum storerooms around Oklahoma materials explicating these very points. It is possible, for example, to compare Kiowa and Comanche material culture, showing where they differ, and why. The range of the use of animal materials other than the buffalo for the construction and decoration of artifacts by the Plains Indians has not yet been done. These are two of many exhibits different from the more conventional themes currently followed which could be attempted. An imaginative curator with access to the total ethnological resources of Oklahoma's museums could assemble many new and dynamic exhibits which would give the public new perspectives on American Indian life.

As Table II in the *Appendix* shows, the weakest holdings in the museums are for those cultures located on the continents beyond North America. No one museum has an extraordinary collection for any area or tribe. At the present time the 156 items from Africa, one of the smallest representations for a continental area, are divided among five museums. Yet we need not view this as a hopeless situation. Productive use can be made of these smaller collections. If most of the materials from these less well represented areas scattered throughout Oklahoma's museums were combined in one museum on a temporary basis, it should be possible to create an interesting exhibit which no one museum could do. This would give the public an educational experience presently not available in Oklahoma. This holds for all the continents outside North America.

However, one crucial problem must be met before such programs can materialize. All the museums need to open their doors somewhat wider than they appear to be willing to do at the present time. They are often too suspicious of one another especially where irreplaceable collections are involved. How to accomplish the freer lending of objects between museums presents an intriguing challenge. Somehow museum personnel must be made to see the advantages and feel confident about the loaning of even an entire collection in storage to another museum which has the space to exhibit it.

Even objects now on display should be available for loan to other institutions. The removal of one or a few objects from a permanent exhibit need not destroy the theme and organization of the rest of the exhibit. A photograph could be left in place of the object removed and a note to the effect that the object is out on temporary loan for a special exhibit at some other museum. An interest in the special exhibit may be developed through this means and a greater museum attendance created.

It will require imagination, effective public relations, extension footwork and a display of responsibility in handling and caring for objects before any substantial amount of borrowing and loaning can be done. If all the museums of Oklahoma created a consortium with liberal access to the combined collections for each member, the distinction between large and small museums would disappear. All museums would in a sense be large museums. The size of any museum would be bounded more by the scope of imagination of its curators than by the breadth of its collections. The Oklahoma Museums Association should play a role in developing this consortium by at least setting up guidelines and principles as a beginning.

Is there any direction for acquisition programs which can be recommended for the state? The answer is obvious: the direction lies in where we already have our greatest strength. In other words, we should concentrate the small sums museums usually have for purchases on the acquisition of American Indian materials, particularly those materials which originated with the Indian tribes now represented in Oklahoma. As mentioned previously, we can provide the best environment for these materials in our museums. In this respect there is some cause for alarm. Each year sees more and more out-of-state collectors and museums acquiring and removing from Oklahoma "Plains Indian" objects which could be used to greater advantage if they remained within our own state. This is not a form of chauvinism. The farther away the objects are removed and the greater the extent of scattering of materials originating from a specific cultural group, the less value such objects will have for study and display.

The recognition of our strengths and weaknesses and its implications for sensible collecting extends to another area. We have splendid opportunities, given more financial support, to add to our already valuable collections. In this respect we should not neglect the contemporary products of our Oklahoma Indian population. A museum should not be simply the repository for objects of yesteryear. A viable museum acquisition program provides for the collection of those things which have evolved out of the traditions of the past although modified or inspired by the modern scene. Modern pow-wow costumes and related parapher-

nalia, modern bead and silver work, and contemporary carvings and weaving all belong in the museum. There are numerous other types of objects. Most of these continue to have meaning within the context of Indian culture for the people who make or use them. Even objects manufactured primarily for the tourist trade are important, for they, too, comment on the contemporary scene. All these items, with good documentation, are excellent source materials for the present generation of scholars and curators, not to mention those of the next generation. In essence, the museum should keep its eyes on the present and future as well as the past.

Oklahoma's valuable resource in material culture objects offers many challenges. It is obvious that more attention should be given to the care and preservation of the existing collections. This is a serious problem, but the solution does not lie in each museum hoarding its collections even more closely. I submit that a consortium of museums, responsibly concerned about the collections for the entire state, with the attendant exchange of ideas and skills, will do more toward the prevention of deterioration of specimens than the existing arrangement of museums. We cannot rest on our laurels as far as the handling of our existing collections is concerned. We should circulate them more freely and give careful thought to meaningful acquisition programs to make the collections even more valuable. The file of ethnological collections at the Stovall Museum is a step in this direction. This is a powerful tool which can help implement our museums' basic functions.

APPENDIX

Table I

NUMBER OF ETHNOLOGICAL SPECIMENS BY MUSEUMS

The Anadarko City Museum	(Anadarko)	170
Bacone Indian Museum	(Muskogee)	528
Black Kettle Museum	(Cheyenne)	19
Creek Indian Museum	(Okmulgee)	210
East Central State College Museum	(Ada)	128
Five Civilized Tribes	(Muskogee)	192
The Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art	(Tulsa)	3,242
Museum of the Great Plains	(Lawton)	315
Indian City, U.S.A.	(Anadarko)	244
National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Western Heritage Center	(Oklahoma City)	129
No Man's Land Historical Museum	(Goodwell)	37
Oklahoma Historical Society	(Oklahoma City)	2,289
Oklahoma Science and Arts Foundation, Inc.	(Oklahoma City)	649
Osage Tribal Museum	(Pawhuska)	714
Ottawa County Historical Society	(Miami)	86
Philbrook Art Center	(Tulsa)	3,353
Ponca City Indian Museum	(Ponca City)	941
Southern Plains Indian Exhibit and Crafts Center	(Anadarko)	470
J. Willis Stovall Museum of Science and History	(Norman)	3,667
U. S. Army Artillery and Missile Center Museum	(Fort Sill)	620
Vinita-Craig County Historical Society	(Vinita)	25
Woolaroc Museum	(Bartlesville)	769
Yellow Bull Museum	(Tonkawa)	23
	TOTAL	18,921*

* These figures do not take into account the following museums which were not inventoried: Bethany Nazarene College (Bethany); Central State College, The Laboratory of History (Edmond); Oklahoma State University Museum of Natural History (Stillwater); University of Oklahoma Museum of Art (Norman); and Will Rogers Memorial (Claremore).

It is doubtful that there are over one thousand specimens involved. In addition we were not able to complete the inventory for the Woolaroc Museum, which may have as many as two thousand additional specimens. It should also be noted that these figures do not represent an actual count of individual specimens since duplicate items were grouped together and counted as one. For example, a series of arrows which were practically identical were simply listed on a single inventory sheet. Also, if a museum collection contained for example, thirty-five photographs of Cheyenne Indians, then these were all grouped together. Therefore in all cases, if duplicates are included, the size of the museum holdings is somewhat larger than the figures cited. In practice, museums with large photograph collections will depart most from the figures listed in the table.

APPENDIX

Table II

CONTINENTAL TOTALS

NORTH AMERICA:*	by specific tribe	12,283
	general areas	4,329
	total	16,612
*Includes Meso-America		
SOUTH AMERICA:	by specific tribe	522
	general areas	79
	total	601
AFRICA:	by specific tribe	84
	general areas	72
	total	156
MIDDLE EAST:	by specific tribe	45
	general areas	21
	total	66
OCEANIA:	by specific tribe	472
	general areas	49
	total	521
ASIA:	by specific tribe	916
	general areas	49
	total	965
Total Groups Represented:		18,921
Total General Areas:		4,599
Total Specific Tribes:		14,407

* "General areas" refers to regional divisions of the continent. When no specific tribal identification was available the specimen was identified when possible in a broad, general area, as, for example, a Plains Indian or a Southwest Indian object which cannot be specifically identified by tribe. The specific breakdown of areas does not appear in this table, but it is a part of the file at the Stovall Museum.

Table III

CULTURES REPRESENTED BY ONE HUNDRED OR MORE SPECIMENS*

Apache	505	Kaw	115
Arapaho	219	Kiowa	679
Cherokee	470	Navajo	539
Cheyenne	1,041	Osage	1,025
Chickasaw	103	Paiute	125
Chippewa	140	Pawnee	127
Choctaw	392	Pima	129
Chumash	158	Ponca	128
Comanche	244	Pueblo	930
Creek	304	Quileute	102
Crow	109	Sauk & Fox	228
Delaware	108	Sioux	663
Eskimo	562	Tlingit	133

* These figures do not by any means establish the intrinsic research value of any collection since it is possible that a collection of Iroquois material, for example, which may number only twenty or so, may have unique specimens not found in other collections around the country. These might be of great interest to an Iroquois scholar. And, on the other hand, a Plains Indian collection numbering in the hundreds may be of less interest because all the materials are duplicated in still larger collections in other museums. We beg this question at this time since so many of the collections have not been studied by scholars and hence cannot be evaluated along these lines.

HOUSTON'S POLITICS AND THE CHEROKEES, 1829-1833

*By Robert L. and Pauline H. Jones**

The career of Sam Houston was crowded with spectacular and bizarre events. Some of these are better understood in the light of information now available but some still contain elements of mystery. Much of his political strategy and some of his tactics appear the result of his estimate of the people with whom he dealt. He used his friends and the circumstances of the day to promote his personal ambition and always identified his cause with the best interest of the public. These characteristics appeared when matching wits with his crafty opponents as well as in his life with the Indians who accepted him for what he claimed to be.

On April 23, 1829, one week after his dramatic resignation as Governor of Tennessee, Houston left Nashville on the packet *Red Rover*. He was headed for the Cherokee Indian nation, arrived at Little Rock May 8 and continued on board the *Facility* by way of Fort Smith to the home of the Cherokee Chief, Oo-loo-te-ka, or as he was better known in the east, John Jolly, with whom Houston had lived and by whom he had been adopted years earlier.[1] Here he found a warm and generous welcome.

He was emotionally disturbed. His overweening impulse was to get away from the environment created by a chain of circumstances he could or would not trust himself to explain. His conduct and conversation led some to believe he might be planning, after a time with the Cherokees, to go to the far west and there seek to establish himself in a position of leadership among the Indians of the Rocky Mountains or the Pacific coast. There were others, acquainted with his past, who saw in this escapade another exhibition of temper. They were convinced that after a time among the people with whom he had earlier in life found peace and acceptance, perhaps understanding, he would as before return, slowly gather the useful threads of a shattered career and

*Dr. R. L. Jones retired as Head of the History Department at East Texas State University in 1964. Mrs. Jones formerly was the editor of Woman's Page of the *Commerce Journal*, and now is a free lance writer. Dr. and Mrs. Jones have had articles appearing in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, in *East Texas Historical Journal* and in *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*.—Ed.

1 Jack Gregory and Rennard Strickland, *Sam Houston and the Cherokees*, 1829-1833, (Austin, 1967), p. 3. John Jolly had moved west by 1829, and was prominent as Cherokee Chief serving at Tahlonteeskee, capital of the Cherokee Nation West, located near present Gore in Sequoyah County, Oklahoma.

resume his accustomed ways. There is also some evidence that he vaguely expected or hoped in some way conditions might be induced that would permit or demand his return to head the Democratic party or at least a major faction thereof in Tennessee. From information now available it appears beyond doubt that Houston fled to the Cherokees for personal solace with little thought of and no definite plan for the future.[2]

It seemed only natural to him in this time of trouble to turn again to the people among whom in his youth he had found contentment. He had cherished a wholesome respect and sincere affection for them and apparently expected to find their condition little changed. When, however, he saw what the government's enforced removal program and the inadequate subsistence arrangement had done to a people he remembered as happy and peaceful, he was shocked and angered. He visited the various tribes and found in each widespread discontent. He refused to attribute the evils to the policy advocated by President Jackson and came to believe the men who had been charged with carrying the plans into effect were the source of all the misery.[3]

The situation so different from what he expected helped him to see the injustice under which others labored, injustices they had done nothing to deserve. He became convinced that it was his duty to bring the matter to the attention of President Jackson.[4] Doubtless he recognized in the effort to serve his friends there might be an opportunity to appraise his own situation, to learn how his cause fared among his former associates. He, therefore, characteristically threw himself wholeheartedly into what he came to consider his immediate task, to improve conditions in the Indian Territory.[5] Other plans, if he had any at the time, were abandoned or discarded.

To acquaint himself thoroughly with the situation as well as to forget his unhappy state, Houston took an active part in Cherokee affairs. He appears to have made a studied effort to prove that he was a tribesman and served as a council leader, interpreter and peacemaker. He also joined John Drew, a wealthy Cherokee, in a merchandising enterprise.[6]

Perhaps to make it more abundantly clear that he was a true son of John Jolly, he sought to dress as an Indian. This

---

[2] Llerena Friend, *Sam Houston: The Great Designer* (Austin, 1954), 21ff.

[3] Amelia Williams and E. C. Barker (eds.), *Writings of Sam Houston* (Austin, 1938), Vol. VIII, p. 134.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 140.

[6] Gregory and Strickland, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

effort may have satisfied him and confirmed the opinion of some with little knowledge of the subject but it was singularly unsuccessful insofar as the Indians were concerned for they regarded his attire as humorous, "almost theatrical."[7] He, nevertheless, worked diligently to prove his friendship for them. On October 21, 1829, after having been in the territory for about six months, he sought by a letter issued at the home of John Jolly to become a Cherokee citizen. This procedure was considered invalid since it was not approved by the Council and properly authenticated by the Chief. These defects were corrected on October 31, 1831 when citizenship in the Cherokee nation was granted by a document which met all requirements of tribal law.[8] In the meantime he was chosen to lead a delegation to the States for the presentation of a list of grievances to the federal government. In December, 1829, he started for Washington with a letter of authority and recommendation to President Jackson from John Jolly. He was in Fredricktown, Maryland, January 11, 1830 where he set up an appointment in Washington for the following evening but he did not arrive on the Potomac until the 13th.[9]

While in the capital he tried to behave as he supposed an Indian Chief was expected to conduct himself. He posed as the ambassador of the Cherokee nation and appeared at the President's reception for the diplomatic corps in what he wished to be considered formal Cherokee attire, a "turban and a bright colored cloak" or blanket.[10] For a time he was pleased with this garb, perhaps he fancied it enhanced his striking physical appearance, at any rate he had a miniature painting made of himself thus arrayed. But the uniform was less striking or effective than he had apparently expected, for soon he abandoned it and was said to have "arrayed himself with the best" and appeared on other occasions in conventional clothes.[11]

The *Cherokee Phoenix* in its issue of March 4, 1830 reported that Houston was in Washington where he "has abandoned entirely assumption of the Indian costume and habits and mingles in social intercourse and gaiety as freely as formerly." It took him only a few months to learn that dress neither enhanced a man's ability nor solved the problems encountered in negotiating with agents of the federal government.

---

7 *Ibid.*, p. 30.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 24.

9 Friend, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

10 Gregory and Strickland, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 29, quoting *Cherokee Advocate*, November 25, 1893.

Politics in Washington were rampant, questions relating to Indian affairs, to most of the activists, were minor issues already decided against the red men. Houston did what he could to secure justice for his friends. The most, however, that he was able to get from those in authority was vague promises to supply a minimum of food to the migrating and recently removed Indians. He was convinced this was not enough and urged the honest fulfillment of promises in legislation already enacted since it was the acknowledged mal-administration of these laws that had aroused his shrill demand for justice. But when he insisted upon changes, he found that unless suggestions appeared to include either financial or political gain, few if any either in public or private life failed to question his motives.[12] Under the circumstances he decided to use his influence to achieve both objectives but his major concern at this time was for justice to the Indians.

John Eaton, Secretary of War, held an authorization by Congress to take bids for a contract to supply the Indians with food. In some quarters this was regarded as an opportunity to make a fortune and a number of people were interested in securing the contract, among them John Fosson, a New York capitalist. Houston met Fosson and each realized the influence of the other in strengthening his chances of success in the competition; they agreed upon objectives and terms, then together entered a bid. Thirteen offers were received ranging from eight to seventeen cents per ration. Houston and Fosson bid thirteen cents.[13] Houston explained that with the amount of beef and corn to be supplied under contemplated conditions of delivery, this was a fair price and would bring no great wealth to the contractors. A spirited dialogue arose over the issue and charges of fraud and collusion were freely made. Congress took no action on the measures to move more Indians to the west; the War Department hesitated and no contract was let. Eaton explained this was because the time element prevented bids coming in from the south and southwest.[14]

In Washington, Houston heard reports that General John Nicks, the sutler at Ft. Gibson (Indian Territory), was to be removed and decided that he would like the appointment. Apparently feeling confident of securing the place, before departing for the West, he bought and shipped a stock of goods to himself at Ft. Gibson on the Neosho River. At the mouth of the White river, on his way to the Neosho, May 20, 1830, he wrote an application for the rumored vacancy and forwarded it to Secretary

---

12 *Arkansas Gazette*, June 22, 1830.
13 Friend, *op. cit.* p. 27.
14 *Ibid.*

Eaton through his friend Major W. B. Lewis.[15] Upon arrival at the fort, he found conditions far from what had been reported in Washington. Convinced by observations on the scene that Gen. Nicks should not be removed, he withdrew his application.[16]

The trip to the Potomac had proved disappointing. Houston was discouraged, little or nothing had been gained for the Indians. He had failed to resolve a single listed grievance, also he had been unsuccessful in bidding for the ration contract where success, he believed, would have been a rare stroke of fortune for the Indians as well as giving him something with which to occupy his time even if it brought no profit. He returned to the Indian country by way of Tennessee where he found the political climate less turbulent but still lacking the calm that might justify his attempt to resume a leading role there in public affairs.[17] The one thing he did achieve which at the time may not have appeared as significant as it later proved to be, was a reaffirmation of the President's friendship.

Back at Wigwam Neosho, Houston appeared to have no definite plans. While he was explaining to the tribesmen conditions on the Potomac and what he had tried to do in their behalf, a boat load of stores consigned to him was reported at Ft. Gibson. This proved to be the goods he had bought to supply the sutler's store at the fort which he had planned to take over if Gen. Hicks were removed. The shipment contained "nine barrels of whiskey, brandy, rum and wine" which he had intended to sell to the soldiers.[18] Since he had not received the military market, he decided to open or expand a trading post at the Wigwam and dispose of the goods to his neighbors. This brought him face to face with other problems, he was opposed to the sale of alcoholic beverages to the Indians and the federal government had banned such traffic for its citizens except under a strict licensing system. Houston met the situation by claiming the ban did not apply to him since he was a Cherokee national and a promise to authorities at Ft. Gibson that the nine barrels of liquor would be reserved for his personal use, not a drop would be sold, while the other merchandise would be disposed of at a fair price.[19] There is no record to indicate this commitment was not kept but good fortune was elusive.

The first few months of 1831 were perhaps the most unpromising and unfruitful of Houston's entire life. He drank to

---

15 *Writings, op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 152.

16 Grant Foreman, "Some New Light on Houston's Life Among the Cherokee Indians" *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, pp. 139-152.

17 *Writings, Op. cit* p. 152.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 185.

19 *Ibid.*

excess, quarreled with his Indian friends, sought and failed to secure election to the Cherokee council, threatened to go to the Choctaws and sank deeper into the slough of despond. During this time since no measures had been taken to redress their grievances, the Cherokees decided to send a second mission to Washington. Houston wanted to be a member of the delegation but his conduct had impaired the confidence formerly placed in his wisdom and abilities, therefore the council refused to name him one of the representatives.[20]

This rejection chastened and literally sobered Houston. It helped to bring him to a realization of the depths to which he had sunk. Later in the year he began to return to a more normal pattern of behavior and in December traveled with the delegation to Washington. While he was preparing for this trip, James, without divulging his source of information, says the "venerable Creek chief Opoth-ley-ahola gave Houston a handsome buckskin coat with a beaver collar and hunting knife to adorn the belt."[21] In January, 1832, he took up residence at Brown's Indian Hotel on Pennsylvania Avenue. His mind was, however, no longer filled with the problems that beset his Cherokee brethren.

He quickly re-established relations with former friends and associates and made new contacts. These included members of the administration, Congressmen, and eastern financiers. Soon he launched some far reaching and he believed promising speculations including gold mining in Tennessee, land acquisition in Texas and navigation projects on the Rio Grande. While seeking to promote these interests, on April 3, he read in the *National Intelligencer* of the previous day the report of a speech delivered in the House of Representatives on March 31 by William Stanberry, a Congressman from Ohio. This was a stinging criticism of the Jackson administration containing the rhetorical inquiry "was the late Secretary of War removed in consequence of his attempt fraudently to give Governor Houston the contract for Indian rations?"[22] This, as intended, was an impeachment of the national political establishment as Eaton had been recently transferred from the War Department to the governorship of the territory of Florida.

The attack upon Jackson, his friends and associates for an incident that had occurred two years earlier gave Houston an excellent opportunity to press his faltering quest for the rehabilitation of his severely damaged reputation and political fortune. The possibility of again calling attention to the unrequited wrongs

---

20 Friend, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

21 Marquis James, *The Raven;* A Biography of Sam Houston, (Indianapolis, 1929), p. 162.

22 *Writings, op. cit.* p. 199.

suffered by the Indians appears to have found no place in his thinking at the moment. He wrote Stanberry calling attention to the report in the *Intelligencer* and asked if the Congressman was correctly quoted. The note was sent by Cave Johnson, a personal friend and Representative from Tennessee. This was the accepted procedure for laying the foundation for a challenge to a duel but Stanberry refused to accept the inquiry and explained to Johnson that he did not recognize the right of anyone to question his statements on the floor of the House.[23]

Stanberry, nevertheless, was frightened; Houston was angry and people who knew of the events were apprehensive. In this state of affairs, in the early evening of April 13, with Senator Buckner of Missouri and Representative Blair of Tennessee, Houston was visiting in the room of Senator Felix Grundy on Pennsylvania Avenue. Upon leaving, the three walking along the Avenue, saw a man crossing to the side of the street they were on. When the figure was recognized as that of Stanberry, Blair turned and walked "rapidly away in the other direction." Houston approached the man and asked, "are you Mr. Stanberry?" When answered in the affirmative, Houston said "You are a dammed rascal" and struck him on the head with a cane, a hickory stick reportedly cut at the Hermitage with the knife he received from Opoth-ley-ahola. A struggle followed in which Stanberry was thrown to the ground and was severely thrashed after having failed in his attempt to shoot Houston.

The humiliated Stanberry asked the House to take measures to protect members in the exercise of their constitutional duties upon the floor.[24] The incident immediately became a part of the political issue between the Jackson administration and its critics. Houston was remanded to the custody of the Sergeant at Arms and escorted to the bar of the House. He pleaded innocent to the charge on the ground that he had not attacked the Congressman for what he said on the floor but "angered by the article in the *Intelligencer,* had asked Stanberry for an explanation and under provocation of great excitement had beaten the representative with a cane."[25] President Jackson and his friends recognized the action of the House as a part of the program of his political enemies. They did what they could to rally the faithful and procured the services of Francis Scott Key for Houston's chief counsel. On April 19, 1832, the President wrote Col. Anthony Butler that papers of the day carried the account of some extraordinary proceedings by Congress. "A private citizen

---

[23] *The Daily National Intelligencer,* April 21, 1832.

[24] *Register of Debates,* 22nd Cong., 1st sess., 2569 ff.

[25] *House Executive Document,* No. 210, 22d Cong., 1st sess., 1ff.

had been arrested and imprisoned for contempt of the House because the citizen who Congress had nothing to do with, who had disturbed none of its members being wantonly brought into debate and outrageously slandered meeting accidently with the member, Congress being adjourned, gave him a severe flagellation for which the citizen has been in custody for several days." To the President "this is the greatest act of tyranny and usurpation ever attempted under our government." He concluded that from what he observed at least some members were "sick of their rashness, and how to get out of the dilemma puzzles them," but "pride prevents them from retracing their steps and admitting their want of power."[26] The vehement reaction on all sides reflected the temper of the time.

Jackson's reaction was characteristic. He was reported to be outrageously abusive of members of Congress who did not share his opinion that Houston was justified in his assault upon Stanberry. His critics declared he "says that he wishes there were a dozen Houstons to beat and cudgel the members of Congress."[27] The President perhaps felt free to express his feelings since he was assured by leaders of his party that nothing harmful to the administration was to be feared by action of the House.

On May 7, Houston appeared at the bar of the House in his own defense. Stanberry had already testified that he scarcely knew the defendant, had no information of fraudulent intent on his part in the ration contract but used his name to make the case against the administration. Houston made a long and eloquent plea but was found guilty and sentenced to be reprimanded by the Speaker.[28]

On May 13 Jackson wrote Andrew Jr., "Houston beating Stanberry has taken up better than two weeks, and those high dignitaries and would be privileged order, has noted their power to punish a citizen for whipping a member of Congress distant from the Congress Hall and when it was not in session by a majority of seventeen." He felt sure public opinion favored Houston and "the people will inquire into this act of usurpation, and make these little tyrants who have thus voted feel the power of the people." In this letter was enclosed "for your amusement a well drawn caricature" which he said showed the real facts of the case as seen through the eyes of Senator Buckner of Missouri

---

[26] John Spencer Bassett, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, (Washington, D.C., 1929), Vol. IV, p. 436.

[27] Friend, *op. cit.*, p. 32, quoting from Amber Charles, *Life and Diary of John Floyd*, p. 178.

[28] *Writings, op. cit.*, p. 207ff.

who was a witness to the incident. This he directed to be preserved.[29]

When Houston appeared for sentencing on May 14 Speaker Andrew Stevenson of Virginia told him that he was a man of sterling character, outstanding intellect and greatly beloved by his fellowmen, so much so he had been honored by a seat in the House. "I forbear" therefore, "to say more than to pronounce the judgment of the House is that you — be reprimanded at this bar of the Speaker and — I do reprimand you accordingly."[30]

The affair as described many years later by Houston and widely accepted by the public and some historians is more dramatic and less accurate. This version rests upon faith in the memory of elderly individuals long after many important dramatic and exciting incidents in their careers both public and private intervened. It appeared for the first time in 1912 when Judge A. W. Terrell published the "recollections of General Sam Houston" in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* XVI, 113-136.

As the Judge tells the story, after Houston's election as Governor in 1859, he accompanied his son Sam to Bastrop where the young man was enrolled in the military academy operated by Colonel Allen. For several days Houston lodged at the house of Jimmy Nicholson where Judge Terrell, Jack Hamilton, John Hancock and George W. Paschal were boarding during the session of the District Court.

The Governor-elect was in high spirits. The other lodgers, except Terrell, had campaigned for and vigorously supported him in the contest and they were all enthusiastic over the success of the campaign and the future political prospects in the state. Houston was a great raconteur and was encouraged to tell these distinguished men, his loyal followers, some of the experiences of his long and colorful career. He was happy to oblige and entertain them far into the night with interesting events in his public life. Upon Hamilton's request for an account of the caning of Stanberry, Houston recalled that he arrived in Washington in the spring of 1832 and sent a note to Stanberry asking if he had given a story to the newspaper reflecting upon his character in regard to a proposed contract for supplying Indians with food.

Stanberry refused to recognize anyone's right to question his statement in the halls of Congress on the grounds of immunity granted by the Constitution. Armed only with a cane in the company of Senator Grundy on the evening of May 6, Houston said

---

29 Bassett, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

30 *Register of Debates*, 22d Congress, 1st sess., 2578ff.

he saw Stanberry on the street, walked up to him and asked if he were the Congressman from Ohio. When this fact was admitted, Houston told him he was a scoundrel. Stanberry drew his pistol but when he pulled the trigger, it failed to fire whereupon Houston thrashed him severely with his staff. Stanberry reported the affair to the House and requested punishment of the perpetrator.

Houston was closely associated with Speaker Stevenson; James K. Polk, Congressman from Tennessee destined in a little more than a decade to be President; Felix Grundy, a powerful figure in Tennessee and Senator from that state; and other political followers of Jackson. Since it was no secret that the attack upon him was designed to hurt the Chief Executive, Houston told his listeners at Nicholson's that he had thought it best to stay away from the White House while the case was being slowly pushed toward an innocuous conclusion by wrangling Congressmen. But a few days before he was to appear in his own defense, he received a note from Jackson saying "Sam come to the White House. I want to see you." He explained to his audience at Bastrop that "dressed in his buckskin suit (for he had no money to buy clothes) he obeyed at once the summons and found General Jackson pacing the floor in great excitement. His features portrayed his rage and with the look of an angry tiger he said, "It is not you they are after Sam; those thieves, those infernal bank thieves, they wish to injure your old commander."

The Governor-elect thrilled by the recollection of those stirring events of so long ago, continued that the President went on to tell him he must prepare for his defense and "dress himself like a gentleman at the same time taking a large silk purse filled with gold pieces from a drawer and tendering it." Houston declined to take it saying he had no means of repaying. Jackson insisted saying, "Sam you must take this money and when you make your defense tell these infernal bank thieves, who talk about privileges, that when an American citizen is insulted by one of them he also has privileges." He took the money.

The next day, so Houston's story went, he ordered "a fine suit of clothes, a silk hat and boots." These were delivered the afternoon before he was to speak in his own defense. That night he had as invited guests in his room Stephens, Polk, Bailey Payton and Senator Grundy. The evening was somewhat riotous, they drank to a late hour, "except Polk who drank little and left early." As the hour grew late Houston "ordered a bell boy to wake up a barber and bring him, when he came I told him to bring me a cup of coffee at sunrise and his shaving traps. Opening a drawer I said do you see this purse of gold and this pistol?

If the coffee does not stick when I drink it take the pistol and shoot me and the gold is yours."

Judge Terrell realized it had been more than fifty years since he had heard the story and his account might be questioned. Nevertheless, he insisted that he was faithfully repeating the Houston narration and to reassure his readers he declared, "It was a long time ago, but I afterwards made full notes of the conversation, and those who know me will bear witness to the tenacity of my memory." After the passage of many years and the achievement of so many successes Houston had probably forgotten, or did not consider the occasion to call for details and related the experience as one of the incidents in his dramatic return to a life he had enjoyed so greatly. There are nevertheless some misleading elements in the narrative.

In Jackson's letters no mention has been found of his calling Houston to the White House nor was any conversation on the subject of the trial remotely intimated; neither was the offering of money or suggestion that his clothes might prejudice his case mentioned. The fact is that he must have dressed about as other men in Washington, for he visited at the White House, mingled with the President's family and friends, was almost daily in the company of Senators and Representatives in the Capitol as well as in the boarding houses on Pennsylvania Avenue and no where in the official record or public press is there a reference to his dress during his stay on the Potomac in 1832. Jackson treated the Stanberry case as a part of the Bank controversy and Houston appears never to have expressed a contrary opinion.

As far as finance is concerned, there is evidence in abundance that Houston had access to the money he might need and an even broader credit. He lived at Brown's Indian Hotel on Pennsylvania Avenue. Here he entertained old friends, men in high and responsible public office. He also cultivated new friends, including some of reputed wealth. In March he was seeking to interest some of these in lands he owned in southeastern Tennessee upon which gold was reported to have been discovered. He claimed to own in this area 10,025 acres of land for which he traded real estate with an estimated value of $8,500.[31]

On March 27 he was in New York City discussing other ventures in the west. These included purchases of the Leftwich Grant, navigation rights on the Rio Grande and buying an interest in the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company.[32] About this time he borrowed $200 from Samuel P. Carson, a Congress-

31 *Writings, op. cit.*, p. 197.
32 *Ibid.*, p. 226.

man from North Carolina which he promised to repay on June 29, 1832 with interest at six percent. The loan, however, was never repaid and when Carson's estate was in the process of settlement in 1839 the court upon the recommendation of the executor accepted the note with accrued interest at face value $312.44 as a "desperate debt," and "uncollectable."[33]

On June 1, in an agreement with James Prentiss, a New York capitalist, Houston obligated himself to pay $1,859.93 in fifteen months and "the same sum payable in eighteen months."[34] Fifteen days later he wrote Prentiss "I am in haste to be off. I am very poor, and will only expend money here. Indeed I must and will be off soon — If I have to walk to some large water course and make a raft to float upon."[35] But five days later he wrote Prentiss that he did not need money at that time. One week after the date of this letter, he wrote that his trial for assault and battery upon Stanberry was held in the District of Columbia court that day and he was fined $500.00 which would not have to be paid until the following winter. This he explained would make it possible to "arrange some money matters and be off for the west."[36]

July 12, still in Washington, he wrote Daniel Jackson, a merchant banker of New York, "I have not deposited, nor sent you the cash which I borrowed and the only reason is, that I could not do so without inconvenience and you charged me against incurring that for the present:"[37] He planned, however, to "make some sales or collections at Nashville" which would enable him to pay this loan "with convenience to myself and justice to you."[38] There is no indication that he was ever at a loss for people to turn to if and when he needed funds.

The available record of Houston's life among the Indians also indicates that at no time was he destitute. From almost the moment he arrived in the territory, he was involved in some form of merchandising. It is reported that friends in Tennessee, knowing his destination and perhaps his immediate need for some means of livelihood but without his knowledge sent him a small stock of goods suitable for the Cherokee trade soon after he arrived in the vicinity of Ft. Gibson.[39] There is, however, no record of his having opened a trading post until he returned from

---

33 *Probate Record B*, Lafayette County, Arkansas, 102 ff.
34 *Writings, op. cit.*, p. 229.
35 *Ibid.*, p. 241.
36 *Ibid.*, p. 249.
37 *Ibid.*, p. 258.
38 *Ibid.*
39 A. W. Terrell, "Recollections of General Sam Houston", *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVI, p. 117.

his first trip to Washington. Steamboat accounts and warehouse receipts show only one shipment of goods "assorted store supplies and nine barrels of whiskey" sent to him during his entire stay among the Indians. This arrived in July, 1830.

He was also engaged in land speculation while he lived with the Indians. On September 1, 1830, with David Thompson and John Drennen he bought land on the east side of the Grand River containing salt deposits. They paid $3,000, half in cash and half in merchandise. The agreement called for $1,000 worth of goods to be selected from the Wigwam Neosho. This was to contain blankets and mackinaws valued at "twenty-five percent advance upon cost and carriage."[40] The following July he sold his one third interest in part of this land to John C. McLemore and M. H. Howard for $6,500, this was thirty dollars per acre, a very handsome profit. The sale was recorded at Nashville, Tenn., in the Davidson county Court July session, 1831.[41] This was at the time Houston is supposed to have been earning the title "Big Drunk".

The report of Judge Terrell, fifty-three years after he heard the story, is the last known account of the Stanberry case by Houston. At the time he was reaching back twenty-seven years into a memory crowded with stirring events. During that more than a quarter of a century he had led the army of Texas to success through a gruelling revolution, served two terms as President of the Lone Star Republic, as well as a hectic decade in the United States Senate and waged two bitter campaigns for the governorship of the state of Texas, the first lost, the last just successfully completed. He had also married and reared a family. In considering the record, it must be remembered the incident was being related for the entertainment of a small group of enthusiastic friends with little or no thought that it might some day find its way into recorded history.

When Houston returned to the States in 1831 he was not a member of the official delegation with which he traveled. There is, nevertheless, little evidence, until he reached the Potomac, that he did not intend to devote a major part of his time and energy while on the visit to the cause of his red brethren. The Stanberry incident, however presented him with the opportunity to appear in the role of injured innocence and to cast his fortune with enthusiasm into the seething cauldron of American politics and this too on the side of the common man's idol, Andrew Jackson. He hoped this might, as it did, provide him a national back

---

40 Grant Foreman, "Some New Light on Houston's Life Among the Cherokee Indians", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, pp. 139-152.

41 *Ibid.*

drop upon which to project his image in heroic proportions, an opportunity he had been seeking without success to discover or create against a frontier background.

It was indeed an Indian question which precipitated the Stanberry incident. The President, however, at the time vigorously identified any opposition to either his policies or his friends with efforts to re-charter the National Bank. Houston recognized the advantages inherent in this more emotional issue and urged it as the motive for the attack upon him. From this time, Indian interests were almost ignored, mentioned only incidentally as the drama unfolded. And when Houston emerged something of a hero in Jacksonian political circles, he had left his Indian friends for what he regarded as more alluring fields.

It is entirely possible that Houston had decided before leaving the Indian territory that this was not the most desirable base from which to launch a spectacular, interest arousing career but if so, it was a closely guarded secret. However, when the occasion presented itself for him to catch a wide and sympathetic audience, he did not hesitate eloquently to deny his acquired Cherokee nationality and to claim every right and privilege of United States citizenship which in 1830 he had sought to renounce.

Whether or not he had fixed upon a course of action, the Stanberry incident was the vehicle he used to remove himself from the land of and an intimate association with the Cherokees. In Washington, if not before he left the Neosho, he considered going to Texas but found it difficult to abandon the hope of an eventual return to the political arena in Tennessee. It was, therefore, not until after leaving the Potomac and spending some time in Nashville sounding opinions as well as consulting with friends, a prototype of what was later known as poll taking, that a target date for departure was decided upon.[42] He did return to the Wigwam but merely to start for Texas where he was convinced a greater arena of activity, a more expansive dramatic stage awaited him.

It is difficult to escape the conclusion that Houston used the home of his Indian friends as an observation post from which to scan the horizon for an opportunity to return to political life where success would be most spectacular. This judgment appears to be confirmed by a statement made many years later when referring to the Stanberry case he said, "I was dying out, and had they taken me before a Justice of the Peace and fined me $10.00 for assault and battery, they would have killed me. But they gave

[42] *Writings, op. cit.*, p. 263.

me a national tribunal for a theater, and set me up again.[43] Although Houston was said never to have permitted mere facts to interfere with a good story, this declaration seems to state the case with a fair degree of accuracy.

---

[43] George W. Paschal, "Last Years of Sam Houston", *Harpers New Monthly Magazine*, Vol. XXXII (1865-66), p. 631.

A STUDY OF THE USE OF MADSTONES IN OKLAHOMA

*By Kenneth L. Ketner**

In the early days of Oklahoma's settlement the madstone treatment for hydrophobia (rabies) apparently was in widespread use. In most cases objects described as madstones by their owners reputedly were taken from the entrails of deer. The madstone was used in Oklahoma primarily to treat rabies; however, it was also described as being a cure for the bites of poisonous snakes. In the typical case the madstone is applied to the patient's wound from which it supposedly "sucks" the "poison." There are many customs and beliefs associated with madstones. Indeed, the above outline serves only to introduce the general idea of the phenomenon. The purpose of this paper includes giving a detailed exposition of the known examples of the use of madstones in Oklahoma plus attempting to place them in a historical and cross-cultural context while proposing a tentative hypothesis to explain their past popularity.

In November of 1961 Joe Buswell and the writer conducted a very pleasant interview with Mr. and Mrs. John Salisberry of Oilton, Oklahoma. We were seeking information about the madstone which John's father obtained shortly before the turn of the century. John Salisberry, Senior was a one-time U.S. Marshal who had homesteaded in Pawnee County near Merrimac in the opening of the Strip. The following is a slightly edited and reordered version of John Salisberry's reminiscences about the madstone originally owned by his father:[1]

> Our madstone is about as big around as a silver dollar, and I should say about a little better than a fourth of an inch thick. If you looked at it through a powerful magnifying glass, you will see that it is full of little holes, and it looks like hairs are in the holes in there. It is very polished. The Pawnees said that they have them, and that they have seen them in various sizes.
>
> My father's deputy, Mr. Bob Reidner, obtained the stone in the Arbuckle Mountains while on a trip down there. It was supposed to have come from the paunch or stomach of a white deer. We had it for some time in our family and didn't know of its significance until a Pawnee Indian, Mr. Grant, told us what it could do. Since my father passed away,

---

*Kenneth L. Ketner is a graduate and, also, has the M.A. degree (Philosophy) from Oklahoma State University, Stillwater. He has the M.A. degree (Folklore and Mythology) from the University of California, Berkeley. He is at present engaged in studies toward a Ph.D. degree in Philosophy at the University of California, Santa Barbara, California.—Ed.

[1] The original tape-recorded version from which this edited account is taken was obtained by Joe Buswell and Kenneth Ketner in 1961. The original tape is archived in the Oklahoma State University Library. A copy has been placed in the Archive for California and Western Folklore, University of California, Los Angeles.

ownership of the madstone went to my older sister, Mrs. Bertha McCoy, and now that she is sick, I've got it over in a safe deposit box in the bank.

Mr. Grant told my father that madstones could cure rattlesnake bites and hydrophobia bites. He said that he had seen and heard of lots of cases that were cured of dog bites by using the madstone.

When you are bitten by a mad dog and it breaks the skin and draws blood, the dog's saliva gets into your blood and that is where it gets poison into your blood. The hydrophobia gets into your blood and goes all over the system.

These people that had gotten bit would come to our home. Sometimes they would come because they had just heard about the stone, or sometimes medical doctors around Pawnee [the city of Pawnee, Oklahoma] would bring patients to the stone. There was no Pasteur treatment at the time. Doctors had no other treatment for hydrophobia.

When they would come for the madstone, dad would prick their wound and make it bleed if it wasn't already bleeding. Then he would apply the stone to where the blood was. If it stuck, that meant that there was poison there. If it didn't stick, there was no poison and the patient was okay. When it sticks it will just stay there even if you shake it. I've heard of those that have been to the stone in our home and had hydrophobia, and it was on them, and they could feel it drawing. And when it gets full of that poison, it won't stick. It will drop off. Then you take it and put it in a container—dad used an old-time tin cup—which is about three-fourths full of sweet milk. You boil it in the milk and that takes the poison out. The poison makes the milk turn green. Then you cool the stone and put it back on the patient just like before. It keeps drawing like that until it gets all the poison out of your system. Finally it won't stick any more when all the poison is out. That generally took about nine days.

When a patient used to come for the stone he was usually bitten on a limb. My dad would apply the stone where the wound was located. My dad moved from the farm into the town of Pawnee. After that the doctors brought their hydrophobia cases down to my dad. The doctors showed him a better way to treat people. They told him to take a sterilized razor blade and cut a small place on the left arm on the inside wrist. They would make it bleed good. Then they put just a little corn starch around the cut and placed the madstone on the bleeding place. Then they would tie the stone on with a piece of gauze and put the arm up in a sling. This way he didn't have to lie down and it made it so much easier. And it worked just as good, you know. The hydrophobia was in the blood. It didn't matter, just as long as the stone could touch the blood.

He sometimes had three and four patients at a time, so he would alternate the time — each one so many hours. He never charged anything, except for eats if they had to stay. He didn't even charge for that if they were broke.

One man once offered dad a thousand dollars for the stone. Several people wanted to buy it, but he wouldn't sell.

No telling how many people that madstone cured. Dad kept a book on it at one time, but that is lost now. One time a man came for the stone. Before we could treat him he had a fit. After he calmed down, we put on the stone and he was cured. Another time three men came for the stone. It only stuck on one. He later told us the other two men hadn't been bitten. He just wanted to be sure the stone would really work like he had heard.

A parallel account of the same stone is given in a short newspaper article (with picture) which recounts an interview with John's sister, Mrs. Bertha McCoy of Stillwater, Oklahoma. It provides a few additional items of information:[2]

> "First it was boiled in sweet milk. That was to open the pores of the stone . . . Then it was applied to the wound. If there was poison, it would cling to the wound until the poison was drawn out."
>
> Then the stone was boiled again in milk, and this milk would turn green from the poison. If there was no poison in the wound, the stone wouldn't stick . . .
>
> The stone owned by the Stillwater woman came from the stomach of a white deer which her father shot in the Dakotas.
>
> "Yes, it worked . . . I was just a girl then, but I saw it many times. Of course they have better treatments now, but it was all we had then."
>
> Mrs. McCoy keeps the madstone — a round, light brown object about the size of a silver dollar — carefully wrapped up in a small leather bag. In the bag with it is a faint, penciled note that it is to be passed on to the next eldest in the family.
>
> The stone probably wouldn't work now, Mrs. McCoy says, since it hasn't been used for many years.

Mrs. McCoy's statement that the stone probably would not work now at this time suggests that she is aware that nowadays few persons believe in its effectiveness or even know of its existence. It is known that many people trusted in its powers when her father used it. The inference suggested tentatively here is that it "worked" sixty years ago because almost everyone thought it would. Saying it would not perform today seems to imply that nobody believes in it anymore. What is important here is that that the question of controlled testing (scientific proof) is irrelevant. Had it *actually* worked then, it would still work today. The point is that to the believer of *circa* 1900, it was *expected* to be effective, and it did "work." Today, people *do not expect* it to work, so it will not. Expectation of favorable results, divorced from controlled testing or other forms of legitimate evidence, seems to be a necessary condition in folk medicinal practice.[3]

After the interview with Mr. Salisberry, a visit was made to one of the physicians that he mentioned as a regular prescriber of the madstone treatment. Dr. J. L. Lehew[4] explained that he began his practice in Pawnee in 1897, after graduating from a medical school in Kansas City, Missouri. He remembered the

---

[2] Bill Harmon article (title unknown), *The Stillwater News Press* (Stillwater, Oklahoma), Nov. 14, 1958, p. 3.

[3] A necessary condition is a condition, in the absence of which, a particular result or idea will not occur or be effective. But, the presence of a necessary condition does not mean that the result or idea will occur or be effective.

[4] Buswell and Ketner tape-recorded interview with Dr. J. L. Lehew, December 24, 1961, Guthrie, Oklahoma (tape copies filed at locations described in note 1 above).

Salisberrys, and he had a vague recollection of the madstone. He stated that he used the Pasteur treatment for rabies and antivenom serum for snakebite. He did not encourage nor recommend the use of madstones. He was asked if he knew anything about the change in madstone usage which, according to Mr. Salisberry, was instituted by the local doctors. He replied that he had no knowledge of it.

Perhaps other physicians were instrumental in making the change in the usage of the Salisberry stone. One is inclined to think that such a thing did occur because doctors have been associated with madstones on other occasions. A historian of early Kansas history has said: "One curious heritage of the pre-bacteriological age which lived on into the 1890's was the 'madstone' cure of hydrophobia. Although Pasteur had first successfully inoculated against this violent disease in 1885, Kansas doctors continued to apply the stone for almost another decade."[5]

Consider also this evidence from Texas: "Dr. J. M. Noell moved to the Alto area in 1820 from Virginia. The pioneer Texas physician had at this time, as family records show, a stone which displayed unusual powers of adhering to wounds inflicted by mad dogs . . . Dr. Noell warmed the stone in milk and applied it to the wound."[6] Furthermore, we learn that "many early physicians, realizing that they could offer their patients no hope, referred them to . . . [Dr. Noell] to have the stone applied."[7]

In Virginia, in the late Eighteenth Century, "Dr. Trent was criticized by Dr. James Mease for indulging in quackery to the extent of using a snakestone in treating a case of hydrophobia."[8]

The method of applying the madstone to the wrist instead of the wound is not unique in the Salisberry family. Loman Cansler, in an excellent article, has pointed out a few cases of this technique from Missouri.[9] Of the two specific stones mentioned by Cansler, one (the Stoll stone) involved the Salisberry technique of breaking the skin of the wrist and binding on the stone with cloth. In the other case (the Lightburne stone) the

---

[5] Thomas Neville Bonner *The Kansas Doctor* (Lawrence, 1959), p. 59.

[6] Michael J. Ahearn "The Noell Madstone," *And Horns on the Toads*, ed. Boatright, Hudson, Maxwell (Dallas, 1959), p. 147.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 151.

[8] Wyndham Bolling Blanton *Medicine in Virginia in the Eighteenth Century* (Richmond, 1931), p. 205. Cf. Arthur Palmer Hudson, *Specimens of Mississippi Folklore* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1928), p. 154; Eston Everett Ericson "Madstones in North Carolina," *Folk-lore*, Vol. XLIX (1938), p. 166.

[9] Loman D. Cansler, "Madstones and Hydrophobia," *Western Folklore*, Vol. XXIII (1964), p. 101.

left wrist was shaved and washed. The stone was bound onto the bare skin, then shortly thereafter the bandage was removed to see if the stone would stick.[10] It is not known whether these atypical modes of application noted by Cansler are related through some direct historical connection with the change in Salisberry's *modus operandi*. At least, the possibility exists.

Another account of madstone usage in Oklahoma tells of a stone owned by a family named Starr who lived (*circa* 1900) in Evansville, Indian Territory, a location now in Sequoyah County:[11]

> A custom, followed in [Evansville], involved a family named Starr who had in their possession a Mad Stone. People would come from near and far when they had been bitten by a rabid dog . . . They didn't believe the stone was magic, but it was the practice followed to treat a rabid dog bite and they had great faith in its power to cure.
>
> . . . The stone was said to be round, a little larger than a silver dollar and light brown in color. History of the stone relates that a Cherokee Indian had killed a white deer in the Boston Mountains of Arkansas. The stone was taken from the stomach of the deer. It was also used for rattlesnake bite. The madstone was a highly prized possession of the Starr family. It had been handed down from one generation to another. The method used was to boil the stone in sweet milk until it became soft and pliable, then apply it to the wound. If there was a poison in the wound, the stone was supposed to stick fast, but, if there was no poison, it would not stick, according to the story.
>
> After the stone had been applied to the bite, it was again boiled in milk and the milk would turn green from the poison, according to legend. The stone would then be removed from the milk, dried, carefully wrapped and put away until the next victim appeared.

This article provides a possible clue for a part of the history of the theme of white deer as sources for madstones. The Starr family might have been Cherokees (Starr is a fairly common name among Cherokees). At the least they were in touch with the Cherokee culture. So far as I can determine, a white deer as source appears only in cases from Oklahoma, Texas, and the Ozark region of Arkansas and Missouri (of course, the writer has not seen all cases, nor are my sources necessarily complete). Deer are often mentioned as sources for madstones, but only in this area are white deer specified. Aside from the Salisberry and the Starr stones, the only other known Oklahoma citation of the white deer theme is the Moss-Scribner stone of Ada, about

---

10 v. Robert S. Withers "The Madstone," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XLIX (1955), p. 125.

11 This article appeared in a newspaper from either Edmond or Oklahoma City, Sunday, May 10, 1959, Vol. LXI, No. 19. The newspaper's name is unknown; however, the article is headed as "The Big Parade," by W. L. Y., apparently a regular column in that paper.

which it was said that "the best authorities seem to agree that it's the petrified brain of a white deer."[12]

Vance Randolph reports several descriptions of this theme from the Ozarks: "Homer Davis of Monett, Missouri, used to have a mad stone, shaped like a half-moon. The old-timers say that it was always dipped in hot milk before applying it to a wound. It was a porous stone, said to have been taken from the stomach of an albino deer more than seventy-five years ago."[13]

An old-timer of Taney County, Missouri, "who had given the matter considerable thought, said that so long as the deer was *white* it made no difference in what part of the body the stone appeared."[14]

Professor E. E. Dale, who spent his boyhood in Texas, in reporting on frontier medical practices, states that the madstone "was said to have been taken from the body of a white deer . . ."[15] Mr. Walter Negley of Fort Davis, Texas, states that "the best madstones are supposed to come out of the stomachs of white deer."[16]

All this suggests that in the region mentioned it is very important to the participants that the madstone be obtained from a white deer. The reason for this, as suggested earlier, might be contact with the Cherokee culture. Perhaps Cherokees give white deer a special status, a significance which was transmitted to the general populace in regions of close contact with that tribe. The following account seems to confirm that conjecture:[17]

> A witch deer was killed in the hills south of Park Hill, Indian Territory, by Mr. Caleb Starr of Vinita. When he saw the deer in the woods, it stood motionless among the trees and was near the stump of a tree. Mr. Starr watched several minutes before he was sure it was a deer, being that its coloring was so much like the natural surroundings. He fired, killing it, and skinned the same. He gave the pelt to Major D. W. Lipe, who sent it to Saint Louis to a taxidermist and had it mounted. It was then kept in the Rogers County Bank for a while, after it was received from Saint Louis, and was finally loaned to Oklahoma University by Miss Lola Lipe, who at that time was a teacher in the Claremore city schools. She was a daughter of Major Lipe, who was treasurer of the Cherokee Nation for eight years. He was one of the outstanding figures of Oklahoma Tribal history.
>
> This deer was called a "Witch Deer" on account of being almost a perfect white. His body is long and narrow and the neck is slightly longer than that of the ordinary deer, and the head has a proud poise.

---

12 Cansler, *op. cit.*, p. 105n.

13 Vance Randolph *Ozark Superstitions*, (New York, 1947), p. 141.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 141.

15 Edward Everett Dale, *Frontier Ways* (Austin, 1959), p. 196.

16 Frost Woodhull, "Ranch Remedios," *Man, Bird and Beast*, ed. Dobie, (Austin, 1930), p. 24.

17 Pocahontas Club, *As I Recollect* (Oklahoma City, 1949), p. 175.

"Witch Deer," according to an old Cherokee legend, appeared in the country inhabited by the tribe only before some great disaster, or change in government, to the people. The last such deer was killed just before the removal of the Cherokees from Georgia to Indian Territory. And this particular deer was killed just before statehood. This is believed to be the last specimen of "Witch Deer" which guided the superstitions of the Oklahoma Indians. It now stands in the tribal museum at the University of Oklahoma along with hundreds of other relics which trace the State's history.

We may therefore propose as a tentative hypothesis that the Cherokees on their forced travels spread this theme of the significance of the white deer which was later incorporated into the madstone phenomenon.

Two further descriptions of madstone usage from what was then Indian Territory serve to illustrate a significant factor common to almost all instances of its employment; that is, the patient almost always goes (or is taken) to the madstone at its owner's residence where its owner (or a close associate) performs the "cure." A few cases are known in which the stone was brought to the patient:[18]

The hot, dry weeks of August and early September were fearful days, full of tension for the settlers in the Creek Nation in Indian Territory. They were known as "Mad Dog" days. This was the time when rabid dogs roamed the countryside leaving agony and death in their wake. This was before anyone had ever heard of rabies shots.

. . . We had had a cooling rain, so people said, "I guess the dog days are done for this year." It was September and near the end of summer school. . . . On this lazy, bright blue September day we were slowly making our way home from school, stopping now and then . . . We were all swinging on [a] huge huge gate when a small white dog appeared — seemingly out of nowhere.

He ran blindly into the gate and we knew by his glazed eyes and frothing mouth that he was mad. . . . My big brother, in one quick sweeping motion, set me on top of the high gate in a steel grip. . . . The Lallus boy and Sissie Craig fell off the gate and both were bitten by the rabid animal.

It was almost dark when the Lallus boy got home and told his mother what had happened. Granny washed the wound in strong lye soap, then put coal oil in the open wound. This done, she commanded the boy to be still. "Don't you play around get all hot," she said. "We'll go to the doctor tomorrow."

. . . I was only six, but I remember the Deep Fork River was "out of the banks," very deep and swift. The Lallus boys' father was dead and his widowed mother was known all over the valley as "Granny" Lallus.

. . . At break of day she had her old side-saddle on the mare — a lunch tied to the saddle horn and her son mounted behind the saddle.

---

18 Olivia Myers, "Mad Dog," *Frontier Times*, Vol. XXXVII October-November, 1963), pp. 49-50.

. . . Granny half-turned in her saddle to wave farewell to us and took off through the Deep Fork bottoms to take her only child to the mad stone. The mad stone is a famous cure-all stone taken from a spotted deer. People for ages have believed that rubbing it on the wound would cure a mad dog bite. I'm not sure, but I think she went to Okmulgee to the mad stone. Anyway, a few days later she was back. Many, many times I have heard the story told about how the mad stone stuck three times.

. . . . Sissie's father wasn't sure the dog was mad or perhaps he, like, my mother, was educated enough to realize the mad stone could not possibly keep a person from going mad. (In those days we did not use the word "rabies.") At any rate they did not take Sis to the mad stone.

. . . Sometime later we were playing . . . Sissie put her little hands to her head and said, "Oh! my head hurts. Let's go get a drink." . . . Sissie took a brimming dipper full of water and lifted it eagerly to her lips. The next instant she lay on the kitchen floor in a horrible convulsion.

Mad! All through the nine long days and nights before her death she moaned and cried for water only to suffer all over again those terrible convulsions.

Here is a similar reminiscence from another part of Indian Territory:[19]

I would like to give you a true account of an incident that happened in our family at Jim Town, Indian Territory, in 1895.

. . . A big, black, shaggy Shepherd came galloping along the road dragging a long section of heavy chain and frothing at the mouth. . . . The kids jumped up . . . hollering, "Mad dog."

My brother Joe jumped up and looked in the wrong direction and the dog whirled to one side and bit him in several places on his back.

The rabid dog followed the road for a couple of miles into the Red River bottom where a man by the name of Tom Patton and another man were riding after cattle. . . . The dog turned on [Tom] and bit him several times on the leg.

My stepfather, H. B. Tucker, put Joe behind him on a horse and headed for Gainesville, Texas, which was about thirty miles to the south across Red River. He had heard that there was a madstone located there. On their arrival, the stone was placed on the wounds but failed to adhere (or stick, as we called it). My stepfather returned home convinced that the dog was not rabid and went back to plowing corn.

He had not much more than got his team hitched to the plow when here came a rider with a message from Tom Patton who had also gone across the river into Texas to a madstone that he had heard of. He said that the madstone was sticking and to bring Joe on over at once. My stepfather unhitched the team from the plow and hitched them to a covered wagon and loaded the family into it. With the messenger as a guide he lost no time getting to the madstone. It was still sticking to Tom's wounds, there being several and each having to be treated separately.

When applied to a fresh wound it would stick for a while before it would fall off. Then the attendant would place it in sweet milk over a fire in the fireplace as they did not have a cookstove, and boil it for a few minutes until the milk turned a yellow-green and became slimy. After this,

---

19 W. H. Crockett, "The Madstone," *Frontier Times*, Vol. XXXVIII (December-January, 1964), pp. 1, 64.

it would be re-applied to the wound. Each time it would stick to the wound. Each time it would stick for a shorter period of time until eventually it would not stick at all. Then it would be placed on another wound. On Joe, it adhered tightly for several hours before it came loose.

These folks lived in a two-room log cabin with a side room or lean-to attached. The family consisted of the father, mother, and a teen-age daughter. The daughter, as the story was told to us, had a hobby of collecting what she called 'pretty' rocks, and in her collection she had one rock that she was especially fond of. One evening a stranger rode up to the cabin and asked permission to remain over night. The next morning as he was preparing to leave, the daughter brought out her collection of rocks to show to him.

After he had ridden away, the girl noticed that her favorite rock was missing. Her father mounted a horse in double fast time and followed and overtook the traveler. He demanded the return of the stone from the business end of an old squirrel rifle. The man admitted taking it but explained that the "pretty rock" was a madstone and very valuable.

It was about three inches long and two wide, was oval-shaped and tapered at each end. I remember thinking that it resembled a bar of Grandma's Tar Soap after it had about been used up. It was bluish gray and somewhat porous. Tom Patton eventually died with an infected leg — a direct result of the dog bites. For a number of years Joe had blood boils around the area of the bites each spring about the time of the attack. My stepfather learned later that the madstone in Gainesville had been used on a race horse for a rattlesnake bite and it seems that snake venom cannot be removed and renders the stone useless for treatment of rabies.

My honest opinion is that had Brother not received treatment by the madstone he would have gone raving mad within a few days.

These are two good examples of the transportation of the patient to the madstone. What might explain this uniformly patterned aspect of the madstone custom? Probably, it is founded upon a few considerations of common sense at the time. Hydrophobia was a dread sickness for which the only hope (so it was thought) was application of a madstone. Persons exposed to rabies usually "went for a madstone" as soon as possible. It became something of a sacred public duty, for persons knowing of a madstone's whereabouts, to report its location and "potential" to victims of suspected "mad" animals.

Madstones were thought to be very valuable to mankind. A person possessing an authenticated madstone would naturally be opposed to loaning it. Most owners of madstones who treated patients with it did so only as a sideline. They had their livelihood in farming or merchandising or any of the other pursuits of the time. These people could not afford to drop everything and run off to treat, at a moment's notice, the victim of a rabid animal's bite. However, they would provide treatment at their home as a public service whenever patients requested it. The argument, then, seems complete. Madstones (particularly those having a reputation of being authentic and proven) were expected to be effective cures for a terrible malady. The owner of the stone

would not lend it because he valued it highly. The owner could not afford to come to the victim. Hence, the victim must make the trip.

This discussion, if correct, rules out another possible explanation for the pattern of use under consideration here—namely, that it was thought that the owner possessed some special knowledge, skill, or power without which the stone could not be effective. If this were correct, one would expect that only one person would always manipulate the stone. The evidence does not support this. It is true that the victim rarely manipulated the stone, probably because he did not know how. But there were numerous cases of different persons in the owner's family performing the cure.[20] The situation might be compared to getting a measles vaccination today. Few laymen have the simple knowledge or experience required to administer the injection, but any nurse at the hospital can do the job.

There must have been considerable variation in popular notions of the length of time between exposure and development of symptoms. Some rushed to the stone immediately. Others were in fits when the stone was applied as Mr. Salisberry related. Yet others went to a madstone without undue haste. In Texas "it was generally considered that a person infected with rabies could not go mad for at least two weeks."[21] Salisberry has provided an example of "successful" treatment even after the patient had a fit.[22]

Medical science has some very interesting information to offer in this matter:[23]

> Hydrophobia is an acute infectious virus disease, usually transmitted in the saliva of a rabid animal. It is characterized by a variable incubation period, by symptoms of irritation of centers in the brain, and by psychic excitation and hyperesthesia followed by paralysis and death. . . . Responsibility for its presence rests on the dog. . . . The virus enters through a bite, or when the saliva comes in contact with an open wound or with the mucosa of the lips or nose. . . . The incubation period varies from ten days to more than two years. The average is fifty to sixty days. The length of this period is influenced by the location and extent of the bite and by the species of the biting animal. . . . In this country rabies in

---

20 v. Cansler, *op. cit.*, p. 102; J. Frank Dobie, "Madstones and Hydrophobia Skunks," *Madstones and Twisters*, ed. Boatright, Hudson, Maxwell (Dallas, 1958), pp. 11-12; Crockett, *op. cit.*, p. 1; Ahearn, *op. cit.*, p. 149. The pattern of inheritance of madstones also militates against special powers for the operator because no mention is made of the transmission of any such powers other than the simple mechanical skills of manipulation. The only case found, in which the victim manipulated the stone, is in Woodhull, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

21 Dobie, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

22 Cf. Ahearn, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

23 Russell LaFayette Cecil. *Cecil-Leob Textbook of Medicine* (Philadelphia, 1959), pp. 56-59.

man is usually due to the bite of a dog. Cats, wolves, skunks and other animals make up less than ten percent of infective agents. . . . Once the symptoms have developed, death is inevitable.

Thus, there is no fixed incubation period for rabies; and persons who were "cured" by a madstone after they had experienced "fits" were suffering from a psychosomatic malady, not rabies. Today there is no known effective cure for rabies after true symptoms have appeared. The only procedure available to physicians is the preventative Pasteur treatment which is an immunization process functioning like vaccinations given to prevent childhood diseases. Just as a typhoid vaccination cannot cure a live case of typhoid fever, the Pasteur treatment cannot cure a live case of rabies.

Since medical opinion is quoted at this point, it would be appropriate to take up an examination of the reasons why many persons believed in the efficacy of the madstone technique:[24]

It is estimated that ten to fifteen percent of all persons bitten will develop hydrophobia unless immunized. The mortality from bites on the face and head will average sixty to seventy percent; those on the hands, fifteen to twenty percent; those through clothing, one percent. . . . Contact in the absence of a wound is rarely followed by rabies. . . . The mortality of those treated with the Pasteur treatment is less han one in 1000.

In other words, on the average, about eighty-five percent of those persons exposed to rabies through a bite if left untreated will suffer no ill effects. Of course, this information has been developed only recently through broad-ranging studies. It is certain that most persons felt that being bitten by a "mad" animal meant almost sure death unless some providential prophylaxis could be provided. The disease was (and is) so horrible in its manifestation in mankind that an exposed person would surely seek some kind of treatment. Madstones, due to historical reasons (discussed below), had come to have a reputation for effectiveness. Thus a victim often sought a madstone which no doubt neither helped nor harmed his chances for survival, although it must have had a beneficial effect upon his state of mind.

The expectation of the success of the madstone treatment was continually reinforced by rumors and reports of its effectiveness. The popular conception of what constituted "proof" of its effectiveness involved two factors: (I) Very often it was claimed to be a sound remedy because it had been observed that persons who had used it had not developed the disease. Here is a prime example:[25]

The mad-stone, a device for curing the effects of poisonous bites has been known in our state for many years. For example, such a stone was re-

---

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 56-59.

ported in Halifax county nearly ninety years ago; I quote from the Tarborough (N.C.) *Free Press* for October 21, 1848: "*Mad-stone* — We are happy to learn that Mr. Elijah Pope, Sr., of this county, whose residence is near Dawson's Cross Roads, has succeeded in procuring a Mad-Stone, or Stone, that will cure any poisonous bite — either Mad Dog, Snake, or Spider. Mr. Pope has been called upon several times to apply the stone since it has been in his possession, and has been successful in every case. Such as may be so unfortunate as to be poisoned by the bite or sting of anything, would do well to call on Mr. Pope . . ."

II. Believers in the madstone's prophylactic powers sometimes cited cases wherein death came to victims who declined to avail themselves of its help.[26]

The following two types of incident (cited here as III and IV) seem to have been almost universally ignored or unconsciously suppressed:

III. There were cases in which a madstone was "properly" employed yet death followed: "A man . . . was bitten by a skunk and advised to go to Chicago for the Pasteur treatment but stopped enroute in Kansas City where he was persuaded to try a 'mad stone' treatment. He died several weeks after his return."[27]

IV. Another kind of cases usually is ignored, those in which no madstone was applied followed by no symptoms of rabies.[28]

The madstone phenomenon provides an excellent test for developing a tentative hypothesis for the nature of what folklorists have described as "superstition," or popular belief. Before offering a theory here, a short disgression is required. One is justified in claiming that X is the cause of Y if, in *all* trials, *each and every one* of the following requirements are met: (1) X does not chronologically follow Y; (2) whenever X occurs, Y occurs; (3) whenever X does not occur, Y does not occur. If any one (or

---

25 Ericson, *op. cit.*, p. 165. Cf. Woodhull, *op. cit.*, p. 24; Hudson, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-5; Harry Middleton Hyatt, *Folklore From Adams County. Illinois* (New York, 1955), p. 205; Gwyn A. Parry, *The Jackson County "Madstones,"* (Chilicothe, Ohio, 1960), p. 2; *Journal of the American Folklore Society*, "Notes and Queries," Vol. XV (1902), pp. 292-3; Withers, *op. cit.*, p. 125; Ahearn, *op. cit., passim;* Crockett, *op. cit.*, p. 64; Myers, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Cansler, *op. cit., passim;* Dobie, *op. cit., passim.*

26 The only instance of this that the writer has found is quoted in this study from Myers, *op cit.*, p. 50.

27 Francis C. Quebbeman, *Medicine in Territorial Arizona* (Phoenix, 1966), p. 219. Cf. Dobie, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

28 v. Cansler, *op. cit.*, p. 104; Dobie, *op. cit.*, p. 9. There are no examples of this kind of condition in the accounts examined, with the possible exception of Dobie. Of course, since most persons thought that a bite from a "really mad dog" inevitably resulted in death by hydrophobia (v. Cansler, *op. cit.*, p. 104), anyone bitten by a suspected dog who did not get any kind of treatment and subsequently did not die from hydrophobia was counted as lucky because the dog, therefore, must not have been "really" mad.

any combination) of these conditions fails to hold, X cannot possibly be the cause of Y. That is, either (4) the appearance of X and the lack of Y, or (5) the absence of X when Y appears (or both 4 and 5) eliminates X as the cause of Y.[29] In the case of the madstone, these eliminating conditions respectively are instances III and IV.

Only one case is known here, in which an informant offered *both* conditions (2) and (3) (I and II respectively) as evidence for the madstone's efficacy. In the majority of cases the evidence cited is of the nature of condition (2) only. These seem to have been of paramount significance to informants and to the populace in general. Only rarely were incidents like type II cited as proof for the madstone's power. Never did a madstone owner intentionally withhold treatment to see if death would occur, thus tending to confirm the power of the madstone. Such an alternative is properly unthinkable. Yet it is equally improper from the standpoint of sound logic to depend solely upon evidence like type I while disregarding or not seeking cases like types III and IV which clearly disconfirm the reputation of the madstone.

With these considerations in mind, the following is proposed as a working hypothesis to explain at least some kinds of "superstitions." A superstition is, in many instances, a belief held on the basis of only conditions (1) and (2) above, the "X" being either some naturally occurring event, or (as in the case of madstone use) a humanly induced event introduced because of its cultural significance within the particular group, "Y" being the desired result.

This cultural significance could be created by rumor, or by other beliefs, such as supernaturalism, or by past history, or by past "tests" by means of conditions (1) and (2) only; or in some few cases, by means of (3) only. Furthermore, in such a belief there will be an internal sanction[30] against taking cognizance of the disconfirming procedures of conditions (4) and (5) above. In the case of madstones the sanction is the fear of death. In such a belief disconfirming instances are further discounted, possibly because of the strong reliance placed upon the sole usage of (1) and (2) as confirming procedures or possibly simply because they are not known because of lack of communication, or because an active search for disconfirmations is not made. Also, implicit in forming such a belief is the emphasis given to a limited

---

[29] For a rigorous discussion of the nature of causality see Brian Skyrms, *Choice and Chance: An Introduction to Inductive Logic* (Belmont, California, 1966), pp. 80-110.

[30] A detailed discussion of this matter would be inappropriate in this paper. A good beginning discussion for this factor is found in Stephen C. Pepper, *Ethics* (New York, 1960), pp. 28-34.

number of trials within a fairly small area with no intent to make a broad and detailed record of all cases over a large region, keeping records of both confirming and disconfirming cases. There are problems remaining, but one feels that this is a sound approach for understanding the madstone phenomenon and many other "superstitions" having a causal basis.

Prior to concluding this study, something must be said about the origin of the madstone custom. Before the usage of the madstone in Oklahoma, and elsewhere, can be fully understood, one needs to search the historical evidence for an answer to the question of origin both of the custom and the name given it by its practitioners.

Many kinds of objects have been reputed to be madstones, ranging from buckeye seeds to clay or flint to animal calculi to balls of matted hair taken from animals.[31] By far the most common material seems to be animal calculi, especially those taken from deer. Running second to that would be balls of matted hair.[32] In the great majority of cases, informants claim that a necessary test of authenticity is that the "stone" come from an animal's body, usually a ruminant animal. This is a very important factor to keep in mind in tracing the origin of this custom. Equally important to the same purpose is the almost universal conception that the damaging thing about a mad dog's bite is the "poison" it deposits in the wound. It is this poison which the stone is said to draw out, or suck out, or sometimes, to charm out.[33]

The object from the past which most closely fits this average pattern noted above (with the exception of the operation of dipping in milk) is the bezoar stone. There is a considerable literature about bezoars. Perhaps the best single source was written by George Frederick Kunz.[34]

---

31 Charles Whitebread, "The Madstone Humbug," *Journal of the American Pharmaceutical Association*, Vol. II, (1941), pp. 359-60. This diversity is borne out in the accounts noted in the bibliography of this paper.

32 Dobie, *op. cit.*, p. 5; Oklahoma Writer's Project, *Oklahoma Folklore*, Mss. in the Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. The Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore and Mythology at the University of California at Log Angeles has in its collection such a ball of hair reputed to have been used as a madstone.

33 For an explanation of a madstone's efficacy in terms of it being a charm, see *West Virginia Folklore*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1951), p. 15. Cf. Pauline Monette Black: *Nebraska Folk Cures* (Lincoln, 1935), p. 33; Hyatt, *op. cit.*, p. 204; Vance Randolph, *The Ozarks* (New York, 1931), pp. 98-99; Benjamin A. Botkin, *A Treasury of New England Folklore* (New York, 1947), p. 355.

34 The outline of the rise of the reputation of bezoar stones as given in this and the subsequent paragraph is adapted from George Frederick Kunz, *The Magic of Jewels and Charms* (Philadelphia, 1915), Chapter V, 'Snakestones and Bezoars."

The origin of the belief in the bezoar stone as an antidote to poison is lost in antiquity. It apparently appeared first in ancient Persia, the name "bezoar" derives from Persian. An Arab legend described the origin of bezoars as due to deer that had devoured snakes. After intense fever, stones were formed in the corner of their eyes. These stones were useful against poisons of all kinds.

The first mention of bezoar is by Persian and Arabic writers, possibly as early as the Seventh Century of our era. It probably was not used medicinally in Europe before the Twelfth Century. Because of the pestilential fevers sweeping Europe at the time, in their distress, people turned to the bezoar stone which was so highly recommended by the Arabic physicians whose works had recently become known on the Continent. Many different animal sources were cited by writers, but a favored source were deer or similar animals. Bezoars are concretions or calculi formed in the bodies of animals. True bezoar stones are sadly familiar to humans under the name of gall-stones or kidney-stones or the like.[35]

Eventually in the middle ages, bezoar stones brought great prices. Most men of means kept at least one on hand in case of an emergency. The preferred mode of treatment was either drinking powdered bezoar in a liquid, or sucking on the stone, or placing it in contact with the body.

In the early Thirteenth Century the renowned Arabian physician, Ibnu 'l Baitar, in his *Treatise on Simples* gave a full description of the use of the bezoar stone to combat poison. He recommended that the substance should be pressed against a wound containing poison.[36] Elsewhere in the same work he ascribes to bezoar the faculty of "attracting the poison of venomous animals."[37] Combine that source with the widely held belief that rabies develops from the "poison" bite of a mad

---

35 A very good article on the subject of the composition of bezoars is that by George Gaylor Simpson, "Bezoar Stones," *Natural History Magazine*, Vol. XL (1937), pp. 599-602. See also *Funk and Wagnall's Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology, and Legend*, ed. Maria Leach (New York, 1949-50), p. 138; *Handworterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (Berlin, 1927), Vol. I, p. 1206; Carrie B. Williams, "Madstone Miracles," *Nature Magazine*, Vol. XXXVII (1944), pp. 355, 388. George Frederick Kunz in "Madstones and Their Magic," *Science*, Vol. XVIII (1891), p. 287 gives us his judgment in this matter: "The writer has examined a large number of so-called madstones, and they have all proved to be an aluminous shale or other absorptive substance."

36 Joan Evans, *Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, particularly in England* (Oxford, 1922), p. 41. Cf the technique of pressing given by Cansler, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

37 William George Black, *Folk Medicine* (London, 1883), p. 145. Note the similarity of this explanation of bezoar's powers with the explanation of a madstone's "sucking" or "drawing" often given in America.

dog, and one has a technique which closely resembles the madstone treatment.[38] Unfortunately, there is very little definite information which would explain the origin of the name "madstone" with an equal degree of probability.[39]

It is easy to show that the bezoar-madstone treatment for rabies entered this country by two major routes. The Spaniards introduced the idea to American Indians with whom they came in contact during their travels in the New World.[40] Possibly the Indians eventually transmitted the notion to white men many years later. The main source, however, must have been direct importation by European immigrants to the United States.[41] The custom of dipping or boiling the madstone in milk before and after application to the victim appears to be directly traceable to the snakestone complex of beliefs and traditions, a matter as tangled as the bezoar tradition. Consider this interesting description of a snakestone:[42]

> The snake-stone (or "mad-stone"), in Arabic *hajar alhayyat*, is described by the Arab writer Kazwini, as being of the size of a small nut. It was found in the heads of certain snakes. To cure the bite of a venomous creature the injured part was to be immersed in sour milk, or in hot water, and when the stone was thrown into the liquid it would immediately attract itself to the bitten part and draw out the poison.

Other descriptions of the use of snakestone are almost the same as many instances of madstone usage except that they are often said to grow from the heads of snakes and are employed against "venomous animals."[43] Thus, the madstone custom is

---

[38] v. Thomas Spackman, *A Declaration of Such Greivous Accidents as Commonly Follow the Biting of Mad Dogges, Together With the Cure Thereof* (London, 1613). The notion of the bite of a rabid dog being poisonous can be traced back as far as 1613 by means of this book. Also, Spackman recommended (p. 39) bezoar as a treatment against the poison of rabies: "Take of the powder of *precipita*, of bezer-ftone, and the powder of *angelica* rootes each a feruple. Mix them together. This doth wonderfully draw forth the malignity, and is of great force againft poyfon."

[39] There are, however, a few clues about the origin of its name in the works reviewed. The most suggestive statement is found in *Journal of the American Folklore Society*, "Notes and Queries," *op. cit.*; ". . . it extracts from the wound made by the dog or other animal afflicited with rabies or mad, the virus deposit . . . What is a madstone?" This passage probably dates from the late Nineteenth Century. Indeed, the earliest American uses of the word found do not predate 1800. See entries under 'madstone' in *Americanisms, Old and New* (London, 1889); *A Dictionary of American English on Historical Principles* (Chicago, 1938-44); *A Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles* (Chicago, 1951); *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1933). The theory tentatively offered for the origin of the name 'madstone' is based upon the passage just above. If 'rabies' is equated with 'mad', this suggests that 'madstone' originally carried the weight that 'rabies-stone' would carry nowadays. Apparently 'mad' was used as a noun then.

[40] *Funk and Wagnall's Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology, and Legend, op. cit.*, p. 139.

seen to be a syncretic blend of bezoar tradition and snakestone tradition.

This ends the attempt here to place the madstones of Oklahoma in a world perspective and to develop a theory to explain their continued use until recently. This paper is only a sketch of a subject broad enough to fill a good-sized book. At least the general outline of what was once a widely spread American custom can now be seen with a bit more clarity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bibliography is always important in a study of this nature. For the benefit of future workers, the additional works consulted are listed for accounts of madstone use. These titles were not directly in the article noted above, but their contents helped form opinions on the subject in the above article.

Wyndham Bolling Blanton, *Medicine in Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* (Richmond, 1930)

Paul G. Brewster, "Speciments of Folklore from Southern Indiana," *Folklore*, Vol. XLVII (1936), 362-8.

Roscoe Carlyle Buley, *The Old Northwest Pioneer Period*, 1815-1840 (Indianapolis, 1950).

Violetta Halpert, "Folk Cures from Indiana," *Hoosier Folklore*, Vol. IX (1950), 1-12.

Wayland D. Hand, ed., *The F. C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore*, Vol. VI (Durham, 1961).

Laurence M. Klauber, *Rattlesnakes, Their Habits, Life Histories, and Influences on Mankind*, 2 Vols. (Los Angeles, 1956).

W. L. McAtee, "Medical Lore in Grant County, Indiana in the Nineties," *Midwest Folklore*, Vol. VIII (1958), 151-3.

Pat Ireland Nixon, *A Century of Medicine in San Antonio* (Dallas, 1938).

Otto Ernest Rayburn, *Ozark Country* (New York, 1941).

Grace Partridge Smith, "Folklore from Egypt," *Hoosier Folklore Bulletin*, Vol. V (1946), 45-70; *Tennessee Folklore Society Bulletin*, "Superstitions and Beliefs," Vol. III, No. 2 (1937), 11-40.

Daniel Lindsay Thomas and Lucy Blayney Thomas, *Kentucky Superstitions* (Princeton, 1920).

Stanley Vestal, *Short Grass Country* (New York, 1941).

Annie Weston Whitney and Caroline Canfield Bullock, *Folklore from Maryland* (New York, 1925).

Gordon Wilson, "Talismans and Magic in Folk Remedies in the Mammoth Cave Region," *Southern Folklore Quarterly*, Vol. XXX (1966), 192-201.

---

41 See note 39 above and Cansler, *op. cit.*, p. 99; Randolph: *Ozark Superstitions*, p. 141.

42 Kunz, *The Magic of Jewels and Charms*, pp. 225-6.

43 Kunz: "Madstones and their Magic," p. 459. Cf. James R. Masterson: "Traveler's Tales of Colonial History," *Journal of the American Folklore Society*, Vol. LIX (1946), p. 185; H. B. Wilson, "Notes of Syrian Folk-lore Collected in Boston," *Journal of the American Folklore Society*, Vol. XVI (1903), p. 138.

THE ILLINOIS RIVER

*By T. L. Ballenger**

In recent years historians have written much about the main rivers of America. Since civilization has so often followed the river courses it is perfectly natural that they furnish so much interesting and valuable historical material. The late Dr. Anna Lewis has described the early life and commerce along the Arkansas. Although the Illinois is not as large as several other rivers of Oklahoma yet many interesting incidents have taken place along its course.

The Illinois River of Oklahoma evidently gets its name from the larger Illinois in the state of Illinois. The two rivers are considerably alike, though the one in the state of Illinois is much larger. The early French traders and trappers and priests who came from the Great Lakes down the larger Illinois River named it from the predominant Indian confederation of that region, the Illini Indians, as they called themselves.[1] The best theory we have concerning the naming of our Oklahoma Illinois, perhaps, is that when these same French traders and trappers first traversed our Illinois and found its close resemblance, in many ways, to the eastern Illinois they named this Illinois after the one they had formerly known so well.[2]

The Illinois River in Oklahoma rises in the southern part of Washington County, Arkansas, about thirteen miles slightly southwest of Prairie Grove. Its source is six miles southwest of Moffit, two miles north of Stickler, and just off the old Wire road that led from Springfield, Missouri, by way of Fayetteville, to Ft. Smith. Here three large mountain slopes converge at a point and the drainage from these three slopes gives rise to the Illinois River. From this point it meanders for several miles among mountain ranges and then flows in a northerly direction passing east of Prairie Grove and west of Fayetteville to a point a few miles east of Siloam Springs, then turns west entering Oklahoma a

---

* Dr. T. L. Ballenger, formerly of the History Department at Northeastern State College, makes his home at Tahlequah, the old capital of the Cherokee Nation. He is author of a number of books on the history of the Cherokee Nation, and has contributed several articles to *The Chronicles* in the past. Dr. Ballenger is well-known as the Cherokee historian and genealogist, and for his research and knowledge on historic sites within the boundaries of the former Cherokee Nation in Northeastern Oklahoma. —Ed.

1 James Gray, *The Illinois* (Farrar and Rinehart), p. 11.

2 Charles N. Gray, *Oklahoma Place Names* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1933), p. 29.

mile east of Watts and flows in a southwesterly direction and empties into the Arkansas near Webbers Falls. The Illinois, Lees Creek, and the west fork of the White River in Arkansas all rise within a few miles of each other.

The writer has traversed a good portion of the Illinois, particularly the Oklahoma part of it, either on foot or by boat. He has floated nearly all of it from Chuie to Gore, and has caught more fish out of the Illinois than all the other waters of the globe.

Upon entering the old Cherokee Nation the Illinois flowed across the northern part of Going Snake district, down the eastern side of Tahlequah district, formed a little of the western boundary of Flint, passed through the center of Illinois district, and emptied into the Arkansas three miles below Webbers Falls. In terms of present political subdivisions of Oklahoma it crosses Delaware, Adair, Cherokee, and Sequoyah counties.

Prairie Grove was the scene of a major Civil War battle in 1862. Here General Hindman tried unsuccessfully to stop the Union army led by General Blunt from its invasion of western Arkansas. The battle site has been restored by the people of Prairie Grove. Pioneer homes, school houses, and industrial devices have been brought in from the surrounding country, and the whole made into an interesting Memorial Park to commemorate the Civil War battle. The old Presbyterian Church at Prairie Grove, still in use today, served as a hospital during the war. The old cemetery marks the resting place of many pre-war pioneers.

Fayetteville on the Illinois River was a town of three stores when the Cherokee emigrants came through there in 1839. Now it is a city of about 30,000 people. It is the county seat of Washington County, Arkansas. It was the home of one of the early governors of Arkansas, Archibald Yell. His remains rest there today in the Memorial cemetery. The city has a well-kept Confederate cemetery. The University of Arkansas was established here in 1871 as one of the earliest land grant colleges of the nation. "Old Main" still stands as the silent sentinel of the University's establishment. It houses an excellently arranged museum of early Indian and pioneer life. Among its many Indian relics are fish hooks made of bone and stunning points for shooting birds.

With the University's first graduating class of 1876 was started the custom of inscribing the graduate's names on the concrete sidewalks. The names of the late L. P. Woods and T. M. Pearson of Tahlequah are inscribed there. On April 21, 1909, when a horse-drawn carriage was conveying the pallbearers to

the funeral of University President, N. P. Gates, the horses ran away on Dickson Street and threw them out, so badly disabling two of them that they could not go on.[3] This institution ranks high in the list of state universities today.

Near where the Illinois crosses the Arkansas-Oklahoma state line a dam was built across its course, several years ago, and Lake Francis was created for recreational and utilitarian purposes. The dam is in Oklahoma, the lake serves both states.

In 1837 it was rumored that there was danger of an Indian uprising in the Indian Territory and the Cherokee agent recommended that the United States Government locate another military fort in this region. Consequently Fort Wayne was established on the highland overlooking the Illinois just where the present town of Watts stands. The fort was begun on October 29, 1838[4]. Several log barracks buildings were erected and soldiers were stationed here for about a year. But, even before the fort was finished, the location proved to be unhealthful and it was moved to a site three miles southwest of Maysville, near Spavinaw creek. The rumored Indian uprising was of course without foundation and the whole project proved to be a mistake. Most of the equipment was transferred to Fort Scott, Kansas. During the factional strife among the Cherokees from 1839 to 1846 Stand Watie used this fort as a rendezvous for some of his followers; and again he collected Confederate troops here at times during the Civil War. The buildings decayed and were destroyed. Little or no sign of its location remains today.

A few miles from Watts, near the headwaters of Ballard Creek, a branch of the Illinois, lie the remains of the old Cherokee patriarch, Goingsnake. We find his name signed to many acts of the Cherokee Council back in the old nation. At the time of the removal he was about eighty years of age. He rode to his new home on horseback but died soon after his arrival here. His grave is in the woods and unmarked. In 1911, it was rifled by ghouls, but friends collected the scattered residue and reburied it in the original grave. His name was commemorated by Goingsnake district of the Cherokee Nation and Goingsnake street in Tahlequah.[5]

---

[3] Harrison Hale, *University of Arkansas*, 1871-1948, (Fayetteville, 1948).

[4] Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1933), p. 77.

[5] Goingsnake's grave is near the Russell community. The Russells are Cherokees and they are the ones who reburied Goingsnake's remains in 1911. Their grandfather, W. Green Russell, discovered gold at the mouth of Dry Creek in the southern outskirts of Denver in 1858. Hafen and Rister, *Western America*, pp. 437-438. See also, Paul Bennett, "On the Trail of William Green Russell," "*The War Chief*" (Oklahoma Westerners), Vol. 2, No. 3 (December, 1968).

In the Cherokee removal of 1838-1839, the Reverend Jesse Bushyhead was the leader of one of the groups of approximately one thousand. His group stopped at a point near a branch of the Illinois, about half way between the present towns of Westville and Watts. They named the place Baptist. Here Bushyhead re-established the church that had its origin in Georgia and made this a regular mission point. The Cherokees at first called it "Breadtown" from the fact that the Government distributed rations here for a time after the arrival. The Reverend Evan Jones and his son, John B. Jones, assisted Bushyhead in this mission school. A printing press was set up here and a school pamphlet called the "Cherokee Messenger" was published. On July 5, 1850, a postoffice was established at Baptist Mission with Evan Jones as postmaster. The mission was discontinued during the Civil War and, in 1867, was moved to Tahlequah. The Reverend Jesse Bushyhead died in 1844 and was buried in the mission cemetery.[6]

Some evidence exists that numerous Indian villages were located along the Illinois back in prehistoric times. From the variety of Indian artifacts that have been found along the river, from the general lay of the land, and from various circumstantial indications, some ten or twelve sites of early Indian villages can be located along the Illinois in Cherokee County alone. If one considers the whole course of the river there is no telling how many Indians lived along this river in prehistoric times.

In the northern part of what was the old Goingsnake district of the Cherokee Nation the Illinois is supplemented by the clear waters of Flint Creek. Some three miles up Flint Creek stands the old Hildebrand Mill. Peter Hildebrand was a German miller who came here in 1835 and built this water mill, which is still standing today. It furnished meal to the people for a radius of fifty miles. During the Civil War the mill was captured by the Union troops and used as a Confederate prison. The

---

[6] The Reverend Evan Jones was born in Wales and had preached to the Cherokees in Georgia before the removal. When the Cherokees came to this country he came with them. Evan Jones' son, John B. Jones, was graduated from the Theological Seminary at Syracuse, New York. Immediately after his graduation he married and brought his bride with him to the mission at Baptist. At the time of the Civil War the Joneses sympathized with the North, hence found it advisable to leave the country during the war. They had feared that the war would result in the disolution of the Cherokee Nation and, with the hopes of preventing this, they had encouraged the Keetoowahs to draw up a constitution and thus form a political entity that might be able to save their nation from destruction. After the war the Joneses both returned, were granted permission to continue their work among the Cherokees, and were instrumental in re-establishing the mission at Tahlequah, in 1867. Evan Jones is buried in the Tahlequah cemetery.

prisoners had the smallpox and from them the disease was scattered among the Indians for miles around.

At this mill was the beginning of the trouble that, in Cherokee history, is commonly known as "the Goingsnake Tragedy." A difficulty arose between Ezekiel Proctor and Jim Kesterson over some cattle. Proctor went to the mill to see Kesterson. In the argument that followed Proctor fired at Kesterson and accidentally killed his wife, Polly Kesterson, who was trying to protect her husband. Kesterson was a white man but his wife was part Cherokee. This led to legal complications making Proctor liable in the Cherokee court for killing the Cherokee woman and liable in the Federal court for attempt to kill a white man The case wound up in the "Goingsnake Tragedy", April 15, 1872, in which nine people were killed and several others wounded. The case went before the President of the United States and before both houses of Congress and was finally settled by a compromise between the Federal Government and the Cherokee Nation by which all parties to the conflict were pardoned.[7]

Near Chuie, on the Illinois about twenty-five miles north of Tahlequah, at designated times, the late Eli Pumpkin conducted a Cherokee clan meeting and stomp dance for many years. Here, near a strong spring of water, stood their cabin equipped with cooking stoves and kitchen utensils. Outside was a long serving table made of sturdy oak planks. Upon the occasion of a dance hundreds of people would gather. The women would cook great ovens of biscuits, beef, vegetables, pies, and coffee and, at the call of "cum-buck-sha", all the people would be served free of charge. The ballplay went on in the afternoon and the dancing around the sacred fire at night. The fire consisted of four logs pointing toward the four cardinal points with the coals in the center. Around this fire were seats for the accommodation of the representatives of the seven Cherokee clans. These activities would continue for three or four days at a time.

About twenty miles north of Tahlequah, on the east side of the Illinois river, an oil well was drilled in 1895, but it proved to be a dry hole. Oil seeped out of the ground at this place. The Cherokees had camped here for years and drunk this "mineral water" for their health. When the well was being drilled real estate promoters platted a town here, which they called "Oil City", and sold lots to prospectors far and wide. The only house ever built in "Oil City" was a three-story hotel erected in 1895 and destroyed by fire about 1910.

Some ten miles below "Oil City", at an abrupt bend in the Illinois, stands Lutherhoma. This is a mission built by the

[7] For further details see manuscript of the author (unpublished).

Lutheran Church. It formerly stood down in the Cookson Hills region but, when it was found that the site would be inundated by the contemplated lake Tenkiller, the mission was moved to its present location. It is widely used by the youth of the Lutheran Church as a center for study and recreation, especially through the summer months.

By far the most important historic site in the whole valley of the Illinois is Tahlequah. This beautiful stream is doubtless one of the factors that determined the Cherokees to settle here in 1839 at the conclusion of their tragic "Trail of Tears." The encampment of the four or five thousand immigrant Cherokees at the Illinois Camp Ground was only a mile from the river and one can well imagine that some of them were camped all along this mile. Here the three distraught factions wrangled for nearly two months trying to settle their differences and to form a united government. John Ross held out tenaciously for union, against the army, led by General Arbuckle, the Federal Government, and the Old Settlers, until, on August 23, 1839, they signed the Act of Union officially reuniting the three factions into one nation. Then, on September 6, they drew up a new constitution, selected a set of officers, and started the new government at Tahlequah.

Here, despite their troubles over the removal, and the six years of strife that resulted from these troubles, their division in the Civil War, and many other almost insurmountable obstacles, the Cherokees built up an Indian nation, an industry, and a social system that is unique in Indian history. The Cherokee Advocate, Oklahoma's first newspaper, was started in 1844. Although they were finally overwhelmed by the flood of western migration and forced to submit to the inevitable dissolution of their government, the influence of Cherokee ingenuity will be felt for a long time to come in the progressive state of Oklahoma.

Just south of town was the Cherokee Male Seminary, established by act of the National Council in 1846. This school continued until the destruction of the building by fire in 1910. School was discontinued for a few years during the Civil War period, during which time the building was used as a hospital for Union soldiers. The Female Seminary was located at Park Hill. Here the Cherokee girls were taught not only the rudiments of learning but music, the literary classics, and the social graces in keeping with the best New England traditions. When this building was burned, in 1887, a new one was constructed in Tahlequah to take its place. The second building today serves as the Administration building of Northeastern State College.

This College stands out today as an outgrowth of the Cherokee educational system.

Tahlequah is a progressive city of some six or seven thousand people, with excellent schools and churches. The College enrollment is a little more than 5,000. The city's future outlook is bright.

At the "Forks of the Illinois" (that is, where Barren Fork empties into the Illinois) was an early mission point. Thomas Newton founded a mission here in 1830, which was later moved to Park Hill. The present Presbyterian mission at Welling is the successor of Newton's first mission. Barren Fork creek is the most important tributary of the Illinois throughout its entire course.

On December 18, 1863, a Civil War battle was fought here. It is commonly known as the battle of "Barren Fork or Sheldon's Place." It was a kind of running battle between the Third Indian Home Guards under the command of Captain Alexander C. Spilman and some of Stand Watie's troops. Spilman was sent here from Ft. Gibson by Colonel W. A. Phillips. The battle resulted in the retirement of the Confederate forces farther back into the hills. Spilman then led his victorious troops to Rhea's Mill, over in Arkansas, where he joined the Union army.[8]

Park Hill might be called the early social center of the Cherokee Nation, as Tahlequah was the political center. It was here that John Ross built his Rose Cottage residence. Here, too, lived Lewis Ross, brother of the chief, and George Murrell, son-in-law of Lewis Ross. Robert Meigs had a store here until he went to California at the time of the gold rush and never returned. Andrew Nave married Meigs' widow, Jennie, who was the eldest daughter of Chief John Ross. He also conducted a store here until he was killed by Confederate raiders in 1863. William P. Ross, later chief of the nation, and his brother Joshua, operated a water mill on Park Hill branch near its confluence with the Illinois. Here they made meal and flour and sawed lumber before the Civil War.

When Dr. Samuel Austin Worcester was pardoned from the Georgia penitentiary for preaching to the Cherokees, he came to Union Mission and set up his printing press. This was in the year 1835. The following year he moved his press to Park Hill and established a mission here. Elias Boudinot was his assistant and interpreter. Unfortunately Boudinot was assassinated here

---

[8] *Official Records*, Report of Capt. Alexander C. Spilman to Col. W. A. Phillips, Ser. 1, Vol. XXII, Pt. 1, pp. 781-83.

on June 22, 1839 for the part he played in the treaty of removal. The Worcester Mission continued at Park Hill until near the end of the century and was a source of great good in the education and moral uplift of the Cherokee people. The only visible remains of the mission today is the old cemetery. It has been taken over by the State Historical Society and is kept in a good state of preservation. The Society has recently erected a beautiful granite monument at the grave of Elias Boudinot.

The Murrell House at Park Hill is one of the few old homes that escaped destruction during the Civil War. George Murrell, formerly of Virginia, was engaged in the mercantile business in Tennessee before the Indian removal and was a wealthy man. He had married the daughter of Lewis Ross and when they came to the Indian Territory he came with them. He built this colonial home in the middle forties. Since Murrell loved hunting the place came to be known as "Hunters Home". It was elaborately equipped with furnishings imported from France. After the war the Murrells never returned to the Cherokee Nation to live and the place naturally deteriorated considerably. In 1948 the State of Oklahoma secured the property and it is now being restored under the supervision of the State Planning and Resources Board. Several pieces of the original furniture have been brought back to the place. Through the spring and summer some thousand or more people visit this place each month.

The economic resources of the Illinois River valley are represented by farming, raising cattle and other kinds of livestock, fruit growing, saw milling, water power, and recreation. Because of the river's clear water and gravelly bottom it is especially suitable for swimming and floating. It has always been among the best fishing streams in the state. Considerable areas of excellent hardwood timber grow along its course.

Back in the 1880's Johnson Thompson, a prominent pioneer merchant of Tahlequah, contracted with an eastern lumber firm to furnish them a considerable quantity of whiteoak and walnut logs. He bought logs from private individuals along the Illinois, mainly in an area about twenty miles above Tahlequah, and had them delivered to the river. When he had about a thousand logs ready for shipment he employed a group of men to collect them and float them down the river. This floating crew consisted of Jerry Springston as boss, assisted by Clark Collins of Tahlequah, Daniel A. Smith of Oaks, Dave Rogers of Lowrey, Walter Young of Tahlequah, Charles Proctor, and Ned Still.

The floating crew encountered all kinds of difficulties. At places the water was too shallow to float the logs well. At abrupt bends in the stream and at narrows the logs would clog

up and it would take the crew several days to get them untangled and on their way again. The river divided at places into two currents. High water scattered many of the logs out over the bottoms and then receded leaving them strewn about over the woods. Other logs rushed down stream at such a terrific rate that the men could not control them. Some became watersoaked and sank in deep water. A remnant of the logs was finally floated to Webbers Falls and shipped from there by train. The project as a whole was not very successful.

In recent years the recreational facilities of the Illinois as a source of income have outstripped any other economic resource. The Tenkiller Ferry reservoir, commonly known as Tenkiller Lake, was put in in 1954. This name comes from the fact that an Indian named Tenkiller operated a ferry across the Illinois river, near where the dam is, back in Territorial days. The Tenkiller ferry was about a mile and a half below the present Tenkiller dam on the upper branch of the old road leading from Blackgum to Webbers Falls. Bird's ferry was a half mile farther down the stream.

Tenkiller is not the largest lake in the state but it is the deepest and is considered by many visitors to be the most beautiful. Its coastline consists of many bays and inlets. Rugged cliffs and low mountains extend around most of it. At times of high water the lake is about thirty miles long, extending from the dam to within three miles of Tahlequah. Approximately a million people visit Tenkiller annually.

The Illinois runs through the scenic Cookson Hills country, once famous for its outlawry. The fact is that this Cookson Hills region has never been as lawless as the newspapers and yellow journals have proclaimed it. It has mainly been occupied by law-abiding pioneer farmers and cattlemen, such as the Cooksons, the Strattons, the Ballews, and many others, who have lived upright lives and acquired a competence from their ingenuity and from the natural resources of the country.

The site of the court house of the Illinois district of the Cherokee Nation now lies deep beneath the waters of Tenkiller, as does the site of the old Cookson store and the old water mill that stood at the edge of the river and furnished corn meal for the people of the surrounding country. Some of the early Indian graveyards of this region, with their neat little houses built over the graves, have been submerged beneath the lake.

The Bean salt works and the Mackey salt works were operated on the lower Illinois long before the Civil War. Salt was made at Bean's place during the war. The factory passed back

and forth in the possession of first Confederate and then Union forces. It was located about a mile and half southwest of the Blackgum postoffice. As commercial salt became available these more crude salt factories were discontinued. One of the old iron kettles from the Bean salt works sits out in the writer's back yard today.[9]

When the western band of Cherokees, commonly known as the Old Settlers, were moved from western Arkansas into northeastern Indian Territory, in 1828, they established their capital on the north side of Deep Creek, about one mile from where it empties into the Illinois river. This was about four miles southeast of the present town of Gore. They named their capital Tahlonteeskee from a former chief. Here they set up a regular government with an executive department of three chiefs, a legislative council of two houses, and a set of courts. John Jolly was their principal chief. They divided their whole nation into four districts: Neosho, Sallisaw, Illinois, and Lees Creek.

It was here that Sam Houston came in 1829 after he separated from his newly married wife, resigned his office as governor of Tennessee, and decided to come and live with his former Cherokee friends. Here he married Diana Rogers, the daughter of Chief John Rogers, and set up housekeeping in the "Wigwam Neosho" near Fort Gibson. He lived here until 1832, when he mounted his horse and left for his spectacular career in Texas.

The Old Settler Cherokees kept their center of government here at Tahlonteeskee until the emigrant Cherokees came from Georgia in 1839 and forced a union among the whole tribe. Then the government was reorganized and the capital established at Tahlequah. Sequoyah lived with the Old Settlers until his departure for Texas in 1842.

The completion of the contemplated Arkansas River navigation program will very likely enhance the commercial value of the Illinois as a feeder for the larger project. The two million dollar uranium conversion plant promoted by the Kerr-McGee interests, is now in process of construction near the mouth of the Illinois river. This, too, will add to the economic significance of the stream.

The Illinois river flows through historic territory and has helped, for no telling how many centuries, to furnish a means of livelihood for pre-historic as well as historic man — sportsman, farmer, cowman, industrialist, and recreationist. It traverses one of the very scenic regions of all America. Despite its commercial values, in the minds of thousands of people the Illinois river still means fishing, swimming, boating, and scenery.

---

[9] For a more complete knowledge of these salt works, see Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*, pp. 45, 46, 48, 83.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Report from the History Department Oklahoma State University

The following report has been received from Dr. Homer L. Knight, Head of the Department of History, Oklahoma State University:

The History Department of Oklahoma State University announces the following activities and staff changes effective with the autumn semester of 1968: Odie B. Faulk, Professor and Head of the Social Science Division of Arizona Western College, became Associate Professor of History; Bernard W. Eissenstat, Associate Professor of History at Northern Arizona University, became Associate Professor of History (February, 1969); Hung Peng Lee, Associate Professor of History at New York State University College, Potsdam, New York, became visiting Associate Professor of History for the 1968-69 academic year; Karmalene Brown, part-time instructor, became Assistant Professor at Memphis State University.

The History Department was authorized to offer the Doctor of Philosophy degree effective in September, 1969. Programs of study in three areas of American history, two areas of Modern European history, Ancient and Medieval history, English, Latin American, East Asian, Russian history, and the History of Science, will be available.

Recent Accessions to the Library

The following list gives the titles of books accessioned and catalogued in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society, by Mrs. Alene Simpson, Librarian, from July 1, 1967 to July 1, 1968:

Part I

Abee, Blanche H. *Colonists of Carolina . . .* Princeton: Wm. Byrd Press, 1938. 259 pp.

Adams, J. W. *Uranium Occurrences in the Golden Gate Canyon and Ralston Creek Areas, Jefferson County, Colorado.* Washington, D.C.: U. S. Geological Survey, 1953. 16 pp.

Adkins, W. S. *Geology and Mineral Resources of McLennan County.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1923. 202 pp.

Adkins, W. S. *The Geology and Mineral Resources of the Fort Stockton Quadrangle.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1927. 164 pp.

Adkins, W. S. and Winton, W. M. *Paleontological Correlation of the Fredericksburg and Washita Formations in North Texas.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1919. 128 pp.

Alabama Genealogical Society. *Alabama Genealogical Society Publications.* No. 17, 1962. 274 pp.

Alabama State Department of Archives and History. *Alabama Historical Quarterly.* Montgomery. Vols. 23-26, 1961-1964.

Albert, Herman W. *Odyssey of a Desert Prospector.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967. 260 pp.

Alexander, Charles. *Ostrasoda of the Cretaceous of North Texas.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1929. 137 pp.

Allen, Joe D., ed. *History of the George L. Allen Family and Their Descendents,* 1745-1960. 1960.

Allen, Milton A. *Laws Pertaining to Oil.* Tucson: Arizona Bureau of Mines, 1917-1918. 12 pp.

Allen, Milton A. *Oil and Its Geology.* Tucson: Arizona Bureau of Mines, 1917-1918. 32 pp.

Alphonse, Ephraim S. *Guaymi Grammar and Dictionary.* Washington, D.C.: U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, 1956. 128 pp.

Amaral, Anthony. *Will James: The Gilt Edged Cowboy.* Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1967. 206 pp.

Amarillo Genealogical Society. *Bulletin of Panhandle Genealogical Society.* Amarillo. Vols. 2-8, 1960-1966.

Amason Data. 12 pp.

American Genealogist, The. 1950. 287 pp.

American Heritage. Marion, Ohio: American Heritage Pub. Co. Vols. 18-19, 1967-1968.

American Library Association. *A. L. A. Membership Directory.* Chicago: A. L. A. Assoc., 1965. 295 pp.

Americana Annual, 1968, The. Chicago: American Corp., 1968. 788 pp.

Amsden, Thomas W. *Catalog of Huntou Fossils.* Norman: Oklahoma Geological Survey, 1956. 63 pp.

Amsden, Thomas W. *Catalog of Middle and Upper Ordovician Fossils.* Norman: Oklahoma Geological Survey, 1957. 41 pp.

Anderson, Elmer. *Autobiography of Andy Elmer Anderson.* 1960. 121 pp.

Ardery, Julia S. *Biographical Index to Perrin's History of Bourbon, Scott, Harrison and Nicholas Counties, Kentucky.*

Arkansas Genealogical Society. *The Arkansas Family Historian.* Fayetteville, 1964-1966.

Arkansas Researcher. Murray, Utah: Allstate Research Co., 1963. 49 pp.

Army Sketch Book, The. 302 pp.

Arntz, Prof. Helmut. *Germany Reports.* German: Federal Government of Germany, 1964. 917 pp.

Arthaud, Jean Bradley, comp. *The Emile Arthaud Family.* D. H.

Arthaud, 1968. 37 pp.

Ashe, Samuel A'Court. *History of North Carolina.* Greenboro, N. C.: C. L. Van Hoppen, 1908. Vol. 1. 724 pp.

Ashley, George H. *The Santo Tomas Cannel Coal, Webb County, Texas.* Washington, D.C.: U. S. Geological Survey.

Association of American Railroads. *Yearbook of Railroad Facts.* Washington, D.C., 1966-1967.

Atkinson, F. Nadeen Waggoner. *Index Surnames of Genealogical Pedigrees of Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.* Indianapolis: Marion County, Indiana. First Ward, 1966. 30 pp.

Aurand, Harry A. *Fluospar Deposits of Colorado.* Denver: Colorado. Geological Survey, 1920. 94 pp.

Austin Genealogical Society. *Austin Genealogical Society Quarterly.* Austin. Vols. 1-6, 1960-1965.

Babcock, Glenn D. *History of the U. S. Rubber Co.* Bloomington: Indiana University School of Business, 1966. 477 pp.

Bailey, Minnie K. *Life's Undertow.* Topeka: Crane C. Co., 1905.

Bailey, T. L. *The Geology and Natural Resources of Colorado County.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1923. 159 pp.

Bakken, Orville, ed. *Northwood, North Dakota Diamond Jubilee* 1884-1959. Oklahoma City. 112 pp.

Bard, Reford. *My Oklahoma.* 14 pp.

Barnett, S. J. *A Sine Galvanometer for Determining in Absolute Measure the Horizontal Intensity of the Earth's Magnetic Field.* Washington, D.C., 1921. 21 pp.

Barnes, Chaplin C. H. *History of the 104th Infantry of the 36th Division.* 1922. 380 pp.

Barnes, Lucille G., comp. *Lineage Chart Six Generations of Galeener & Bishop.*

Bartow, Edward. *The Mineral Content of Illinois Waters.* Urbana: University of Illinois, 1909. 192 pp.

Bastian, Tyler. *An Archaeological Survey of the Frogville Watershed Project Choctaw County, Oklahoma.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Research Institute, 1968. 39 pp.

Battey, Thomas C. *The Life and Adventures of a Quaker among the Indians.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968. 208 pp.

Bauer, Louis A. *The Compass-Variometer.* Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 15 pp.

Bearss, Edwin C. *Hardluck Ironclad.* Louisiana State University Press, 1966. 208 pp.

Beede, J. W. and Bentley, W. P. *The Geology of Coke County.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1918. 80 pp.

Beede. J. W. *The Geology of Runnels County.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1918. 64 pp.

Beede, J. W. *Notes on the Geology and Oil Possibilities of the Northern Diablo Plateau in Texas.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1918. 37 pp.

Beede, J. W. *Report on the Oil and Gas Possibilities of the University Block 46 in Culberson County.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1923. 16 pp.

Beede, J. W. and Christner, D. D. *The San Angelo Formation: The Geology of Foard County.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1926. 57 pp.

Beede, J. W. and Kniker, Hedwig T. *Species of the Genus Schwagerina and Their Stratigraphic Significance.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1924. 96 pp.

Beeler, Joe. *Cowboys and Indians Characters in Oil and Bronze.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967. 80 pp.

Bell, Aldon D. *London in the Age of Dickens.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967. 184 pp.

Bell, H. W. and Kerr, J. B. *The El Dorado, Arkansas Oil and Gas Field.* Little Rock: U. S. Geological Survey, 1922. 90 pp.

Bell, Robert E. *Guide to the Identifications of Certain American Indian Projectile Points Special Bulletins No. 1 and 2.* Oklahoma Anthropological Society, 1958.

Benner, Helen Frances. *Kate Douglas Wiggin's Country of Childhood.* Orona: University of Maine Press, 1956. 145 pp.

Bennett, Archibald F. *A Guide for*

Genealogical Research. Salt Lake City: Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1951. 338 pp.

Bessac, Frank B. *An Exchange of Social Change in Taiwan Related to Land Reform.* Missoula: University of Montana, 1967. 29 pp.

Bidlack, Russell E. *John Allen and the Founding of Ann Arbor.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962. 34 pp.

Bierman, Edwinna, comp. *Directory: Genealogical Societies and Periodicals in the United States* 1965. San Gabriel, 1965.

Billias, George Athan. *Massachusetts Land Bankers of* 1740. Orona: University of Maine Press, 1959. 59 pp.

Binks, Vera M., director. *List of Publications of the Illinois State Geological Society.* Urbana: State of Illinois, 1960. 46 pp.

Birmingham Genealogical Society. *Bible and Cemetery Records.* Birmingham. 125 pp.

Birmingham Genealogical Society. *Bible and Cemetery Records.* Birmingham, 1961. 156 pp.

Black, George F. *A Calendar of Cases of Witchcraft in Scotland.* New York: New York Public Library, 1958. 102 pp.

Blake, Aldrich. *Oklahoma's Hundred Days.* Laguna Beach, 1957. 287 pp.

Blatchley, R. S. *Oil and Gas.* Urbana: University of Illinois, 1914. 51 pp.

Blatchley, R. S. *Oil in Crawford and Lawrence Counties.* Urbana: University of Illinois, 1913. 442 pp.

Bloore, Helen L., comp. *A Genealogical Record of the Descendants of Hancock - Cofer - Jones - Massie Families of Virginia and Kentucky.* Glendale.

Blum, Willetta Baylis and Blum, Dr. William, comp. *The Baylis Family of Virginia.* Strasburg, Va.: Shenandoah Publishers, 1958. 669 pp.

Boatright, Mody C. *Folklore of the Oil Industry.* Dallas: S. M. U. Press, 1963. 220 pp.

Bonisteel, Roscoe Osmond. *John Monteith, Man of Conscience.* Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1966. 23 pp.

Bonner, Kathryn R. *Prater-Prather-Praytor-Preator Family Association Publication.* South Lyon, Mich. Vol. 6, No. 3, 1965.

Bose, Emil. *The Permo-Carboniferous Ammonoids of the Glass Mountains, West Texas and Their Stratigraphical Significance.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1917. 233 pp.

Boughton, Charles W. *The Elk City Gas Field.* 30 pp.

Bourne, Eulalia. *Woman in Levi's.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1967. 208 pp.

Bowman, Isaiah. *Water Resources of the East St. Louis District.* Urbana: University of Illinois, 1907. 128 pp.

Bowman, W. J. *Handbook of Employment Statistics: Oklahoma* 1939-1967. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Employment Service Commission, 1968. 109 pp.

Bowman, W. J. 1967 *Oklahoma Farm Labor Report.* Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Employment Service Commission, 1967. 18 + pp.

Braly Historical Research. *Braly Historical Research Letter.* Ada, 1961.

Brandenthaler, R. R. and Campbell, E. P. *Engineering Report on the Chickasha Gas Field, Grady County, Oklahoma.* Oklahoma City: H. E. Muason & Co. 1926. 38 pp.

Branner, George C. *Geographic Maps.*

Branner, George C. *List of Arkansas Oil and Gas Wells—to October* 31, 1936. Little Rock: Arkansas Geological Survey, 1937. 103 pp.

Branner, George C. *Mineral Resources of Arkansas.* Little Rock: Arkansas Geological Survey, 1942. 101 pp.

Branner, George C. *Polk County, County Mineral Report 1.* Little Rock: Arkansas Geological Survey, 1940. 41 pp.

Branner, John C. *Annual Report Geological Survey of Arkansas.* 3 Vols. 1891, 1892, and 1892.

Breasted, James Henry. *European History Atlas.* Denoyer-Geppert

Co., 1963. 96 pp.

Brent, Millard Doan. *History of Dodd City, Texas.* Dodd City: Dodd City High School, 1959. 23 pp.

Brewer, Judge O. H. P. *Early Educational History of the Cherokee Nation.* Tahlequah: Northeastern State College, 1946. 10 pp.

Brillhart, John A. *A Pictorial History of Brillharts of America.* Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing Co., 1926. 269 pp.

Brock, R. A. *The Appomattox Roster.* New York: Antiquarian Press, 1962. 508 pp.

Brooks, A. B. *Forestry and Wood Industries.* Morgantown: West Virginia Geological Survey, 1910. Vol. 5. 481 pp.

Browder, M. W. *Index to the History of Methodism in Kentucky,* by Rev. A. H. Redford, D.D.

Brown, Amos and Ehrenfeld, Frederick. *Minerals of Pennsylvania.* Harrisburg: State of Pennsylvania, 1913. 160 pp.

Brown, C. Alton. *American General Life Insurance Company.* Oklahoma City.

Brown, Calvin S. *Lignite of Mississippi.* Jackson: State Geological Society, State of Mississippi, 1907. 71 pp.

Brown, H. Glenn and Brown, Maude O. *The Directory of Printing Publishing Book: Selling to Allied Trades in Rhode Island to* 1865. New York: New York Public Library, 1958. 211 pp.

Brown, Lionel A. *Pony Creek Archaeology.* Lincoln, 1967. 121 pp.

Brown, Samuel B. *A Bibliography of West Virginia and Also Cartography of West Virginia from* 1737-1901. Morgantown: West Vidginia Geological Survey, 1901. 85 pp.

Brundage, B. C. *Lords of Cuzco.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967. 458 pp.

Bryan, Mary G. *Passports Issued by Governors of Georgia* 1810-1820. Washington, D.C.: National Genealogical Society, 1964. 112 pp.

Bryan, Leslie A. *Aulls-Bryan and Allied Families.* Ann Arbor, Mich. 156 pp.

Bryant, William Cullen, ed. *Picturesque or The Land We Live In.* New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1872. 568 pp.

Buckley, Ernest Robertson. *Geology of the Disseminated Lead Deposits.* Jefferson City: State of Missouri.

Buckley, E. R. and Buehler, H. A. *The Geology of the Granby Area.* Jefferson City: State of Missouri, 1907. 255 pp.

Buckley, E. R. and Buehler, H. A. *The Quarrying Industry of Missouri.* Jefferson City: State of Missouri, 1904. 251 pp.

Buehler, H. A. *The Lime and Cement Resources of Missouri.* Jefferson City: State of Missouri, 1900. 259 pp.

Bull, Jacqueline, ed. and comp. *Writings on Kentucky History,* 1955. Lexington, 1957. 22 pp.

Bullard, Robert Lee. *Personalities and Reminiscences of the War.* New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1925. 347 pp.

Burchard, Ernest F. *Iron Ore in Cass, Marion, Morris, and Cherokee Counties, Texas.* Washington, D.C.: U. S. Geological Survey, 1915. 109 pp.

Burgess, Marjorie Cutler, comp. *A Genealogy of the Cutler Family of Lexington, Massachusetts . . .* Concord, N. H., 1965. 104 pp.

Burke, Joseph Charles. *William Wirt: Attorney General and Constitutional Lawyer.* Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1966. 291 pp.

Burwell, A. L. *The Henry House Marestone in the Lawerence Uplift, Pontotoc County, Oklahoma and Its Commercial Possibilities.* Norman: Oklahoma Geological Survey, 1955. 21 pp.

Burwell, A. L. *An Investigation of Industrial Possibilities of Oklahoma Gypsum and Anhydrite.* Norman: Oklahoma Geological Survey, 1955. 21 pp.

Business International. *The United Nations and the Business World.*

Butler, G. M. and Allen, M. A. *Petroleum.* Tucson: Arizona Bureau of Mines, 1921. 45 pp.

Butler, G. Montague. *Clays of Eastern Colorado.* Denver: Colorado Geological Survey, 1915. 353 pp.

Butts, Charles. *Geologic Atlas of United States.* Washington, D.C.: U. S. Geological Survey, 1910. 80 pp.

Bybee, J. W. and Bullard, Fred M. *The Geology of Cooke County, Texas.* Austin: Texas Geological Survey.

Bybee, J. W. and Kniker, Hedwig T. *Species of the Genus Schqagerina and Their Stratigraphic Significance.* Austin: Texas Geological Survey.

Bybee, J. W. and Short, R. T. *The Lytton Springs Oil Fields.* Austin: Texas Geological Survey, 1925. 69 pp.

Byington, Cyrus. *A Dictionary of the Choctaw Language.* Washington, D.C.: Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 46, 1915. 611 pp.

Byrne, Mrs. Daniel, comp. *Notes on McDaniel/McDonald Families.* Mill Valley, Calif. 180 pp.

Caldwell, Warren W. and Mallory, Oscar L. *Hells Canyon Archeology No. 6.* Lincoln River Basin Survey, 1967. 152 pp.

Campbell, W. P. *The Escape and Wonderings of J. Wilkes Booth Until Ending of the Trail by Suicide in Oklahoma.* 1922. 142 pp.

Caplan, William M. *Subsurface Geology and Related Oil and Gas Possibilities of Northeastern Arkansas.* Little Rock: Arkansas Resources and Development Commission, 1954. 124 pp.

Cargill, O. A. *My First 80 Years.* Oklahoma City: Banner Book Co., 1965. 188 pp.

Carlson, Jean. *Wagon Trains Lead to Roses in December.* 47 pp.

Carman, J. Ernest. *The Mississippi Valley between Savanna and Davenport.* Urbana: University of Illinois, 1909. 96 pp.

Carolinas Genealogical Society. *Carolinas Genealogical Society Bulletin.* Monroe, N. C., 1964-1967.

Carpenter, Allan. *Oklahoma.* Chicago: Children's Press, 1965. 93 pp.

Carpenter, Samuel R., comp. *Central State Mission Genealogy Queries* 1959. Independence: Central State Mission, 1959. 47 pp.

Carrasco, Pedro. *Pagan Rituals and Beliefs among the Chontal Indians of Oaxaca, Mexico.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960. 29 pp.

Carselowey, James M. *Cherokee Pioneers.* Adair, Okla., 1961. 75 pp.

Carselowey, James M. *Early Settlers.* Adair, Okla., 1962. 56 pp.

Carselowey, James M. *My Journal.* Adair, Okla., 1962. 83 pp.

Carselowey, James M. *Pryor Cemetery.* Adair, Okla., 1962. 55 pp.

Carsey, Dorothy Ogden. *Foraminifera of the Cretaceous of Central Texas.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1926. 53 pp.

Central New York Genealogical Society. *Tree Talks.* Syracuse. Vols. 1-7, 1961-1967.

Central Texas Genealogical Society. *Quarterly of the Central Texas Genealogical Society.* Waco. Nos. 2-10, 1959-1967.

Chafe, Wallace L. *Seneca Morphology and Dictionary.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Press, 1967. 126 pp.

Chapman, Berlin B., ed. *Indian Meridian Dedication, April* 17, 1966. Stillwater: Classroom and Community, 1966. 229 pp.

Chapman, Berlin B. *Oklahoma City from Public Land to Private Property.* Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1960. 96 pp.

Charles, Homer H. *Oil and Gas Resources of Anderson County.* Topeka: State of Kansas, 1927. 95 pp.

Cheek, John C. and Cheek, Jerry G., comp. *Bush River Baptist Church Cemetery Newberry, South Carolina.* 11 pp.

Cherokee Almanac. Park Hill, Indian Territory: Mission Press, 1840, 1847, 1849, 1850, 1855, 1860 and 1861.

Cherokee Bible.

Cherokee Hymns. Marble City, Okla.: Dwight Mission Press, 1909. 86 pp.

Cherokee Indians. *Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation.* 1875 and 1892.

Cherokee Seminaries Homecoming. Tahlequah: Northeastern State College, 1946. 5 pp.

Christman, R. A. *Thorium Investi-*

gations 1950-1952, *West Mountains, Colorado.* Washington: U. S. Geological Survey, 1953. 40 pp.

Christner, D. D. and Wheeler, O. C. *The Geology of Terrell County . . .* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1918. 57 pp.

Civil War Illustrated. New York: Historical Times Inc. Vols. 1-4, 1962-1966.

Clair, Joseph R. *The Oil and Gas Resources of Cass and Jackson Counties, Missouri.* Jefferson City: State of Missouri, 1943. 207 pp.

Clan Ross in America. 1912.

Clare, Rev. Wallace. *A Simple Guide to Irish Genealogy.* London: Irish Genealogical Research Society, 1966. 45 pp.

Clark, Raymond B., Jr. and Clark, Mrs. Sara Seth. *The Maryland and Delaware Genealogist.* St. Michaels, Maryland. Vols. 1-8, 1959-1967.

Clark, Thomas D. *Kentucky: A Students' Guide to Localized History.* New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1965. 33 pp.

Cochran, William C. *The Students' Law Lexicon: A Dictionary of Legal Words and Phrases.* Cincinnati: W. H. Anderson Co., 1909. 345 pp.

Coffin, R. C. *The Carnotite Area of Southwestern Colorado.* Denver: Colorado Geological Survey, 1920. 28 pp.

Cole, Wendell. *Kyoto.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967. 166 pp.

Collier, Flora Hooper. *Hooper Genealogy: A Southern Branch.* 256 pp.

Collins, Carr P. Jr., *Royal Ancestors of Magna Carta Barons: The Collins Genealogy.* Dallas, 1959. 297 pp.

Collins, Vinson Allen. *A Story of My Parents: Warren Jacob Collins and Tolitha Eboline Valentine Collins.* Livingston, Texas, 1962. 66 pp.

Colquitt County. Marietta, Ga.: Continental Book Co., 1915. 31 pp.

Condit, Daniel D. *Conemaugh Formation in Ohio.* Columbus: Springfield Pub., 1911. 133 pp.

Confederate Echoes. Mobile. Vols. 1-2, 1964-1965.

Conner, Seymour V. *The Peters Colony of Texas.* Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1959. 473 pp.

Connecticut Historical Society. *John Cotton Smith Papers* 1812-1817. Hartford, 1967. 311 pp.

Cooke, Charles G. *Many Cooke's and Their Broth.* 1967. 84 pp.

Cox, G. H. *Lead and Zinc Deposits of Northwestern Illinois.* Urbana: University of Illinois, 1914. 120 pp.

Cragin, F. W. *Malone Jurassic Formation of Texas.* Washington, 1905. 172 pp.

Cram, George F. *The Success Handy Reference Atlas and Gazetteer of the World.* New York: Success Co., 1902. 574 pp.

Cravens, John Park. *Records of the Ancestry of John Park Cravens.* Booneville, Ark., 1957. 17 pp.

Crawford, R. D. and Worcester, P. G. *Geology and Ore Deposits of the Gold Brick District.* Denver: Colorado Geological Survey.

Crawford, R. D. *Geology and Ore Deposits of the Monarch and Tomichi Districts.* Denver: Colorado Geological Survey, 1913. 101 pp.

Crawford, R. D. *Some Anticlines of Routt County, Colorado.* Denver: Colorado Geological Survey, 1920. 59 pp.

Crouch, Stella E. *The Story of the Cherokee Indians.* 65 pp.

Crowell and Murray. *The Iron Ores of Lake Superior.* Cleveland: Penton Pub. Co., 1914. 270 pp.

Crowther, Samuel. *America Self-Contained.* Garden City: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1933. 340 pp.

Culin, Frank L., Jr. *Celestite and Strontianite.* Tucson: Arizona Bureau of Mines, 1916-1917. 4 pp.

Culin, Frank L., Jr. *Gypsum.* Tucson: Arizona Bureau of Mines, 1915-1916. 8 pp.

Culin, Frank L., Jr. *Lime Rocks.* Tucson: Arizona Bureau of Mines, 1916-1917. 8 pp.

Culin, Frank L., Jr. *Magnesite.* Tucson: Arizona Bureau of Mines. 1916-1917. 8 pp.

Culin, Frank L., Jr. *Mica.* Tucson: Arizona Bureau of Mines, 1917-

1918. 10 pp.

Cummins, W. F. *Northwest Texas.*

Curtis, Mary Barnett. 1850 *Censns of Tarrant.* Fort Worth, 1963. 17 pp.

Curtis, Mary Barnett. *The Strickland & Allied Families Query Answers Exchange.* 1959.

Dake, C. L. *The Sand and Gravel Resources of Missouri.* Jefferson City: State of Missouri, 1918. 274 pp.

Dale, Edward E. *Grant Foreman: A Brief Biography.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1930. 15 pp.

Dallas, Sandra. *No More Than Five in a Bed.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967. 208 pp.

Daniels, Alsace Lorraine and Crary, H. Vern. *John Crary of Boston and Descendants* 1660-1967. Chicago, 1967. 45 pp.

Daniels, Josephus. *Editor in Politics.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941. 644 pp.

Daniels, Josephus. *Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947. 547 pp.

Darby, Earl G. *Proven Ancestry of John Edwin Darby and Charlotte Amelia Bremerman.* 1967. 15 pp.

Darton, N. H. *A Resume of Arizona Geology.* Tucson: University of Arizona, University Station, 1925. 298 pp.

Darton, N. H. *The Structure of Parts of the Central Great Plains.* Washington, D.C.: U. S. Geological Survey, 1918. 26 pp.

Daugherty, M. M. *Early Colonial Taxation in Delaware.* Wilmington: Delaware Tercentenery Commission, 1938. 51 pp.

Daughters of the American Colonists. *National Society of the Daughters of the American Colonists Yearbook.* 1950, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1958 and 1964.

Daughters of the American Revolution. *Daughters of the American Revolution of Oklahoma Yearbook,* 1932-1933. 92 pp.

Daughters of the American Revolution. *Daughters of the American Revolution of the Ponca City Chapter Yearbook,* 1939-1940.

Daughters of the American Revolution. *Directory* 1959-1960 *of the Oklahoma Society of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution.* 36 pp.

Davis, Harold A. *An International Community on the St. Croix* 1604-1930. Orono: University of Maine Press, 1950. 412 pp.

Decker, Eugene Donald. *The Emporia State Research Studies.* Emporia: Kansas State, 1961. 95 pp.

Decker, Eugene Donald. *A Selected Annotated Bibliography of Sources in the Kansas State Historical Society Pertaining to Kansas in the Civil War.* Emporia: Kansas State Teachers College, 1961. 95 pp.

Denhardt, R. M. *Quarter Horses.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967. 192 pp.

des Cognets, Anna R. and des Cognets, Louis, Jr. *Governor Garrad of Kentucky: His Descendants and Relatives.* Princeton, 1962. 279 pp.

Deussen, Alexander. *Geology of the Coastal Plain of Texas West of Brazos River.* Washington, D.C.: U. S. Geological Survey, 1924. 145 pp.

De Varsey, Louis. *The Indian Boundary in the Southern Colonies,* 1763-1775. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966. 267 pp.

De Witt, Fred B. *The Land and Men: Now and Then.* 1954. 98 pp.

De Wolf, Frank, director. *Biennial Report for* 1911 *and* 1912. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1917. 160 pp.

De Wolf, Frank, director. *Year-Book for* 1910. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1915. 165 pp.

Dickerson, Philip. *History of the Osage Nation.* 1906. 143 pp.

Dickson, John L. *The Judicial History of the Cherokee Nation from* 1721-1835. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1964. 404 pp.

Djilas, Milovan. *The New Class.* New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1958. 214 pp.

Dobbin, Carroll E. *Geology of the Wiles Area Ranger District, Texas.* Washington, D.C.: U. S. Geological Survey, 1922. 69 pp.

Dobie, Edith. *Malta's Road to Inde-*

pendence. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967. 286 pp.

Dodrill, Charles Tunis. *Heritage of a Pioneer.* Huntington, W. Va., 1967. 782 pp.

Dorman, John Fredrick, ed. *The Virginia Genealogist.* Washington, D.C. Vols. 1-6.

Doud, Kenneth and Henn, Alcene. *The Good Old Days: Early History of Northeast Clark County, Missouri.* 35 pp.

Douglas, Hiram K. *My Southern Families.* Gillingham, Dorset, England, 1967.

Doyel, William T. *Genealogy of the Doyel Family,* 1802-1968. 1968. 33 pp.

Drago, Harry S. *The Steamboaters.* New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1967. 269 pp.

Draughon, Wallace R. *North Carolina Genealogical Reference.* Durham, N. C.. 1956. 226 pp.

Duce, James, Inspector. *Official Report of the State Inspector of Oils.* Denver: Colorado Geological Survey, 1916. 12 pp.

Duckwall, Clyde M., Jr. *Duckwall-Mitchell Genealogy.* Okahoma City.

Dumble, E. T. *First Annual Report of the Geological Survey of Texas* 1889. Austin: Texas Geological Survey, 1889. 410 pp.

Dumble, E. T. *The Geology of East Texas.* Austin: Texas Geological Survey, 1918. 388 pp.

du Mont, John S. *de Mont de Soumagne and Allied Families.* Greenfield, Mass., 1960. 167 pp.

Dunaway, Wayland F. *The Scotch-Irish of Colonial Pennsylvania.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1944. 273 pp.

East Tennessee Historical Society. *East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications.* Knoxville. No. 37, 1965. 183 pp.

East Tennessee Historical Society. *Echoes.* Knoxville. Vols. 1-3, 1955-1967.

Echel, Edwin B. *The Brown Iron Ores of Eastern Texas.* Washington, D.C.: U. S. Geological Survey, 1938. 157 pp.

Edson, George, ed. *Stewart Clan Magazine.* 1960. 386 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Adair County, Missouri Marriage Records* 1841-1870, Chillicothe, Mo., 1961. 90 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., Comp. *Audrain County, Missouri Marriage Records* 1836-1879. Chillicothe, Mo. 118 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Buchanan County, Missouri Marriage Records* 1839-1855. Chillicothe, Mo., 1961. 99 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Caldwell County, Missouri Marriage Records* 1845-1871. Chillicothe, Mo. 51 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp., *Chariton County, Missouri Marriage Records* 1821-1852. Chillicothe, Mo., 1959. 72 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Chariton County, Missouri Wills and Administrations* 1861-1875. Chillicothe, Mo. 35 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Clay County, Missouri Marriage Records* 1852-1900. Chillicothe, Mo., 1962. Vol 1. 106 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Cooper County, Missouri Will Records* 1820-1870 *and* 1819-1850. Chillicothe, Mo., 1959. 146 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Davuess County, Missouri Marriage Records* 1836-1855. Chillicothe, Mo., 1959. 53 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Grundy County, Missouri Marriage Records* 1841-1864. Chillicothe, Mo. 39 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Harrison County, Missouri Marriage Records A-D.* Chillicothe Mo. 55 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Harrison County, Missouri Wills* 1860-1880, *Index to Records on Bonds.* Chillicothe, Mo., 1962. 33 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Howard County, Missouri Wills* 1818-1836; *Marriage Records* 1816-1850. Chillicothe, Mo., 1958. 97 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Howard County, Missouri Wills and Administration* 1837-1847. Chillicothe, Mo. Vol 2. 92 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Jackson County, Missouri Marriage Records* 1827-1860. Chillicothe, Mo. Vol. 1. 140 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Jefferson County, Missouri Marriage Records* 1821 - 1848; 1848 - 1869. Chillicothe, Mo. 2 Vols.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Johnson County, Missouri Marriage Records* 1835-1861; 1862-1871; 1872-1879. Chillicothe, Mo. 3 Vols.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Johnson County, Missouri Probate Court Records* 1855-1869. Chillicothe, Mo., 1961. 55 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Lafayette County Atlas* 1877. Chillicothe, Mo. 98 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Lincoln County, Missouri Marriage Records* 1825-1844. Chillicothe, Mo., 1961. 44 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Linn County, Missouri List of Settlers*, 1837-1840. Chillicothe, Mo. 79 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Linn County, Missouri Marriage Records* 1842-1857. Chillicothe, Mo. Vol. 1. 37 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Linn County, Missouri Marriage Records and Biographies* 1857-1870. Chillicothe, Mo. 87 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Livingston County, Missouri Marriage Records* 1837-1863. Chillicothe, Mo. 61 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Livingston County, Missouri Marriage Records* 1863-1880. Chillicothe, Mo. 67 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Macon County, Missouri Marriage Records and Will Records* 1838-1880. Chillicothe, Mo. 72 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Marion County, Missouri Will Records* 1853-1887. Chillicothe, Mo. 65 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp.. *Moniteau County, Missouri Marriage Records*—1845-1860 *and Will Index*—1845-1914. Chillicothe, Mo. 80 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Monroe County, Missouri Letters, Wills, Administrations* 1832-1852. Chillicothe, Mo. 37 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Nodaway County, Missouri Administration and Will Records* 1845-1880. Chillicothe, Mo. 40 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Nodaway County, Missouri Marriage Records — A-J, K-Z* — 1845-1874. Chillicothe, Mo. 2 Vols.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Pike County, Missouri Marriage Records* 1820-1840. Chillicothe, Mo., 1961. 48 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Putam County, Missouri Marriage Records* 1849-1869 *and Will Records* 1856-1870 *and Deed Records* 1847-1854. Chillicothe, Mo., 1961. 122 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Ralls County, Missouri Will Records*— 1824-1872, 1872-1899. Chillicothe, Mo. 2 Vols.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Randolph County, Missouri Administrations and Will Records* 1836-1858. Chillicothe, Mo. 78 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Randolph County, Missouri Early Marriage Records* 1829-1859. Chillicothe, Mo. 60 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Ray County, Missouri Marriage Records* 1820-1850 *and Will Records* 1824-1849. Chillicothe, Mo. 74 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Saline County, Missouri Marriage Records* 1820-1850. Chillicothe, Mo. 2 Vols.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Saline County, Missouri Taxpayers of* 1876. Chillicothe, Mo. 95 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Shelby County, Missouri* 1835-1867 *Early Marriages*. Chillicothe, Mo. 51 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Sullivan County, Missouri* 1845-1859 *Marriage Records*. Chillicothe, Mo. 80 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Sullivan County, Missouri* 1859-1880 *Marriage Records*. Chillicothe, Mo., Vol. 2. 128 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Sullivan County, Missouri Will Records* 1849-1880. Chillicothe, Mo. 29 pp.

Ellsberry, Elizabeth P., comp. *Texas County, Missouri Marriage Records* 1847-1876. Chillicothe, Mo. 66 pp.

Embry, Mrs. Charles A. *Tennessee County Records*. Nashville, 1958.

Eno, Frank H. *Uses of Hydraulic Cement*. Columbus: Springfield

Pub. Co., 1904. 260 pp.

Eterovich, Adam S., comp. *Balkan and Eastern European American Genealogical and Historical Society.* San Francisco, 1965-1966.

Etheridge, Harry and Waddington, Thomas. *The Yachtsman's Guide to the Bahamas.* Coral Gables: Tropic Isle Pub., 1958. 228 pp.

Evans, Charles. *Adventures in Education.* Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1966. 104 pp.

Everton, George B., ed. *The Genealogical Helper.* Logan, Utah: Everton Pub. Co., 1953-1967. Vols. 4-21.

Everton, George B. *Handy Book for Genealogists.* Logan, Utah: Everton Pub. Co., 1967. 335 pp.

Falley, Margaret D. *Irish and Scotch-Irish Ancestral Research.* Evanston, 1961-1962. 2 Vols.

Fansett, George R. *Field Tests for the Common Metals.* Tucson: University of Arizona, University Station, 1926. 37 pp.

Fansett, George R. *Sampling and the Estimation of Gold in a Racer Deposit.* Tucson: University of Arizona, University Station, 1916-1917. 17 pp.

Fansett, George R. *Sampling Mineralized Veins.* Tucson: University of Arizona, University Station, 1917-1918. 9 pp.

Fansett, George R. *Sampling of Dumps and Tailings.* Tucson: University of Arizona, University Station, 1917-1918. 20 pp.

Fansett, George R. *Shafts and Tunnels.* Tucson: University of Arizona, University Station, 1917-1918. 15 pp.

Fansett, George R. *Valuation of Prospects.* Tucson: University of Arizona, University Station. 9 pp.

Fath, A. E. *An Anticlinal Fold Near Billings, Noble County, Oklahoma.* Washington, D.C.: U. S. Geological Survey, 1916. 138 pp.

Fath, A. E. *Geology of the Eldorado Oil and Gas Field.* Topeka: State of Kansas. 1921. 187 pp.

Fenneman, N. M. *Physiography of the St. Louis Area.* Urbana: University of Illinois, 1909. 83 pp.

Ferguson, Jim G. *Minerals in Arkansas.* Little Rock: Arkansas Geological Survey, 1922. 160 pp.

Ferguson, Jim G. *Outlines of the Geology, Soils, and Minerals of the State of Arkansas.* Little Rock: Arkansas Geological Survey, 1920. 182 pp.

Ferguson, Joan P. S., comp. *Scottish Family Histories Held in Scottish Libraries.* Edinburgh, Scotland: Scottish Central Library, 1960. 194 pp.

Field, Clark. *Art and Romance of Indian Basketry.* Tulsa: Philbrook Art Center, 1964. 31 pp.

Firestone, Harvey S. *Men and Rubber.* New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1926. 279 pp.

Fish, Hamilton. *The Challenge of World Communism.* Milwaukee: Bruce Pub. Co., 1946. 224 pp.

Fisher, Clay. *The Brass Command.* New York: Pocket Books, Inc., 1955. 153 pp.

Fisk, H. W. *Dip-Needle Errors Arising from Minute Pivot Defects.* Washington, D.C.: U. S. Geological Survey, 1921. 18 pp.

Fitzhugh, Lester N. *Texas Batteries, Battalions, Regiments—Commanders and Field Officers—Confederate State Army* 1861-1865. Midlothian, Tex.: Mirror Press, 1959. 33 pp.

Flack, Jessie G. and Gordon, Carman Maybelle. *Genealogy of the Gordon-Macy Huddleston-Curtis and Allied Families.* Tulsa, 1967. 293 pp.

Fletcher, Robert H., Jr. *Genealogical Sketch of Certain of the American Descendants.* 1956. 70 pp.

Flynn, John T. *The Lattimore Story.* New York: Devin-Adair Co., 1953. 118 pp.

Foch, Gen. Ferdinand. *The Principles of War.* New York: H. K. Fly Co., 1918. 372 pp.

Foley, Frank C. *List of Publications of the Kansas State Geological Survey.* Lawrence, 1960. 16 pp.

Foreman, Grant. *Sequoyah.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938. 94 pp.

Forster, Thomas M. *The East German Army.* London: Allen S. Unwin LTD, 1966. 255 pp.

Franchere, Gabriel. *Adventure at Astoria* 1810-1814. Norman: Uni-

versity of Oklahoma Press, 1967. 190 pp.

Fueton, William S. *Archeological Notes on Texas Canyon, Arizona.* New York: Heye Foundation, 1938. 22 pp.

Gallaher, Jno. A. *Structural and Economic Geology of Missouri Preliminary Report.* Jefferson City: State of Missouri, 1900. 259 pp.

Gamaliel Cemetery, Monroe County, Kentucky. 4 pp.

Gambrill, Georgia. *Genealogical Material and Local Histories in the St. Louis Public Library.* St. Louis. 1953 and 1967.

Gardner, Julia. *The Midway Group of Texas.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1933. 403 pp.

Garner, Ross. *The Unprofitable Servant in Henry Vaughn.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1963. 61 pp.

Garrison, Harold H. *The Garrison Family of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina and Warren County, Kentucky.* 32 pp.

Gatchel, Theodore D. *Rambling Through Washington.* Washington, D.C.: Washington Journal, 1932. 272 pp.

Gay, Felix N. *History of Nowata County.* Stillwater: Redlands Press, 1957. 36 pp.

Gebler, Ernest. *The Plymouth Adventure.* Garden City: Doubleday Pub. Co., 1950. 377 pp.

Genealogical Committee of Kentucky Historical Society. *Kentucky Ancestors.* 1965-1967.

Genealogical Notes on Parrish. 1961.

Genealogical Periodical Annual. Bladenburg, Md.: Genealogical Records. Vols. 2-4, 1963-1965.

Genealogical Society of Indiana Historical Society. *The Hoosier Genealogist.* Indianapolis, 1961-1967.

Genealogical Society of Montana. *Golden Grains of Research.* Billings, 1960-1961.

Genealogical Society of Riverside, California. *The Life Line.* 1965-1966.

Genealogist's Weekly Query Index. Lansing, Iowa: Genealogist's Weekly Query Exchange, 1959.

Genealogy Notes on Virginia Families. 14 pp.

Geological Survey of Ohio. *Report of the Geological Survey of Ohio.* Columbus, 1873, 1874 and 1893.

Geological Survey of Ohio. *Economic Geology.* Columbus, 1888. 831 pp.

Geological Survey of Ohio. *Report of Geological Survey of Ohio: Geology and Palaeontology.* Columbus, 1878. 958 pp.

George, R. D. *Colorado Geological Survey.* Denver, 1910. 99 pp.

Georgia Genealogical Society. *The Genealogical Society Quarterly.* Atlanta. Vol. 3, 1937. 518 pp.

Georgia Pioneers Genealogical Magazine. Albany, Ga. Vols. 1-4, 1964-1967.

Georgia Researcher. Murray, Utah: Allstates Research Co., 1963. 54 pp.

Gibbs, Sir Phillip H. *Now It Can Be Told.* New York: Harper, 1920. 558 pp.

Gibson, A. M. *A Guide to Regional Manuscript Collections.* Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1960. 222 pp.

Gilbert History. 92 pp.

Gilcrease Institute. *American Scene.* Tulsa, 1964. Vol. 5. 176 pp.

Goebel, E. D. *Oil and Gas Developments in Kansas during* 1959. Topeka: State of Kansas, 1960. 254 pp.

Goggins, Nell M., ed. *South Carolina Genealogical Register.* Epes, Ala., 1963. Vol. 1.

Goldfrank, Esther S. *The Artist of "Isleta Paintings" in Pueblo Society.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Press, 1967. 227 pp.

Goldman, Marcus I. and Robinson, Heath. *Structure and Oil and Gas Resources of the Osage Reservation, Oklahoma.* Washington, D.C.: U. S. Geological Survey, 1920. 394 pp.

Goldthwait, James W. *Physical Features of the Des Plaines Valley.* Urbana: University of Illinois, 1909. 102 pp.

Goran, Morris. *The Story of Fritz Haber.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967. 212 pp.

Grady, James T., ed. *The State of Oklahoma: Its Men and Institutions Illustrated.* Oklahoma City: Daily Oklahoman, 1908. 122 pp.

Graham, Virginia W. and McCann, William Ray. *Ancestral Lineage Mildred Oliver Bates McCann.* 154 pp.

Grand Island, Hall County Centennial. Grand Island, Nebr., 1957. 99 pp.

Granger, Arthur E. *Stratigraphy of the Wasatch Range.* Washington, D.C.: U. S. Geological Survey, 1953. 14 pp.

Granger, Harry C. and Bauer, Herman L., Jr. *Uranium Occurrences of the Merry Widow Claim White Signal District, Grant County, New Mexico.* Washington, D.C.: U. S. Geological Survey, 1952. 16 pp.

Grant, Campbell. *Rock Art of the American Indian.* New York: Crowell Co., 1967. 178 pp.

Graves, W. W. *Annals of Osage Mission.* St. Paul, Kan., 1934. 489 pp.

Gray, Ward M. *The Farrington-Ward-Gray Families.* Huntington, W. Va.: Charles T. Dodrill, 1967. 782 pp.

Green, Roger C. *Archeology on the Island of Mo'orea, French Polynesia.* New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1967. 227 pp.

Greene, Cpt. R. H. *William Webb: His War Service.* New York, 1914. 94 pp.

Gribble, S. B., comp. *Presidents and Near-Presidents.* Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1960. 14 pp.

Griffin, Grace C., comp. *Annual Report of the American Historical Association,* 1925. Washington, D.C., 1929. 303 pp.

Grimaldi, Irving May and Fletcher, M. H. *U. S. Geological Survey Fluorimetric Methods of Uranium Analysis.* Washington, D.C.: U. S. Geological Survey, 1952. 19 pp.

Grimsley, G. P. *Iron Ores, Salt and Sandstones.* Morgantown: West Virginia Geological Survey, 1909. 603 pp.

Griswold, Willard S. *Landmark.* Wisconsin: Waukesha County Historical Society, 1961. 16 pp.

Guillen, Jorge. *Affirmation: A Bilingual Anthology,* 1919-1966. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968. 208 pp.

H. E. Musson & Co. *Report of Analysis — Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company — Oklahoma City Plan for the Mayor and City Council — Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.* Oklahoma City, 1930.

Hafen, Le Roy R., ed. *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West.* Glendale: A. H. Clark, 1968. 401 pp.

Hagan, William T. *The Sac and Fox Indians.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958. 287 pp.

Hall, Frank D. *To Whom It May Concern.* 1963. 105 pp.

Hambleton, William W. *Symposium on Geophysics in Kansas.* Topeka: State of Kansas, 1959. 375 pp.

Hamilton, Henry W. *The Spiro Mound.* Columbia: Missouri Archeologist, 1952. 276 pp.

Hammond's Complete World Atlas. New York: C. S. Hammond, 1950. 376 pp.

Hammond's Modern Atlas of the World. New York: C. S. Hammond, 1910. 128 pp.

Hamyln, Paul. *North American Indian Art.* London: Drury House, 1967. 106 pp.

Haneworth, Robert D. *Daddy of "Em All" The Story of Cheyenne Frontier Days.* Cheyenne: Flintlock Pub. Co., 1967. 626 pp.

Harbaugh, John W. *Marine Bank Development in Plattsburg Limestone.* Topeka: State of Kansas, 1959. 40 pp.

Hardin, Robert Allen. *Sand Hill Chronicles.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966. 34 pp.

Hardman, Francis. *Frontier Life: or Scenes and Adventures in the Southwest.* Buffalo: Derby, Orton & Mulligan, 1853. 376 pp.

Harlow, Rex. *Oklahoma Leaders.* Oklahoma City: Harlow Pub. Corp., 1928. 530 pp.

Harlow, Rex. *Successful Oklahomans.* Oklahoma City: Harlow Pub. Corp., 1927. 239 pp.

Harlow's Session Laws. Oklahoma City: Harlow Pub. Corp., 1935 and 1937.

Harmer, G. R., ed. *Scott's United States Stamp Catalogue* 1966. New York: Scott Publications. 676 pp.

Harrington, Jesse F. and Harrington, Annie E. *Cemeteries—Grave-*

stone Inscriptions from Barry County, Missouri and Carroll County, Arkansas. 13 pp.

Harrison, Benjamin. *Views of an Ex-President.* Indianapolis: Bowen-Merrill, 1901. 532 pp.

Harrison, Walter M. *Another Day.* Oklahoma City, 1936. 182 pp.

Harrison, Walter M. *The Tiny Times.* Oklahoma City, 1930. 46 pp.

Hart, Freeman H. *The Valley of Virginia in the American Revolution.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942. 223 pp.

Haskell, Daniel C., ed. *Manhattan Maps—A Co-operative List.* New York: New York Public Library, 1931. 128 pp.

Hatch, Charles E., ed. *Yorktown Climax of the Revolution.* National Park Service, 1941. 26 pp.

(To be continued)

BOOK REVIEWS

Life of George Bent, Written from his Letters. By George Hyde, Edited by Savoie Lottinville. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1968. Pp. 389. $5.95.)

It is not often that a manuscript which lay unpublished for years suddenly finds its way into print, but historians and ethnologists can be thankful that this one did. During the years that he worked with the plains Indians collecting material on their history for both George Bird Grinnell and himself, George Hyde came into close contact with George Bent, the son of William Bent and Owl Woman of the Southern Cheyennes. As a member of the great trading family, George Bent grew up as part of both cultures. He received the white man's education and fought for a time on the Confederate side in the Civil War, but he returned to the West in 1863 and began to live with his mother's people. He never left them again. As the grandson of White Thunder, keeper of the Medicine Arrows of the Southern Cheyennes, and the son-in-law of Black Kettle, a leading chief of the tribe, he developed an extensive knowledge of Cheyenne history and life. Bent also was unusual in that he liked to write letters, tell what he knew, and to gather information from others.

A good part of this book was written fifty years ago from the letters of George Bent, but when no publisher could be found and the depression closed in, Mr. Hyde sold the manuscript containing eight of the present fifteen chapters to the Denver Public Library for a few hundred dollars. This manuscript, often used by historians, along with the rough copy of the entire book, which was subsequently discovered, has been prepared by George Hyde and Savoie Lottinville, former editor of the University of Oklahoma Press, into the present publication.

George Bent was, without a doubt, one of the important sources of information about plains Indian history. Familiar with the oral traditions of the Southern Cheyennes, he was acquainted with men involved in the key events. Bent himself was an observer and participant in the climactic events of this crisis period in Cheyenne history. Out of touch with white civilization and living among his mother's people, George Bent watched a proud tribe being humbled and participated in the struggle against this development. His information for the period from 1863 to 1868 was unique. He was the only man living with the hostiles who could and did set down in writing an account of what he witnessed.

The Bent letters help fill in our knowledge of plains Indian history. Virtually all of the major events are described, and Bent corroborates much of what we know. He does provide a new perspective, for he relates his account from the point of view of the Cheyennes. This is a major contribution, and George Hyde and Savoie Lottinville are to be commended for making it available.

Old Wolfville: Chapters from the Fiction of Alfred Henry Lewis. By Alfred Henry Lewis. Edited by Louis Filler. (Antioch Press, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1968. Pp. 260. $2.50).

The increasing interest in western history has led to new editions of fictional and non-fictional materials long since forgotten. It has brought about the publication of some material which is of questionable value, but it has also produced much that is useful. Under the direction of Louis Filler, the Antioch Press has begun to reprint a series of books for programs in American Studies, and among these is *Old Wolfville,* a collection of stories selected from the fictional writings of Alfred Henry Lewis.

The cattle frontier has probably generated as much interest among the reading public as any other aspect of western history, and new editions of such well known books as Andy Adams' classic, *Log of a Cowboy* and the highly regarded fiction of Eugene M. Rhodes have recently appeared. Alfred Henry Lewis is by no means as well known as these authors, but Professor Filler's choice of the best of his stories was a wise one. Lewis has remained ignored and forgotten, but the collection of stories should help remedy this.

Although he made his career in the real estate business and in the newspaper world, Lewis worked in the cattle industry for a time, and it was the western culture which he had absorbed in these few brief years which provided the basis for his fictional writings. The best of his stories, collected here, are good reading and provide some insight into frontier humor and tales. Some are excellent, at times sparkling with humor. Others, as the tale of Donna Anna who killed her lover and then killed herself, are romantic and sentimental. They are not the dime novel type, and they are definitely worth reading.

It is regretable that this new publication of Lewis' fiction does not provide us with some knowledge of his life and background. Louis Filler published a brief sketch of Lewis' life in 1943, but neglects to include a similar account in his brief introduction. A biographical sketch would seem essential here.

—Richard N. Ellis

University of New Mexico

The Centennial Years: A Political and Economic History of America from the Late 1870's to the Early 1890's. By Fred A. Shannon. Edited by Robert H. Jones. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1967. Pp. xvi, 362. Illustrations, bibliography and index. $6.95.)

This is a well-organized and solidly written volume that covers a period in United States history that is, unfortunately, shunned or glossed over by too many people as uninteresting or boring. Professor Shannon's work was partly in draft when he died in 1963 and therefore a former student edited it into the present form. The result is very interesting and will be of much value to students of this era.

The Author presents a good composite picture of the American people as the country begins its second hundred years as an independent nation. He follows this with a comprehensive study of each presidential administration of the period, even devoting one chapter to the very brief reign of James A. Garfield. A thorough discussion is made of the actions taken by the various politicians when they evaded or just plain disregarded the real problems and issues of the day, and dwelled instead on inconsequential matters that had little or no significance in the long run.

The Centennial Years gives a good account of the growth of the Jim Crow attitude and sharecropper system with the effects of both on the Negro and the South.

Also the problems of the farmers and the laboring classes were given good coverage. Along with a thorough discussion of the growth of the Industrial Revolution, Shannon gives a good description of the accompanying labor strife, the new inventions, and the growth of various monopolies during the period.

Annotations are generous, clear, and explicit, while the bibliography should prove of great value to historians or other readers interested in supplemental data on this period. Three groups of pictures are contained in the volume which include some of the leading politicians, labor leaders, and industrialists of the time.

—Vernon S. Braswell

Corpus Christi, Texas

NECROLOGY

Dorothy Jane Orton

1915-1968

Tragedy struck all of Oklahoma when Dorothy Jane Orton was accidentally drowned in the swirling flood waters of the Mountain Fork River one day in May. When the report a few hours later came over the air from the Highway Patrol, her friends over the state could not believe it, especially those in the region of Ft. Towson, who had always known her. To this day, the fact that Dorothy is gone is hard to accept.

Dorothy Jane Orton was born on January 7, 1915, at Ft. Towson, in Choctaw County. She graduated from Ft. Towson High School, and attended Southeastern State College at Durant. She then enrolled and graduated from Business College in Oklahoma City.

Early in World War II, September 1, 1943, she enlisted in the Women's Army Corps, distinguished as the first woman in Oklahoma to join this Army Corps. She left the service at Ft. Sam Houston, Texas (after two and a half years) with the rank of captain. She returned to civilian life as head cashier and bookkeeper for the Standard Life Insurance Company in Oklahoma City. She was recalled to active duty in the Army on November 27, 1950, and served as a commanding officer at Ft. Lee, Virginia, at Camp Breckenridge, Kentucky, and as a staff officer in the Oklahoma District Military Office in Oklahoma City. She received her discharge from Army service on January 31, 1953.

After her retirement, Dorothy Orton was appointed postmaster at her home town of Ft. Towson, a post she held for seven years until her death on May 31, 1968, while engaged in her favorite recreation, fishing on the Mountain Fork River in McCurtain County.

Dorothy was known for her activities in many organizations. She was secretary of the Fort Towson Commission for the restoration of this old, historic Army post in Oklahoma. She was treasurer of the Doaksville-Ft. Towson Cemetery Association; past-president of the Ft. Towson Parent-Teacher Association; and an active member in many phases of her church work, Ft. Towson Methodist Church. She was a member of the Aaron Redding Post, American Legion at Ft. Towson; member of the district and state American Legion bodies; active in the Association of Oklahoma Postmasters; a worker in the Ft. Towson observance of every Veteran's Day and Memorial Day at the Doaksville-Ft. Towson Cemetery.

However, her friends knew that Dorothy's deepest and first interest in all her organization memberships—though she always gave her loyalty and devoted service to every one of these—was the project of the Fort Towson Commission to restore old Fort Towson; to retell its history of 124 years to everyone visiting this noted historic place located within a mile of her home town in Southeastern Oklahoma. It was Dorothy Orton who was the leading spirit and active worker in the planning and production of the great historical pageant on the grounds of this old U. S. post. It commemorated the Centennial of the end of the Civil War the day when the Confederate Indian forces, under the command of Brig. General Stand Watie, in the Indian Territory surrendered near this very spot in June, 1865.

A Dorothy Orton Memorial Fund was established at the time of her death by her beloved friends in Choctaw County, who had asked permission to do this of her mother, Mrs. Ruth Orton, the sole surviving member of the family. The fund was not established as a means of raising money for use in the restoration of the old U. S. military post, nor was it "in lieu of flowers," for both her mother and Dorothy loved flowers and many flowers were sent at the time of her funeral. The little, Ft. Towson church and its grounds overflowed with people for the services on this day. Dorothy was buried beside the grave of her father in a lot she herself had selected near the old section of the Doaksville-Ft. Towson Cemetery. Hundreds of persons have contributed to the Dorothy Orton Memorial Fund and now something fitting and needed on the grounds of the restored, old military post will be placed there as a lasting tribute to her great service in the preservation of Indian Territory and Oklahoma history.

—Frances Imon

Hugo, Oklahoma

DOROTHY JANE ORTON

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY OCTOBER 24, 1968

President Shirk called the meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society to order at 10:00 a.m. on Thursday, October 24, 1968. The meeting was held in the Board Room of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building in Oklahoma City.

The President proposed that a new system be followed at Board Meetings. A formal agenda will be prepared and presented to each member in order that he or she may know the order in which topics will be discussed.

Administrative Secretary Elmer Fraker introduced Denmei Ueda, a researcher from Nihama Japan, to the board members. Mr. Ueda is doing research in the Oklahoma Historical Society on a grant made possible by Dr. B. B. Chapman, former board member.

The following members were present for the meeting: Mrs. Bowman, Mr. Boydstun, Dr. Dale, Mr. Finney, Dr. Fischer, Mr. Foresman, Mr. Fuqua, Dr. Gibson, Mr. Harrison, Mr. McIntosh, Mr. Miller, Dr. Morrison, Mr. Muldrow, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Pierce, Miss Seger, Mr. Shirk and Mr. Woods. Those members absent were: Mr. Allard, Mr. Bass, Mr. Curtis, Mr. Hefner, Mr. Kirkpatrick, Mr. McBride, and Mr. Mountcastle. Miss Seger moved that all members absent be excused. Dr. Fischer seconded the motion which was passed by the Board.

In his report, Mr. Fraker stated that twenty-nine people had made application for annual membership and that numerous gifts had been received by the Society. Mr. Muldrow moved that the applicants be elected to membership and the gifts accepted. Mrs. Bowman seconded the motion, which carried.

Continuing his report, Mr. Fraker urged all members to read "Along the Trail" which is mailed prior to each meeting. This will keep board members informed on all current projects of the Society and save time at Board Meetings.

Mr. Fraker stated that the Oklahoma Historical Society would receive $125,000 if the up-coming bond issue is passed by the voters of Oklahoma. He asked that he be given the authority to mail a letter to all Historical Society members in Oklahoma urging their support for this proposal. This request was granted by the Board of Directors.

He also reported that a pamphlet describing the exhibits and facilities of the Society had been published and distributed free to approximately 40 motels in the Oklahoma City area.

Mrs. Bowman gave the Treasurer's report. Mr. Phillips moved that Mrs. Bowman's report be approved by the Board. Dr. Fischer seconded the motion, which was adopted.

In his report for the Microfilm Committee, Mr. Phillips said that production was improving and the department was keeping current on newspapers.

Mr. McIntosh reported that he had no additional report for the Historical Sites Committee other than information that was contained in the last issue of "Along The Trail."

Dr. Morrison stated that work had been started on the entrance gate at Fort Washita. He also reported that Mr. Merrick was keeping in touch with Mr. Fricke on progress at the site.

In a special ceremony, Mr. R. G. Miller was presented with an Honorary Life Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society by President Shirk. Mr. Miller said: "I have given up all activities except my church work and work in the Oklahoma Historical Society and I am having the best time of my life."

President Shirk presented to the Society the marble gavel block which was a gift to the Society from former Oklahoma City Mayor Frank Martin. Mayor Martin was the first mayor to preside over the new city hall.

In connection with the Fort Towson Commission, President Shirk asked that the nomination of Ruby Smith to the Commission be approved by the Board. She would fill the vacancy left by the death of Dorothy Orton. The nomination was unanimously approved by the Board of Directors.

In his report to the Board, Mr. Muldrow stated that Governor Overton James of the Chickasaw Nation and Chief Belvin of the Choctaw Nation were receptive to the idea of restoring their nation's respective capitols.

Mr. Finney gave a brief resume of Fort Sill Centennial Commission work. He stated the committee had met at Fort Sill. He distributed to the Board Members pamphlets that had been published for the Commemoration.

President Shirk reported to the Board that Mrs. Harriett Colcord White, daughter of the late C. F. Colcord, had offered to the Oklahoma Historical Society Library 100 volumes from her late father's library. Mr. Muldrow moved that the Society accept the books from Mrs. White. The motion was seconded by Dr. Gibson and unanimously approved by the Board.

President Shirk also stated that she wished to donate to the Society fluorescent lighting equipment from the Colcord Estate. These lights had formerly been used on the fifth floor of the Colcord Building. Mr. Harrison moved that this gift be accepted. Mr. Phillips seconded the motion which was also approved.

In the matter of the Honey Springs Battlefield Park, Dr. Fischer displayed a map showing the proposed park. He stated that the park would contain 2,993 acres. So far, the Society owns 160 acres at this site.

It was suggested by Mr. McIntosh that the Society take the 160 acres the Society now owns and develop it into a historic site and gradually acquire and develop the remaining land.

President Shirk proposed the following names to make up the Honey Springs Battlefield Commission: Mr. James C. Leake, Chairman; Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Vice-Chairman; Hon. Vol. H. Odom; Hon. John D. Luton; Hon. W. E. McIntosh; Warren Ray; Miss Nettie Wheeler; Jess C. Epple; and Phil Harris. Dr. Gibson moved that the Board confirm the Honey Springs Battlefield Commission nominations. Mr. Muldrow seconded this motion and it was approved.

In the matter of selection and adoption of an official seal for the Oklahoma Historical Society, President Shirk stated that Larry Anderson, who designed the seal for the City of Oklahoma City, would be agreeable to design a seal for the Society. Mr. Harrison moved that President Shirk be authorized to have Mr. Anderson design a seal and present it to the Board for approval. Miss Seger seconded the motion, which carried.

Miss Wright reported to the Board that Governor James and the Chickasaw Nation were using the property of the Oklahoma Historical Society in the publication of a Chickasaw Dictionary. Mr. Harrison moved that the original manuscript be copyrighted by the Oklahoma Historical Society. This was unanimously approved.

President Shirk presented a proposition to the Board to sell square yard lots of Cherokee Nation land to people in England and Germany. A deed of 10 acres in Cherokee County was presented to the Society by Mr. Earl Boyd Pierce on behalf of Mrs. Pierce and himself to be used for this project. Mr. Harrison moved that the deed be accepted with gratitude and appreciation. This was seconded by Mrs. Bowman.

Mr. Shirk said it was his proposal that the property be sold in one yard square lots. Lord Montagu of England has agreed to help promote the project in Europe. Mr. Shirk said that each person buying land would receive a deed, pamphlet and a map. He also suggested that the Society extend $100 to help defray expenses of Lord Montagu on this project. Mr. Harrison moved the President's proposal be approved. Mr. Muldrow seconded the motion which the Board passed.

In the matter of the restoration of the Overholsere Homes, Miss Seger moved that the Society accept the program as outlined at a previous Board Meeting. Dr. Fischer seconded the motion, which passed.

Mr. Fraker recommended Mr. M. L. "Dick" Atkinson for a Certificate of Commendation for his work on the Oil Museum. Dr. Fischer recommended Mr. W. H. Fisher of Stillwater for a Certificate of Commendation in connection with his help on the Honey Springs Battlefield map. Both recommendations were unanimously approved by the Board.

Mr. Shirk reported that the cannon replica had been installed at Fort Gibson and the local sponsors were very happy with it. He also stated that a carriage is being made for the cannon in front of the Historical Building.

From a tally of the votes, it was decided the meeting time of the Board would remain as beginning at 10:00 a.m.

Mr. Phillips moved that President Shirk be commended for the new agenda and the new system used during the Board Meeting. This was unanimously approved.

It being determined there was no further business to discuss, the meeting was adjourned at 12:30 p.m.

GEORGE H. SHIRK, President

ELMER L. FRAKER, Administrative Secretary

GIFTS RECEIVED IN THIRD QUARTER, 1968

LIBRARY:

Silver Anniversary: Tinker Air Force Base, 1942-1967.
Donor: Kenneth L. Patchin, OCAMA Historian, OCK-1, Tinker Air Force Base, Oklahoma, 73145.

The Black Hills Nugget, Vol. 2, No. 2, Deadwood, South Dakota, Historic Edition and Reprint.
Donor: Charles A. Tilghman, Oklahoma City by George H. Shirk.

Specific Information on Each of the 12 *Proposals to Improve Your City*, July 16, 1968.
Sixty Nine Certificates of Incorporation of Companies and Incorporations in Oklahoma.
American Name Society Bulletin No. 10, April 1968.
United States Air Force Honors Major-General Frank T. McCoy, Jr., August 16, 1968.
Oklahoma City Urban Renewal Authority, June 30, 1968.
Names—Journal of the American Name Society, Vol. 16, No. 2, June 1968.
Stamps and United States Cancellation Club, July 1962.
Oklahoma Goodwill Industries, Inc., June 1968.
The American West, Vol. 5, No. 4, July 1968.
National Aeronautics and Space Administration Literature Collection.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City.

Of Heritage and Tradition—A Guide for Genealogists, Reference Division of Texas State Library.
Publications of the Archives Division of Texas State Library.
A Guide to the Archives Division of Texas State Library.
Texas State Library—State Archives and Library Building.
Guide to Official Texas Historical Markers.
Texas Museum Directory.
Magna Carta—Its Influence in the World Today by Sir Ivor Jennings.
Primer of Genealogical Research by Mrs. Harry Joseph Morris (Louise Elizabeth Burton Morris.)
Local History and Genealogical Society, Cooperating with the Dallas Public Library.
The Local History and Genealogical Handbook of Seminars in Genealogical Research.
Lectures—Presented by Dr. Conrad Swan, Esq., Rouge Dragon Pursuivant of Arms, The College of Arms, London, England.
Lineages and Genealogical Notes by Mrs. Harry Joseph Morris.
Donor: Mrs. Harry Joseph Morris, 6840 Lakewood Blvd., Dallas, Texas.

Golden Book of the Osages by R. G. Fister and G. V. Labadie.
Donor: Mrs. Catherine Reid Katona, The Kiva, 112 Don Gaspar, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 87501.

The New Cherokee Treaty, ratified August 7, 1902.
Donor: O. K. Bivins, Oklahoma City.

Pre-1858: *English Probate Jurisdictions—Nottinghamshire*, Series A, No. 24, July 1, 1968 by The Genealogical Society.
Pre-1858: *English Probate Jurisdictions—Derbyshire*, Series A, No. 25, July 15, 1968, by The Genealogical Society.
Pre-1858: *English Probate Jurisdictions—Westmorland*, Series A, No. 26, July 15, 1968, by The Genealogical Society.
Donor: The Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Inc., 107 South Main Street, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Amos Person (s)—His Forebears and Descendants by Barbara Roach Knox, 1967.
Donor: Oklahoma State Library.

Map: Indian Territory 1895-1899, U. S. Geological Survey.
Donor: Mrs. Pete Perkins, Route 2, Box 206, Jones, Oklahoma 73049.

Thesis: *John Ross: Unionist or Secessionist in* 1861? by Charles Lee Bahos, 1968, University of Tulsa.
Donor: Charles Lee Bahos, 2604 East 2nd, Tulsa, Oklahoma 74104.

Texaco Touring Atlas—United States, Canada and Mexico, 1968.
Donor: Bill Lewis, Texaco Station, Edmond, Oklahoma.

Records of East Texas, Vol. 1 complete (4 issues.)
Records of East Texas, Vol. 2 complete (4 issues.)
Stirpes, Vol. 3, No. 1, March 1963.
Stirpes, Vol. 7, No. 4, Dec. 1967.
Donor: John Clark, 1023 Harris, Oklahoma City.

Oklahoma City—A to Z, 1968.
Donor: Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce, 200 Skirvin Tower, Oklahoma City 73102.

Oklahoma Grand Chapter Order of the Eastern Star—Proceedings of the "Chapel Bell" Session, Guthrie, Oklahoma, 1966.
Donor: Mrs. Ethel L. Johnston, P. O. Box 391, Perry, Oklahoma 73077

Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Oklahoma, 1968—Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, February 1968 at Shawnee, Oklahoma.
Donor: J. Fred Latham, P.G.M. Grand Secretary, Masonic Temple. Guthrie, Okla.

Fore Family by Ellen Byrne, 1967.
Donor: Mrs. Daniel Byrne, 175 James Street, Mill Valley, California.

Black Kettle Museum, Cheyenne, Oklahoma, 1968.
Honey Springs Depot, Elk Creek, Creek Nation, Indian Territory, July 1964.
Civil War Battle of Cabin Creek, Sept. 18-19, 1864, July 1964.
All above written and personally autographed by Jess C. Epple.
Donor: Jess C. Epple, Route No. 1, Box 33, Warner, Oklahoma 74469.

"The Thresher Men" by Jack Immell, 1968.
Donor: Jack Immell, Box 482, Buffalo, Oklahoma 73834.

Civil War Battlesite: "Wilson's Creek Battlefield," National Park, Mo.
Donor: Ray Asplin, Oklahoma City.

45 RPM Record: "One-Two-Three" sung by Miss Oklahoma, 1966—Jane Anne Jayroe to win the Miss America, 1967 Contest.
Donor. Mrs. Robert L. Atkins, Oklahoma City.

Catalog of the Inland Rivers Library, 1968.
Donor: Inland Rivers Library, Rare Book Dept., Public Library of Cincinnati and Hamilton County, Ohio.

Stewart Clan Magazine, Vol. 45, Nos. 1-12, July 1967 to June 1968.
Valley Leaves, Vol. 2, No. 1, Sept. 1967; Vol. 2, No. 2, Dec. 1967; Vol. 2, No. 3, March 1968; Vol. 2, No. 4, June 1968.
Historical Wyoming, Vol. 21, No. 1, October, 1967; Vol. 21, No. 2, Jan. 1968; Vol. 21, No. 3, April 1968; Vol. 21, No. 4, July 1968.
The Franklin Fireplace, Vol. 1, No. 1, June 29, 1968.
Genealogical Periodical Annual Index, Vol. 5, 1966.
1860 *Census Johnson County, Missouri*, Copied by Betty Harvey Williams, Warrensburg, Mo.
Henry County, Missouri Tombstone Inscriptions, Vol. I and II, copied by Betty Harvey Williams, Warrensburg, Missouri.
Stone County, Missouri Abstract of Wills and Administrations 1851-1898

and Marriage Records, 1851-1879, compiled by Betty Harvey Williams.
Johnson County, Missouri Abstracts of Wills and Administrations, 1835-1855 compiled by Betty Harvey Williams.
"The Historical Society News," Cleveland, Cuyaroga County, Ohio, March 1960.
Genealogical Tips, Vol. 5, Nos. 3 and 4, 1967-1968.
The Tallow Light, Vol. 2, Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12, 1967-1968.
Donor: The Oklahoma Genealogical Society.

Sir William Johnson and the Indians of New York by Milton W. Hamilton.
Donor: Louis L. Tucker, Assist. Commissioner for State History, State Historian of New York, Albany, N. Y. 12224.

Microfilm: 1880 Texas Census, Roll 1317 of Lee, Leon (pt.), Liberty, Limestone, Lipscomb, Live Oak, Llano, Lubbock and McCulloch.
Donor: Mrs. Anna Morris, 2521 Northwest 21st, Oklahoma City.

Historical Items and Clippings on Early Oklahoma from Ellis County, 1968.
Donor: Mrs. L. L. Males, Cheyenne, Oklahoma.

Collection of Newspaper Clippings relative to history of Kiowa County, Oklahoma.
Plat of Residents of Dunlap Addition, Hobart, Oklahoma.
Gray Ladies Capping Ceremony, Kiowa County Chapter, American Red Cross, May 1, 1961.
"New Map of Hobart and Kiowa County, Oklahoma" (c.a. 1960).
History of The Yamparika Club, Hobart, Oklahoma
The Yamparika Club, Yearbook 1904-1905, Hobart, Oklahoma.
Community Date and Data Almanac-Calendar, 1957, Hobart, Oklahoma.
An Overall Economic Development Program for Kiowa County, 1964.
Donor: Mrs. Edna Lauer, Lone Wolf, Oklahoma.

The Boise City News Historical and Anniversary Edition, 1968.
Donor: Newspaper Department of Oklahoma Historical Society.

The Future South and Higher Education.
Donor: Winfred L. Godwin, Director and the Southern Regional Education Board, Atlanta, Georgia.

Bibliography of Salvage Archeology in the United States, Number 10, Compiled by Jerome E. Petsche.
Donor: Jerome E. Petsche, author and the River Basin Surveys of the Smithsonian Institution Office of Anthropology, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Yearbook 1968-1969 Oklahoma City Chapter of the National Society Daughters of the American Revolution.
Donor: Mrs. Marion Cooter, Oklahoma City.

Nineteenth Century Houses in Lawrence, Kansas: Miscellaneous Publications of the Museum of Art, No. 72.
Donor: The University of Kansas Museum of Art, Lawrence, Kansas.

Stuart and Allied Families, Compiled and Privately Printed by Elbridge Amos Stuart, 1938.
Will of Phillip Tignor, September 11, 1775, St. Steaphens Parish, Northumberland, Virginia.
Genealogy of Alexander Stuart.
Donor: Mrs. Adelia Sallee, 1020 McNamee, Norman, Oklahoma.

"Cherokee"—Ezekiel Proctor, by E. H. Brewington from *Great West*, July 1968, Vol. 2, No. 4.

"Last Run of the Lucy Walker" by E. H. Brewington from *Frontier Times*, October-November, 1968, Vol. 42, No. 6, New Series 56.
Donor: E. H. Brewington, Oklahoma City.

The Patterson and Pattison Family Association. Record Book. No. 4. 1967 by Norman G. Patterson.
Donor: Norman George Patterson, 7526 Wentworth Avenue, South, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55423, through the Oklahoma State Library.

Oklahoma Poetry, Vol. VI, No. 15, 1968.
Donor: Leslie A. McRill, Editor, 1817 N. W. 14th, Oklahoma City 73106.

Bulletin of Oklahoma Writers Association, 1968.
Deputy Marshal Appointment of William Ellis by George J. Crump, Marshal of United States Western District of Arkansas, May 29, 1893.
Donor: Charles Campbell, Oklahoma City.

America's Builders — The Yearbook of Construction, 1967-1968.
Donor: Walter Nashert, 16 N.E. 27th, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

First Annual Report of the Corporation Commission of the State of Oklahoma, 1908.
Second and Third Annual Report of the Corporation Commission of State of Oklahoma, 1909-1910.
Fourth Annual Report of the Corporation Commission of the State of Oklahoma, 1911.
First Annual Report of the Department of Labor for the State of Oklahoma, 1908, Charles L. Daugherty, Commissioner.
Second Annual Report of the Department of Labor for the State of Oklahoma, 1908-1909, Charles L. Daugherty, Commissioner.
Twentieth Annual Report of the Corporation Commission of the State of Oklahoma, June 30, 1927.
Corporation Commission Laws of Oklahoma, 1917, compiled by Paul A. Walker.
State of Oklahoma Session Laws of 1919—2 copies.
State of Oklahoma Session Laws of 1923.
Revised Laws of Oklahoma, 1910, Vol. I, Harris and Day.
Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of the Extraordinary Session of 3rd Legislature of the State of Oklahoma, 1910.
The Central Law Journal, Vol. 66, Jan.-June, 1908.
Journal of the House Proceedings of the 7th Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma, 1903.
Journal of the Council Proceedings of the 7th Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma, 1903.
Oklahoma Session Laws of 1936-1937.
Official Oklahoma Session Laws, 1945.
Journal of the House of Representatives of the Extraordinary Session of the 3rd Legislature of State of Oklahoma, 1910.
Journal of the House of Representatives of the Extraordinary Session of the 2nd Legislature of the State of Oklahoma, 1910.
Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of the Regular Session of the Third Legislature of the State of Oklahoma, 1911.
Journal of the Senate of the Fourth Legislature of the State of Oklahoma, 1912-1913.
Journal of the House of Representatives of the Regular Session of the Fourth Legislature of the State of Oklahoma, 1913.
Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Third Legislature Regular Session, State of Oklahoma, 1911.

Journal of the Extraordinary Session of the Eighth Legislature of the State of Oklahoma, April 25th to May 21st, 1921.
State of Oklahoma Session Laws of 1925.
Donor: Department of Mines, Chief Mine Inspector, State of Oklahoma, 252 State Capitol Building, Oklahoma City, 73105.

"Ottawa County, Oklahoma Family Cemeteries".
Historical Map of Ottawa County, Oklahoma.
Donors: Compiler F. C. Morrison, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mrs. Leila Cooper of Miami, Oklahoma by Mrs. Frankie Followwill, Oklahoma City.

Altona Cemetery, Kingfisher County, Oklahoma, 1968.
Donor: Compiler, Oran Nunemaker, Jr., Box 215, Fowler, Kansas by Mrs. Frankie Followwill, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

O County Faces and Places—A Collection of Cherokee Strip Photographs and Stories by Velma Troxel Jayne and Stella Campbell Rockwell, 1968.
Donors: Velma Troxel Jayne and Stella Campbell Rockwell, Enid, Oklahoma.

Microfilm: 1880 Census Mississippi, Roll 642 of Bolivar (part), Calhoun and Carroll (part), Counties.
Donor: Romney S. Philpott, Oklahoma City.

Early Days in What is Helena Township by C. M. Holton, 1968 and Sponsored by Helena Association of 93ers.
Donor: Sponsors and Cherokee Strip Pioneers, Helena, Oklahoma.

Reveries of a Pioneer Boy—Poet at 83 by Frank A. Carver, 1968.
Donor: Chief Waldo E. "Dode" McIntosh, 111 East Independence, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Pioneer Women of Oklahoma by Jane Hudson Tatum, Central State College, Social Studies Workshop, Graduate Division, July 1967.
Donor: Jane Hudson Tatum, Edmond, Oklahoma.

Charles F. Colcord Book Collection:
Hell on the Border by S. W. Harmon; this is the 1953 reprint done by Frank L. Van Eaton of the original 1898 edition.
Frontier Trails by Frank M. Canton, 1930.
Forlorn River by Zane Grey, 1926.
Nevada by Zane Grey, 1926.
Under the Tonto Rim by Zane Grey, 1925.
The Last Frontier by Zack T. Sutley, 1930.
Lone Cowboy, My Life Story by Will James, 1930.
The Trail Drivers of Texas, Compiled and Edited by J. Marvin Hunter and George W. Saunders, 1920.
The Trail Drivers of Texas, Vol. 2, Compiled and Edited by J. Marvin Hunter, 1923.
The Trail Drivers of Texas, Revised Vol. 1, Second Edition, compiled and edited by J. Marvin Hunter, 1924.
The Trail Drivers of Texas, Second Revised Edition, compiled and edited by J. Marvin Hunter, 1925.
Out Where the World Begins by Abe Cory, 1921.
The Life of Stephen F. Austin by Eugene C. Barker, 1925.
Prairie and Rocky Mountain Adventures or *Life in the West* by John C. Van Tramp, 1866.
Double Cross Ranch by Charles Alden Seltzer, 1932.
Rough Life on the Frontier by Scott Van Gorden, 1903.
The Border—A Missouri Saga by Dagmar Doneghy, 1931.

The War Years by Walter M. Harrison, 1945.
"So Oklahoma Grew Up" by Frederick Simpich from *National Geographic*, Vol. LXXIX, No. 3, March 1941.
Heel-Fly Time in Texas by John Warren Hunter.
The Oklahoma Sheriff and Peace Officer—Official Convention Issue for Sheriff and Peace Officers' Association of Oklahoma, June 16-17, 1930.
A Woman's Reminiscences of Six Years in Camp With the Texas Rangers by Mrs. D. W. Roberts.
Life and Adventures of Sam Bass, W. L. Hall and Company, 1878.
Indian Fighting on the Texas Frontier by Capt. John M. Elkins and Frank W. McCarty, 1929.
The Road to Oregon by W. J. Ghent, 1949.
Ten Years a Cowboy by C. C. Post.
Wild Life in the Far West by C. H. Simpson, 1896.
The Blazing Horizon by Ernest Lynn, 1927.
Journal of a Furtrading Expedition on the Upper Missouri, 1812-1813 by John C. Luttig, edited by Stella M. Drumm, 1930.
The Light of Western Stars by Zane Grey, 1914.
Gun Notches—The Life Story of a Cowboy-Soldier, by Capt. Thomas H. Rynning as told to Al Cohn and Joe Chisholm, 1931.
The Last Rustler by Lee Sage, 1930.
Prairie and Forest by Parker Gillmore, 1874.
The Saga of Billy the Kid by Walter Noble Burns, 1926.
The Trail of Ninety-Eight by Robert W. Service, 1910.
Cowboys North and South by Will James, 1924.
Ancient Life in the American Southwest by Edgar L. Hewett, 1930.
Afloat on the Ohio by Reuben Gold Thwaites, 1897.
Circle-Dot by M. H. Donoho, 1907.
Over the Plains and On the Mountains by J. H. Tice, 1872.
Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans by Gen. Thomas James, edited by Walter B. Douglas, 1916.
Frontier Life—Tales of the South-Western Border by Francis Hardman.
Billy the Kid by (Sheriff) Pat F. Garrett, edited by J. Brussel and John M. Scanland, 1946.
The Twenty-Fifth Man by Ed. Morrell, 1924.
Tenting On The Plains or Gen. Custer in Kansas and Texas by Mrs. Elizabeth Bacon Custer, 1887.
The Last of the Plainsmen by Zane Grey, 1911.
State of Oklahoma—Session Laws of 1910.
Thirty-One Years on the Plains and In the Mountains by Capt. Wm. F. Drannan, 1910.
Wild Sports in the Far West by Frederick Gerstaecker, 1855.
In the Early Days Along the Overland Trail in Nebraska Territory in 1852 by Gilbert L. Cole, 1905.
Kansas in 1858 by William P. Tomlinson, 1869.
Dodge City—The Cowboy Capitol by Robert M. Wright.
Reed Anthony, Cowman by Andy Adams, 1907.
In the Bosom of the Comanches by T. A. Babb, 1912.
Trail Dust of a Maverick by E. A. Brininstool, 1926.
Van Patten by B. M. Bower, 1926.
Jesus, the Man by Victor E. Harlow, 1924.
Hands Up! by Fred E. Sutton and A. B. McDonald, 1927.
Reminiscences of a Ranger by Major Horace Bell, 1927.
The Long Shadow by B. M. Bower (B. M. Sinclair), 1908.
History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Vol. 2, by Edward Gibbon and M. F. Guizot, 1840.
The Diary of a Dude-Wrangler by Struthers Burt, 1924.
The Mississippi Bubble by Emerson Hough, 1902.
When the Daltons Rode by Emmett Dalton, 1930.

Scouting on Two Continents by Major Frederick Russell Burnham, 1926.
Buffalo Land by W. E. Webb, 1872.
The Adventures of Big-Foot Wallace, The Texas Ranger and Hunter by John C. Duval, 1870.
The Life and Public Services of Henry Clay by Epes Sargent and Horace Greeley, 1852.
Wormwood—A Drama of Paris by Maie Corelli, 1890.
Massacre—A Survey of Today's American Indian by Robert Gessner, 1931.
Life of "Billy" Dixon—Plainsman, Scout and Pioneer by Olive K. Dixon, revised edition, 1927.
Buffalo Days by Col. Homer W. Wheeler, 1923.
Sun Up—Tales of the Cow Camps by Will James, 1930.
Handbook on Unitization of Oil Pools, compiled and issued by Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association of Tulsa, 1930.
Nebraska History Magazine, Vol. X, No. 2 April-June, 1927.
Case No. 15,995—Before the Interstate Commerce Commission, Oklahoma City, Jan. 19, 1925.
No. 17807—In the Supreme Court of the State of Oklaroma, Jan. 12, 1928.
For You by Ida Gum Pritchard, 1927.
University of Oklahoma Bulletin, New Series 434, March 16, 1929, Vol. I, Nos. 1, 2, 3.
"Those Kansas Jayhawkers" by Edward Everett Dale, reprint from *Agricultural History*, Vol. 2, No. 4, October 1928.
"Companions in Depression" by Raymond F. Fosdick, November 25, 1930.
Classified Catalogue of the Library of Oklahoma Historical Society.
"Proration"—A Message to the Governor, the Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives of the State of Oklahoma by B. M. Paramenter, Oklahoma City, January 28, 1931.
"The Man Without A Country" by Edward Everett Hale.
"Americanism"—Addresses by Woodrow Wilson on May 10, 1915; Franklin K. Lane on Jan. 11, 1919; Theodore Roosevelt on October 12, 1915.
"A Message to Garcia" by Elbert Hubbard.
The Monroe Doctrine and Jefferson's Letter to Monroe.
Abraham Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address on March 4, 1865.
John Adams' Inaugural Address.
"I am not a Virginian, but an American!"—Delivered to the first Continental Congress on September 4, 1774 by Patrick Henry.
"Mexico, 1930" by H. S. Hoover.
"The Sayings of Poor Richard"—Wit, Wisdom and Humor of Benjamin Franklin from *Poor Richard's Almanac*, 1733 to 1758; condensed and edited by Thomas Herbert Russell.
"The Oklahoma Historical Quilt."

Donor: Mrs. Harriet Colcord White (Mrs. James S. White), Continental Apartments, Oklahoma City by George H. Shirk.

PHOTOGRAPHS TO LIBRARY

Governor Leon Chase Phillips, glossy print of portrait done by Richard Goetz, in Okla. Historical Society.
Oklahoma Historical Society, Fall 1968, photograph.
Monument to the Oklahoma City Oil Field on State Capitol Grounds, dedicated October 1, 1968, photograph.
Governor Dewey Bartlett speaking at Dedication—Unveiling of Oil Field Monument, Oct. 1, 1968, photograph.
Gov. Bartlett Unveiling Oil Monument, October 1, 1968, photograph.
Elmer L. Fraker Speaking at Oil Field Monument Dedication-Unveiling, Oct. 1, 1968, photograph.

Donor: Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society.

Senate School Land Investigating Committee, Special Session of the 14th Oklahoma Legislature; two prints—one taken June 15, 1933 and one June 19, 1933.

Donor: Earl L. Hogard, 1403 South Knoxville, Tulsa, Oklahoma 74112.

Major-General George B. McClellan, photograph.

Donor: Mrs. Dorothy DeWitt Wilkinson, Oklahoma City.

Lieut. Amiel Weeks Whipple—photograph and negative.
Scissor-tailed Flycatcher—photograph and negative.
Sod House at Cleo Springs, 1897—photograph and negative.
Sod House at Cleo Springs—negative.
Post Office at Choctaw, Oklahoma, 1910—photograph and negative.
Mount Zion (or "Old Victory Church") near Arcadia in 1889 or 1890—photograph and negative.
Creek Chief Moty Tiger—negative.
Guthrie, Oklahoma Territory, 1891 supposedly to have been taken by Mark Twain—photograph and negative.
First Washita County Court House (frame building)—negative.
Pioneer Residence 10 miles from Cordell, part dugout and part frame, Washita County—negative.
New Cordell, Washita County—negative.
Spiro Mound in Oklahoma—negative.
Oklahoma City, April 22, 1889—negative.
Office of Kansas City Times & Oklahoma Territory Map Headquarters, 1889—negative.
Depot at Arkansas City, Kansas on April 22, 1889—negative.
Wagons and Teams Waiting for Official Signal to Start—negative.
Registration Booths and Crowd, 1893—negative.
Governor Dewey F. Bartlett—negative.
E. P. Kelly—negative.
"First Oklahoma City High School—Military Reservation"—photograph.
Indian Child on Spotted Pony—negative.
Concord Buggy—negative.
Horace P. Jones—2 negatives.
"Mohave Raft" done by H. Hollhausen from Whipple Collection—negative.
Wooden Derricks at Oiltown, Okla. taken from Magnolia's Mussellen No. 26—negative.
Ned Christie—photograph and negative.
Posse that Captured Ned Christie—photograph and negative.

Copies by Photographs Dept. of Historical Society and Gifts from orders.

Mrs. Nancy Phillips Posey (Pocas Harjo), mother of Creek poet, Alexander L. (Alex) Posey, sketch done by Lela Johnson—photograph and negative.
Dover, 1894—photograph and negative.

Donor: Editorial Department of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.*

Edwards' Store, old crossing on Little River in Hughes County, 8-6N-9E, Summer of 1949—photograph.
George H. Shirk—Presenting Honor Roll, 1963—photograph.
George H. Shirk—Presenting Humanitarian Award to Andrew Jackson Stidham, 1962—photograph.

Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City.

Oklahoma State Capitol Building—2 photographs.
Mrs. Mabel B. Bassett of Oklahoma—2 photographs and 1 negative.
River Boat, the "Jennie May"—photograph.

"Missionary Stone Chapel at Wheelock, Choctaw Nation"—copy of original sketch.
Tubercular Hospital Dormitories at Fort Supply—2 photographs.
Western Oklahoma Hospital, Ward Building at Supply—2 photographs.
Western Oklahoma Hospital, Ward #9—photographs.
Building at Western Oklahoma Hospital—photograph.
Dairy barn at Western Oklahoma Hospital—photograph.
First all-steel passenger train car built in the United States—4 photographs.

Donor: Transferred from Research Library and the Fred Barde Collection.

William David LaMar, Norman, Oklahoma—large framed photograph.

Donor: The W. D. LaMar family of McClain County by Mrs. Grandfield (Barbara) Moore, 6100 North Brookline, Normandie Apartments #37, Oklahoma City.

Oklahoma State Fair, Oklahoma City, 1909 picturing: Ray Lawson, Reubin Merrill, Harry Brown, John Wedman, Loran Davis and Glen Cornwell—photograph.
Properties of Jeremiah Phillip Brown, 1914, south of Yukon, Oklahoma—photograph.
Mayview Picnic on North Canadian River near Council, west of Oklahoma City, 1910—photograph.
North Canadian River near Council, 1910—photograph.

Donor: Miss Myrtle Lucille Brown, 3238 Nesbitt, Oklahoma City.

Kelly Brown, Muskogee—photograph.

Donor: R. M. Mountcastle, Muskogee, Oklahoma.

The Official Mace of the Governor of the State of Oklahoma—designed by Herbert L. Branan, Oklahoma City. 4 photographs showing each of all four sides.

Donor: Herbert L. Branan, Oklahoma City.

Chief Moses Keokuk—photograph.
Mrs. Moses (Mary) Keokuk—photograph.
Samuel Lee Patrick, Capt. Co. E, 34th Illinois Volunteer Infantry—photograph.
Paw-She-Paw-Ho, Sac and Fox Chief—photograph.
Paw-She-Paw-Ho, Sac and Fox Chief and group—photograph.

Donor: Harry B. Gilstrap, Jr., Amarillo, Texas.

Gen. Frank M. Canton, 1910 in civilian clothes "mounted on favorite mare in his own back yard"—photograph.
"Ramer's Ranch, Canon Creek" Ellison, Arizona, 1905—photograph.
Ranch Scene, Ellison, Arizona, 1905—photograph.
Winter Scene, Ellison, Arizona, 1905—photograph.
"Snow on the Pines" Ellison, Arizona, 1905—photograph.

Donor: Mrs. James S. White (Harriet Colcord White) and the C. F. Colcord family of Oklahoma City.

Display of the Oklahoma State Writers, Inc., at 1968 Oklahoma State Fair, Oklahoma City—photograph.

Donor: Charles C. Campbell, 1204 N.W. 42nd, Oklahoma City.

Fort Sill Mounted Cavalry, World War I, 1917—photograph.
Fort Sill Marching Infantry, World War I, 1917—photograph.
Fort Sill Armored Division, World War I, 1917—photograph.

Donor: Lora A. Peters, 409 Rayburn Drive, San Antonio, Texas 78221.

Destruction following tornado at Pryor, Oklahoma in the 1920's—10 photograph-postal cards.
Donor: Mrs. William L. Lewis (Bonnie Jo Gooldy) 504 Andover Street, Chicago Heights, Illinois, 60411.

Monument Erected in Honor of Milly Francis, Creek Heroine of 1817 War in Florida—located on Bacone College grounds—large photograph.
Donor: Judge and Mrs. Edwin Langley of Muskogee, Oklahoma.

INDIAN ARCHIVES DIVISION

Report meeting Executive Committee Cherokee Tribe August 31, 1968.
Report meeting Inter-Tribal Council Five Civilized Tribes, July 12, 1968.
Donor: Muskogee Area office.

News Letter of Henry B. Bass, August 15, 1968.
Donor: N. B. Johnson

Letters from Pawnee Agency to Dr. Berlin B. Chapman in re Otoe & Missouri Indians.
Donor: Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, Orlando, Fla.

"Soonerville Saga: September 1893" by Will Heuston
Donor: Will Heuston, Box 84, Wellston, Oklahoma

Documents, newspaper clippings, etc. re: Craven Wilson, Curry and Hopkins families.
Donor: Melvin E. Curry, Oklahoma City.

Insurance Policy on Henry C. Young, Ardmore, Chickasaw Nation, dated Nov. 4, 1901.
Donor: Vaughan P. Simms, M.D., Medical Director, Fidelity Mutual Life Insurance Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

Fort Sill, Chiricahua, Warm Springs Apache Indians v. U. S., Docket Nos. 30A and 48A: Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order; Opinion.

Blackfeet & Gros Ventre, Assiniboine and Sioux Tribes v. U. S. Docket No. 279A: Final Judgment for Sioux Tribe of Fort Peck; Final Award for Assiniboine Tribe.

Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, et al v. U. S., Docket No. 18-S: Findings of Fact; Order Granting Petitioners' Motion for Summary Judgment; Opinion.

Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, et al vs. U. S., Docket No. 18-T: Findings of Fact; Order Granting Petitioners' Motion for Summary Judgment; Opinion.

Red Lake, Pembina, White Earth, Turtle Mountain and Little Shell Band of Chippewa Indians v. U. S., Docket Nos. 18A, 113, 191: Order allowing attorneys' reimbursable Expenses; Order allowing reimbursable attorney expenses of Clarence G. Lindquist, deceased.

Kiowa, Comanche & Apache Tribes v. U. S., Docket Nos. 258 and 259: Findings of Fact re: Attorney Fees; Order allowing attorney fees.

Ridaught, Horace C., on behalf of Ridaught Band v. U. S., Docket No. 346, Order Dismissing case.

Seminole Indians of Florida and Oklahoma v. U. S., Docket Nos. 73 and 151: Additional Findings of Fact; Second Interlocutory Order; Opinion. Shoshone-Bannock Tribes vs. U. S., Docket Nos. 326D, E, F an G and 326H, 366 and 367: Findings of Fact on Award of Attorneys' Fees; Order allowing Attorneys' Fees.

Sisseton & Wahpeton Bands v. U. S., Docket No. 142: Findings of Fact; Order fixing attorneys' fees and awarding portion thereof.

Indian Claims Commission Policy Statement #101, Pretrial Instructions to Counsel.

Indian Claims Commission Policy Statement #102, Attorney expenses.

Donor: Indian Claims Commission, Washington, D.C.

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS*

July 26, 1968 to October 24, 1968

Armold, Mrs. Earl E.	El Reno
Arrington, F. P.	Oklahoma City
Blake, Joe M.	Norman
Burgess, Calvin R.	Trenton, New Jersey
Crawford, Jerry Pat	Okmulgee
Drummond, Mrs. Fred G.	Hominy
Eales, Mrs. Laura L.	Hobart
Erb, Hortense M.	Terral
Frye, E. Moses	Stillwater
Gadberry, Luther C.	El Reno
Gambill, Norma Jean	Tuttle
Gilleland, Mrs. John	Albuquerque, New Mexico
Goodell, Jack	Oklahoma City
Hedrick, James D.	Norman
Lauber, Mrs. Joseph L.	Oklahoma City
Lykins, Robert W.	Louisville, Kentucky
McKee, Mrs. Francis A.	Claremont, California
McKinney, Mrs. Palmer	Oklahoma City
McNees, L. L.	Ebenezer, Mississippi
Pearsall, Raymond S.	Oklahoma City
Posey, Mrs. Hattie	Quincy, California
Privett, Mrs. Joseph	Pawnee
Ream, Milton	Cherokee
Roper, Mrs. Mazie P.	Sallisaw
Schwartz, Robert H.	Houston, Texas
Smith, Louisa King	Midland, Texas
Thede, Marion	Oklahoma City
Thetford, Francis W.	Oklahoma City
Vickers, James W.	Wichita, Kansas

NEW LIFE MEMBERS*

July 26, 1968 to October 24, 1968

None

*All members in Oklahoma unless otherwise designated.

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publications Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are $5.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* Life membership is $100.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is $6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine (1937 to current number), $1.50. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA
1907

Contents

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

VOLUME XLVI, 1968

INDEX

— A —

Adair, Col. William Penn, 168, 177, 275-277, 281.
Adair, Dr. William T., 291.
Adams, David, 201, 202.
Adams, Harry H., "The Brush Court of Indian Territory" by, 201-205.
Adams, Henryetta (Akins), 201.
Adams, Rev. R. C., 48.
Adkisson, Miss Maude, 54.
Agnew, Brad, gift of, 222.
Ainsworth, N. B., 337.
Aitsan, Lucius, 50, 51.
Aitsan, Richard, 57.
Aker, Mrs. A. A., 214.
"Al Jennings, The People's Choice," by Duane Gage, 242-248.
Alabama, removal of Creek Indians from, 21.
Alabama Town (Creek Town), 15.
Albert, Herman W., *Odyssey of a Desert Prospector,* by, review, 95.
Albertson, Isaac, 173, 174.
Alcorn, Judge———, 394.
Aleut Tribe, 355.
Alexander, Col. A. M., 261, 266.
Alexander, Mrs. Norman D., 356.
Alfalfa Bill Murray, Bryant, review, 341-342.
Algonquin (Ill.), 58.
Al-Hazmy, A. V., gift of, 355.
Allen, Jess, 202, 203.
Allotment of land, to Creek Indians, 22.
Altland, Ruth A., 356.
Anadarko (Okla.,) 43, 44, 46, 52.
Anadarko City Museum, 416.
Andele (Andres Martinez) (Mexican Captive), 44, 52.
Anderson, Miss A., 339.
Anderson, Miss K., 339.
Anderson, Larry, 482.
Anderson, Robert, 339.
Anderson, William ("Bloody Bill"), 173.
Anthony, Gov. George T., 154.
American Horse (Northern Cheyenne), 144.
Apache (Okla.), 47.
Apache Indians, 353, 492; Chiricoahaua, 54.
Apache School & Orphanage, 54.
"Apusky" (Creek food), 8.
Arapaho (Okla.), 123.
Arapaho Indians, 374; Mennonite Mission for, 132; School for, 127.
Arbeka (Creek Nation), ball game between Eufaula and, 7.
Arbuckle, Mathew, army officer, 208, 455.
Arbuckle Mountains, 433.
Ardmore (Okla.), 34, 98.
Arizona, Buffalo soldiers in, 96.
Arkansas, Cherokee Indians in, 458; Civil War in, 252, 261, 272, 274, 276, 277, 282.
Arkansas City (Kan.), 130.
Arkansas River, 155, 271; Navigation Project, 459.
Arkansas Territory, Lovely County, 209.
Arnold, E., gift of, 355.
Arrington, Ruth M., 356.
Arthaud, John Bradley, gift of, 350.
Artussee (Creek Nation), 7.
Asbury, Bvt. Maj. Henry, 384.
Asbury Mission, 10n.
Asenap, Herman, 56, 57.
Ash, Mrs. Pat, 214.
Ashby, Rev. Stump, 43.
Asplin, Ray, gift of, 484.
Assiniboine Indians, 492.
Atkins, Mr.———, 17.
Atkins, Mrs. Robert L., gift of, 484.
Atkinson, M. L. ("Dick"), Certificate of Commendation presented to, 482.
Atlantic & Pacific Railroad, 82.
Aultman, Ben Winchester, 28.
Ayers, Gen. Romeyn B., 375, 380, 382.

— B —

BIU Instructor, 23.
Bacone, Rev. Almon C., 315.
Bacone College, 492.
Bacone University, 23, 312, 315, 326.
Bacone Indian Museum, 416.
Bahos, Charles Lee, gift of, 484.
Bailey (H. E.) Foundation, 102.
Baker, John (Creek), 15.
Baker, Mose, 336.
"Bald Hill" in Creek Nation, 7, 9.
Bald Hill (Creek Nation), 22.

Balentine, Rev. H., 338.
Ball Plays, Creek Indians, 7, 339.
Ballard, Calvin, 316, 319, 321.
Ballenger, T. L., "The Illinois River" by, 450-459.
Ballew, Lauretta E., 49.
Balyeat, Frank A., 329.
Banks, Brig. Gen. Nathaniel P., 272.
Baptist (Cherokee Nation), 453.
Baptist meetings near 4D School, 333.
Baptist Mission, 453.
Baptist missions on Kiowa & Comanche Reservation, 44, 45, 49, 52.
Bare, Miss K. E., 50.
Barker, Bill, U. S. Deputy Marshal, 202.
Barker, Maj. W. B., 139.
Barnett, Bill (Creek), 28.
Barnett, Charles (Yuchi), 338.
Barnett, Leona G., "Este Cate Emunkv (Red Man Always)" by, 20-35.
Baron, Robert, 360.
Barren Fork Creek, 271, 456.
Bartlesville (Okla.), 190; gift of library of, 228.
Bartlesville Historical Commission, gift of, 220.
Bartlett, Dewey F., Governor of Oklahoma, 86, 347.
Bass, Althea, "The Cheyenne Transporter", by, 127-140.
Bass, Henry B., 102.
Baton Rouge (La.), 199.
Battey, Thomas Chester (Quaker), 43.
Battiest, Mrs. Ben (Leona), gift of, 231, 232.
Battle of Barren Fork, 456.
Battle of Cabin Creek, 279.
Battle of Chancellorsville, 380.
Battle of Fredericksburg, 380.
Battle of Gettysburg, 380.
Battle of Honey Springs, land acquired at site, 347.
Battle of Newtonia, 282.
Battle of Pea Ridge, 249, 253, 258, 283.
Battle of Poison Spring, 273, 275, 282.
Battle of Prairie Grove, 268, 451.
Battle of Sheldon's Place, 456.
Battle of the Washita, 362-386.
"Battle of the Washita Centennial, 1968", by Francis Thetford, 358-361.
Battle of the Washita Centennial Commission, 347.
Battle of Wilson's Creek, in Missouri, 158, 251.
Baugh, Timothy G., gift of, 351.
Baxter, Mrs. Gerald, 88.
Baxter Springs (Kan.), 161, 163-165.
Beall, Elias J., M.D., 184.
Bean Salt Works, 458.
Beaver County (Okla. Terry.), 296, 298.
Beaver Creek, 152, 392.
Becker, Rev. A. J., 55, 56.
Beckham County (Okla.), Edward's Site in, 351.
Beebe, Bvt. Maj.———, 379.
Beeler, Joe, *Cowboys & Indians,* by, review, 343.
Beeson, Harmon V., 157, 158.
Behymer, John, 331n, 333, 334.
Bell, James Madison, 281, 290.
Bellmon, Henry L., 86, 88.
Beloit College (Wis.), 58.
Bender, Bob, 8.
Benedict, John D., 312, 316, 319-321.
Benedict, Omker K., 198.
Benge, William, 217.
Bennett, Buzz, 331n.
Bennett, Dr. Leo, 27, 201, 202, 204.
Bennett, Rev. Walter A., gift of, 222.
Bent, George, 136.
Bent, Robert, 129.
Bent, William, father of George, 474.
Bent's Fort, in Colorado, 136.
Bentonville Road, 252, 254.
Berkey, Ben F., 308.
Bernard, Kate, 246.
Berry, Frank, 201.
Bethany Nazarene College Museum, 416.
Big Hole Basin, in Montana, 343.
Big Horse (Cheyenne chief), 129, 130.
Big Kettle, or Black Kettle (Cheyenne chief), 379, 381.
Big Looking Glass (Comanche chief), 51.
Bill Doolin Outlaw, O. T., Hanes, review, 344.
Birds, in Creek Nation, 17, 18.
Bivins, O. K., gift of, 483.
Bixby, Tams, 38, 39.

Black, George E., 394.
Black Hawk (Sac & Fox chief), 62.
Black Hawk War, 62.
Black Kettle (Cheyenne chief), 358, 360, 379, 381, 474.
Black Kettle Museum, 360, 411, 416.
Blackfeet Indians, 492.
Blackgum (Cherokee Nation), 459.
Blackstone, P. N., 287.
Blaine County (Okla.), 145n.
Bland, Cuxom, 12.
Bledsoe, Capt. Joseph, 261.
Blevins, Mrs. Ray, gift of, 351.
Bluff Creek, in Kansas, 148.
Blunt, Cliff, gift of, 105.
Blunt, Gen. James G., 245n, 266.
Blunt, Gen.———, 451.
Bob Tail (Cheyenne chief), 129.
Boggy Depot (Choctaw Nation), 175, 178.
Boise City (Okla.), 485.
Boles, David C., "The Prairie Oil & Gas Company 1901-1911", by, 189-200.
Bonneville, B. L. E., 206, 208, 209.
Book Reviews, 95-97, 211-212, 341-345, 474-476.
Boomers, in Indian Territory, 140.
Borhegyi, Dr. Stephen, 409.
Borren, Anna, 335.
Boudinot, Elias, 456.
Boudinot, Elias C., 289.
Boudinot, William P., 291.
Brack, Wynona, 100.
Bradford, Capt. James H., 150.
Bradley, Capt. & Mrs. C. O., 138.
Bragdon, M. L., 201.
Branan, Herbert L., 88, 215, 222; "The Governor's Mace" by, 86-94; "Portrait of Governor Leon C. Phillips," by, 123-126, gift of, 491.
"Breadtown" (Cherokee Nation), 453.
Breeden, Robert, 216.
Brewer, Mrs. Allie, 214.
Brewer, Rev. Theodore F., 313.
Brewer, Veldo H., 356.
Brewington, Eugene H., gift of, 235, 486.
Briggs, George W., 183.
Briles, C. W., 323n, 328.
Brillhart, Norman W., gift of, 229.
Bristow (Okla.), 203, 204.
Broken Bow Reservoir, 107.
Brooks, Judson Frank, gift of, 352.
Brooks, Mrs. P. W., gift of, 351.
Brown, Rev. Alfred, 127, 129.
Brown, Allen Kendall, 98.
Brown, David Kelly, 98.
Brown, Eliza (Likins), 98.
Brown, H. H., 98.
Brown, Harry, 491.
Brown, Jeremiah Phillip, 491.
Brown, Karmalene, 460.
Brown, Kelly, photograph of, 491; "Kelly Brown" by R. M. Mountcastle, 98.
Brown, Lita Mae (Mrs. Kelly), 98.
Brown, Myrtle Lucille, gift of, 223, 491.
Brown, Russell, 98.
Brown's Indian Hotel, Washington, D. C., 423.
"Brush Court in Indian Territory, The," by Harry H. Adams, 201-205.
Brush Hill (Creek Nation), 8-10.
Bryan, Maj. J. M., (Cherokee), 261, 262, 264, 268.
Bryant, C. B., 328.
Bryant, Keith L., Jr., *Alfalfa Bill Murray*, by, review, 341-342.
Buckeye Creek, in Creek Nation, 13, 14.
Buffalo, 182.
Buffalo Dance, 134.
Buffalo Soldiers, The, Leckie, review, 96-97.
Buford, Dr.———, 9.
Bull, Arthur, 402.
Bull, J. E., 395.
Burch, Maj. Milton, 276.
Burgess, Ella M., gift of, 355.
Burgess, Marjorie Cutler, gift of, 226.
Burnett, Samuel B., 183, 185.
Burney (Creek Nation), 7, 8.
Burney,———, Governor of Chickasaw Nation, 78, 83.
Burns, Louis F., 356.
Bushyhead, Dennis W., (Cherokee chief), 286, 287.
Bushyhead, Rev. Jesse, 453.
Buster, Lt. Col. M. W., 264, 266.
Buswell, Joe, 433.
Butler, Josiah & Lizzie (Quakers), 42.
Butler, O. M., 304.
Butler, Pierce M., 206, 208.
Butterfield, Rev. A. E., Methodist missionary, 43, 51, 55.
Butts, Maj.———, 174.

Butts, Ferrol Ellis, "4-D School District, Cherokee Strip," by, 331-336.
Byrne, Mrs. Daniel, gift of, 349, 484.

— C —

Cabell, Brig. Gen. William L., 274.
Cabin Creek, battle of, 279.
Cache Creek Mission, 48.
Caddo Indians, 211.
Caldwell (Kan.), 130.
Caldwell, George, 102.
Caldwell, Ralph A., gift of, 355.
California, 95; gold rush to, 58.
Callahan, J. Y., 396.
Cambridge (England), 344.
Camp Coffee, 264.
Camp Corser, 278.
Camp Magruder, 165.
Camp Stephens, 256, 258.
Camp Supply, 145, 147, 148, 153, 154, 373.
Campbell, Charles, gift of, 486, 491.
Canadian River, North, 10, 15, 16, 25, 377.
Canadian Valley Echo, The, 397, 398, 400, 402.
Canady, Dayton W., gift of, 235.
Canal Dover (Ohio), 155, 157.
Cane Hill (Ark.), 268, 271.
Caney (Kan.), 190.
Canton, Gen. Frank, photograph of, 491.
Cantonment, establishment of, 154.
Cantonment Davis, 254.
Carlisle Indian School, 44, 129.
Carpenter, Mrs. Everett, gift of, 355.
Carrier, Floyd, 88.
Carrithers, Rev. W. W., missionary, 47.
Carry, G. W., 328.
Carson, Samuel P., of North Carolina, 428.
Carter County (Okla.), 98.
Carter, Colbert (Chickasaw), 79.
Carter, David H., 356.
Carter, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph, 322, 328.
Carter, Myrtle E., 356.
Caruso, John Anthony, *The Mississippi Valley Frontier*, by, review, 211.
Cash, Raymond, gift of, 355.
Caskey, Rev. Floyd, 48.
Cassady, Mrs. Charles M., 214.
Catawba Indians, 10n.
Catholic Church, Nazareth College founded by, 315.
Cattle Brands, 129, 131, 136, 137.
Cattlemen, in Cherokee Outlet, 285-292.
Cavalry Creek, 147.
Cavalry Division Association, First, 358.
Cavnar, Joe, 216.
Centennial Years, The, A Political and Economic History of America from the Late 1870's to the Early 1890's, Shannon, review, 476.
Central State College Museum, 416.
Chalk (Arapaho scout), 147-148.
Chandler (Okla.), 60.
Chandler Creek, 47.
Chanute (Kan.), 190, 192.
Chapman, Dr. Berlin B., gift of, 106, 107, 218, 229, 238, 492; endowment fund established, 217.
Caradon,———, steamboat captain, 206.
Cha-tin-ney-ack-que (Comanche), 54.
Chautauqua County Oil Producers Association, 193.
Checotah (Creek Nation), 4.
Cherokee Act of Union, 455.
Cherokee Advocate, 455.
Cherokee Constitution, 455.
Cherokee County (Okla.), land in presented to Oklahoma Historical Society, 482.
Cherokee Female Seminary, 455.
Cherokee Indians, 354, 451; attitude of toward leasing Cherokee Outlet, 285-292; Clan meeting, 454; Houston's politics and, 418-432; Old Settlers, 455, 458, 459; Removal to Indian Territory, 453n, 455, 459; Report Executive committee, 352, 492; Roll of 1851, 231; U. S. Agent to, 208.
Cherokee Legend, 439.
Cherokee Male Seminary, 158, 455.
Cherokee Messenger, 453.
Cherokee Nation, Civil War in, 158, 275, 453, 455; corruption in, 286; districts of, 459; Quantrill in, 158; National Party, 287n; Salt in, 430; Timber in, 457; Townlots in, 482; Union Party, 287n.
Cherokee Outlet, 4-D School Dis-

trict in, 331-336; houses in, 336; intruders in, 290; leasing of, 285-292; opening of, 295, 300; school land, 296; tax collection in, 287, 288.
Cherokee Regiment, First, 158, 281; First Mounted Riflemen, 251; First Mounted Volunteers, 249, 258; Second, 281.
Cherokee Stomp Dance, 454.
Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association, 285-292.
Cherokee Strip Pioneers, gift of, 487.
Cherokee Treaty of Aug. 7, 1902, 483.
Cherokee Village, at Tahlequah, Okla., 100.
Cherryholmes, F. W., gift of, 349.
Cheyenne (Okla.), 358, 398, 408.
Cheyenne Indians, 358, 362; Northern, 141-154; sickness, 143, 144; Southern, 142, 145, 474.
Cheyenne & Arapaho Indians, burial ceremony, 360; customs, 135; grass lease made by, 135; religion, 132, 134; removal to Indian Territory, 129.
Cheyenne & Arapaho Reservation, 391; cattle on, 134, 135, opening of, 295-300.
Cheyenne & Arapaho School, 127.
"Cheyenne Transporter, The," by Althea Bass, 127-140.
Chickasaw Dictionary, 482.
Chickasaw House Project, 346.
Chickasaw Indians, allotment of land, 82; reconstruction for, 85.
Chickasaw Militia, 77.
Chickasaw Nation, Freedmen in, 73, 76, 77, 85; Quantrill in, 173; whites in, 73-85.
Chickasaw Treaty of 1866, 82, 84.
Chief, Mrs. Raymond, 356.
Chippewa Indians, 211, 353, 492.
Chisholm Trail, 129, 214; Marker at Duncan, Okla., 348.
Choctaw Ball Game, 352.
Choctaw Indians, allotment of land to, 83; Camp Corser in, 278; Civil War in, 268.
Choctaw & Chickasaw Regiment, 261; First Mounted Rifles, 251, 258.
Choctaw Treaty of 1866, 84.
Choela (Creek Medicine Man), 36.
Chotky, William, 6.
Chott, Rev. Robert Paul, 54.
Chouteau, Col. A. P., 206.
Christmon, Miss M. J., 339.
Chronicles of Oklahoma, reprints, 101.
Chuie (Cherokee Nation), 454.
Chule, George M. Jr., gift of, 106.
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, gift of Genealogical library, 483.
"Church School Education in the Creek Nation 1898-1907" by Joe C. Jackson, 312-330.
Cimarron River, 131.
Cincinnati (Ark.), 254, 266, 271.
Cindy (Creek woman), 13, 14.
Civil War, in Cherokee Nation, 453, 455; Negro soldiers in, 96; Quantrill in I. T., during, 155-181; Union Army, 58.
Clark, John, gift of, 223, 484.
Clark, Mrs. Pat, gift of, 227.
Clark, V. J., 132.
Clarke, Kate 173.
Cleo Springs School District gift of, 355.
Cleveland (Okla.), 191, 307, 308.
Cleveland, Loie, 214.
Clinton, (Okla.), 304.
Cloud, Col. William F., 261.
Clouse, Rev. & Mrs. Howard H., 50.
Cobb, Gerald, 88.
Cockrell, Col. Jeremiah V., 260.
Coffee, Col. John T., 259.
Coker, Dove, 7.
Colbert (Chickasaw Nation), 173.
Colbert's Ferry, 167, 174, 175.
Colcord, C. F., gift of family of, 481, 491.
Colcord, Charles, 147.
Cole, Mrs. J. F., 408n.
Coleman, C. C., 195.
Collins, Clark, 457.
Collins, Rowland L., 356.
Collins, Mrs. Sally Potts, 175n.
Colombo, Mr. and Mrs. John L., gift of, 355.
"Colonel Samuel Lee Patrick" by Harry B. Gilstrap, Jr., 58-63.
Colorado, Buffalo soldiers in, 96.
Colored Orphan Home, 314, 319, 322, 327.
Comanche Indians, Protestant missionary work among, 41-57; Raiding of, 182.

Comanche Mission, near Lawton, Okla., 54.
Come, Sarty (Creek), 15.
"Confederate Indian Forces Outside of Indian Territory" by LeRoy H. Fischer and Jerry Gill, 249-284.
Confederate treaties with Five Civilized Tribes, 249.
Connel, T., trader, 134.
Cook, Col.———, 371, 379.
Cookson Hills, 458.
Cookson Store, 458.
Cooper, Douglas H., 165, 175, 177, 251, 258, 260, 261, 264, 266, 278, 281; cabin of, 101.
Cooper, Elmer, 335.
Cooper, Mrs. Leila, gift of, 487.
Cooper's First Indian Brigade, 278.
Cooter, Mrs. M. S., gift of, 349, 485.
Coppage, Rev. C. M., 337.
Corderay, William, 288.
Cornett, Buster, 214.
Cornett, Edward G., 213, 214.
Cornett, Jack, 214.
Cornett, Loie (Cleveland), 214.
Cornett, Mrs. W. P., 214.
Cornwell, Glen, 491.
Corwin, Hugh D., "Protestant Missionary Work among the Comanches and Kiowas," by, 41-57.
Costner, Elbert, gift of, 352.
Cottey College, gift of, 220.
County E (Okla. Terry.), 390.
Covington, John A., 144.
Cowan, John, 333.
Cowboy Hall of Fame, gift of, 230.
Cowboys and Indians, Beeler, review, 343.
Coweta (Okla.), 7, 66n, 338.
Coweta Boarding School, 314, 319, 320, 327.
Cowskin Prairie, 259, 276.
Cravens, John Park, gift of, 226.
Crawford, Isabel, 49, 50, 51.
Crazy Snake (Creek), 2.
Creek Agency in Indian Territory, 176.
Creek Ball plays, 339.
Creek (Loyal) Claim, 36.
Creek Enrollment Party, 2-19, 25.
Creek Indian Museum, 416.
Creek Indians, 20-35, 338; allotment of land, 2, 6, 22, 38; in Confederate Army, 251-254, 258, 266; "Lost", 2; Removal to Indian Territory, 21; Snake faction, 10, 28, 34, 35; Wind Clan, 22.
Creek Nation, Church School education in, 312-330; Dogwood in, 18; graves, 13; Hichiti Tribal Group of, 11n; Roads in, 37; schools in, 64-72; Springtime in, 17, 18, 32; Teachers' institutes in, 320, 321, 328.
Creek Orphan Home, 10n, 23, 314, 319, 320, 327.
Creek Poet, 20-35.
Creek Regiment, First Indian Home Guard, 164.
Crittenden, George W., 288.
Crook, Gen. George, 141, 152.
Crooked Creek in Kansas, 149.
Crosby, Bvt. Lt. Col., 379.
Cross, Dr. George Lynn, 2n.
Cross Hollows, in Arkansas, 266.
Crossen, Forest, gift of, 350.
Crow Indian (———Indian), 144.
Crowder City (I. T.), 11, 12.
Cruce, Lee, 242.
Crumpler, Lillian, 356.
Curry, Melvin E., gift of, 492.
Curtis, Brg. Gen. Samuel R., 251, 252, 254, 258, 264.
Curtis Mound, 186.
Cusseta Town (Creek Nation), 10n.
Custer, George A., Army officer, 141, 358, 359; "In Memoriam: Louis McLane Hamilton, Captain, Seventh U. S. Cavalry" by, 362-386.
Custer, Lt. Col. T. W., 379.

— D —

D.A.R., Oklahoma City Chapter, 485.
Dahlgren, E. G., 355.
Daily, Miss Emzie (Mrs. McKewen), 52.
Daisy, (Okla.), 101.
Dakotas, Buffalo soldiers in, 96.
Dale, Dr. Edward Everett, 2n, 258n; gift of, 218, 352.
Dale, Judge F. Hiner, gift of, 228.
Dalton Gang, 344.
Dalton, Kit, 173.
Dance, Buffalo, 134.
Daniels,———, 335.
Daniels, Miss A. L., gift of, 106.
Daniels, Marsh, 335.
Daniels, Nellie, 335.
Daniels, Roy, 335.

Darlington (I. T.), 127, 129, 138, 142.
Davidson, Col. John W., 145.
Davis, Col.———, 12.
Davis, Donald A., 102.
Davis, George Ade, 222.
Davis, Jefferson, 153, 252.
Davis, Lon, U. S. Deputy Marshal, 202.
Davis, Loran, 491.
Dawes Commission, 36.
Dawes, Henry L., 286, 287.
Dawson, M. O., gift of, 239.
Day County (Okla. Terry.), 387-390, 392, 394, 395, 397, 402.
Deacon, Mrs. Walter E., 349.
Dead Man's Creek, 392.
Debo, Dr. Angie, 335.
Deer, "Witch", 438.
Deep Creek, in Cherokee Nation, 458.
Deep Fork River, Little, 202.
Delaware Indians, 353, 354.
DeLay, L. G., gift of, 105.
DeMorse, Col. Charles, 274.
Department of Mines, State of Oklahoma, gift of, 487.
Department of Missouri, 264.
Derrisaw, Miss L., 339.
Detroit Historical Society, gift of, 350.
Deyo, Rev. E. C., 55n.
Deyo Mission, 52, 55.
Dick, Rev. & Mrs. J. S., 56.
Dillard, John, 206, 209.
Dixon, Florence, 332.
Doaksville-Ft. Towson Cemetery, 478.
Doche (Creek woman), 15.
Dodge, Col. Richard I., 154.
Dodge City (Kan.), 148.
Dog Hollow, in Arkansas, 264.
Dogwood, in Creek Nation, 18.
Domot, Mina (Kiowa), 57.
Doolin, Bill, 344.
Douglas, Rev. Hiram Kennedy, gift of, 228.
Downing, H. E., 391.
Downing, Sam, 289, 291.
Doyel family, genealogy of, 220.
Drabec, J. W., gift of, 238.
Drennen, John, 430.
Drew, John, 251, 252, 254, 255, 258, 259, 283, 419.
Drumm, Andrew, 291.
Dry Cimarron River, 147.
Dry Wood Creek, 160.
Duck Creek in Indian Territory, 204.
Dugout house, 336.
Duke, Rebecca Jo, 356.
Dull Knife, 141-154.
Duncan (Okla.), Chisholm Trail marker at, 348.
Duncan, Dwight R., 356.
Duncan, Lucretia M., 356.
Dutch Mills (Ark.), 268.
Dwight Mission, 209, 268.
Dyer [D.B.], Indian Agent, 140.
Dyer, Jack, gift of, 226.
Dykema, Rev. James, 54.
Dykeman, John, 334.
Dykeman, Maxine, 334.

— E —

Eagle, Grant, 88.
East Central State College Museum, 416.
Eastern Star, Oklahoma Grand Chapter, 484.
Eaton, John, Secretary of War, 421, 423.
Eaton, W. A., 127.
Edmond, (Okla.), 243.
Edwards Site, in Beckham Co., Okla., 351.
Edwards Store, in Hughes Co., Okla., 490.
89ers, 350.
Eissenstat, Bernard W., 460.
El Reno (Okla.), 214, 242.
Elder, Frederick Stanton, 306.
Elgin (Okla.), postoffice at, 331, 333.
Elk Creek Mission, near Hobart, Okla., 49.
Elk Mills (Mo.), 259.
Elkhorn Tavern, 258.
Elliott, Maj.———, 367, 381.
Ellis, A. H., 331, 335.
Ellis County (Okla.), 331, 387, 485.
Ellis, Richard N., book review by, 475.
Ellis, T. B., 184.
Ellis, William, U. S. Dep. Marshal, 486.
Elm Springs (Ark.), 252, 258, 266.
Elsey, Captain———, 5.
England, 344.
Enrollment Field Party, 2-19.
Episcopal Church, in Kiowa & Co-

manche Reservation, 43; in Cheyenne & Arapaho Reservation, 132, 135.
Epple, Jess C., 481; gift of, 484.
Epworth University, Oklahoma City, Okla., 123.
Erin Springs (Okla.) Murray Mansion at, 216, 217.
Ervin, Mrs. John W., gift of, 352.
"Este Cate Emunkv (Red Man Always)", by Leona G. Barnett, 20-35.
Estes, George, 332.
Estes, H. T., 201.
Estes, Martha Loyd, 332.
Euchee Mission, 314, 318, 327.
Eufaula (Okla.), 5, 7, 20, 25-27, 30-32, 36, 39, 46; Teachers Institute held at, 320-323, 328.
Eufaula-Canadian Town (Creek Nation), 37.
Eufaula High School, 23, 314, 318, 319, 321, 327.
Eufaula Lake, 10n.
Evangelical Church, in Garfield Co., O. T., 332.
Evans, John, 147.
Evans, Roy L., 356.
Evansville (Ark.), 254, 266, 268, 269.
Evansville (I. T.), 437.
Everett, Mark R., 220.

— F —

Fagan, Brig. Gen. James, 274.
Fait, Rev. & Mrs. S. V., 52.
Falwell, Walter, 323n, 324.
Fame (Creek Nation), 10.
Farrar, Harold, gift of, 106.
Farron, Mary, 58.
Fast, Mr. & Mrs. C. S., 56.
Faulk, Odie B., 460.
Fayetteville (Ark.), 252, 451.
Federal Republic of Germany, gift of, 106.
Fields, John, 247.
Fife, Nellie (Mrs. Elijah Hermigine Berblance), 10n.
Filler, Louis, *Old Wolfville,* edited by, review, 475.
Fine, Herb, 216.
Firearms, Traps & Tools of the Mountain Man, Russell, review, 212.
Fischer, LeRoy, 102, 481; "Confederate Indian Forces Outside of Indian Territory," by Jerry Gill and, 249-284; "Quantrill's Civil War Operations in Indian Territory," by, Lary C. Rampp and, 155-181.
Fishel, Roland R., 102.
Fisher, Janet L., 356.
Fisher, W. H. Certificate of Commendation presented to, 482.
Fitzpatrick, W. S., 194.
Five Civilized Tribes, report of meeting Inter-Tribal Council Apr. 12, 1968, 352, of July 1968, 492.
Five Civilized Tribes Museum, 410, 416.
Flat Rock Ford, 179.
Flint Creek, 453.
Flynn, Dennis T., 39, 306.
Foley Hotel, Eufaula, Creek Nation, 5.
Followwill, Mrs. Frankie Garrison, gift of, 222, 487.
Folsom, Col. Sampson, 265, 266.
Folsom, Lt. Col. Simpson N., 262, 268, 269, 275, 279, 281.
Ford (John) Ranch, 331.
Foreman, Maj. J. A., 269.
Forest Oil Co., 189.
"Forks of the Illinois", 456.
Forrester, Gordon L., gift of, 227.
Fort Arbuckle, 377; Freedmen's School at, 77.
Fort Blunt, 254n.
Fort Cobb, 362.
Fort Coffee, 268.
Fort Crawford (Wis.), 63.
Fort Des Moines (Iowa), 63.
Fort Dodge (Kan.), 146, 148, 150, 384.
Fort Elliott (Tex.), 128, 130, 146, 150.
Fort Gibson, 21, 155, 161, 168, 169, 205, 206, 208, 254n, 278, 279; Commissary Building, 216; Sutler at, 421.
Fort Hayes, 146, 362, 363.
Fort Leavenworth, 146, 148, 158.
Fort Lyon (Colo.), 146.
Fort Nichols, 106.
Fort Reno, 129, 138, 141-154.
Fort Scott, 161, 163, 266.
Fort Sidney (Neb.), 152, 153.
Fort Sill, 57, 145, 362; Methodist missionary at, 43; photograph of, 491; Quaker School near, 42;

Stage line between Caldwell, Ks., and, 130.
Fort Sill Centennial, 217, 347, 481.
Fort Sill Sub Agency, 51.
Fort Smith, 163, 175, 272, 278-281; trader at, 206.
Fort Supply, 358, 360.
Fort Towson, 101, 102, 216, 478, 481.
Fort Wallace, 146, 151.
Fort Washita, 100, 173, 481; restoration of, 101, 102.
Fort Wayne, 266, 452.
Fort Wayne, (Ind.), 157.
Fort Worth (Tex.), 182.
Fort Worth & Denver Railroad, 185.
Foster, Edwin B., 197.
Foster, Mrs. Stella, gift of, 239.
"4-D School District, Cherokee Strip," by Ferrol Ellis Butts, 331-336.
Fourth Cavalry, 141, 145, 146, 148, 150, 152, 153.
Fraker, Elmer L., gift of, 489.
Francis, Milly, 492.
Franklin, Mrs. Mildred McIntosh, 20n.
Franklin County (Kan.), 63.
Frazier, Mr. & Mrs. Jerry, gift of, 232.
Frazier, Tommy E., gift of, 232.
"Free Silver", 396.
Freedom (Okla.), 146n, 147.
Freeman, Benjamin, 4, 5.
Freeman, John (Creek), 14.
Freighters, 130.
Frenchmen's Creek in Nebraska, 153.
Frogville Watershed Archaeological Survey, 220.
Fuller, Mrs. G. J., 20n.
Fulsom, Joseph P., (Chickasaw), 79.
Fuqua, Nolan, Director, Oklahoma Historical Society, 218, 346.
Fur Trade, 212.
"Fux Fixico Letters", 25, 38-39.

— G —

Gage, Duane, "Al Jennings, The People's Choice," by, 242-248.
Gainesville (Tex.), 172.
Galena (Ill.), 63.
Galey, John, 189.
Galveston Bay & Texas Land Co., 428.
Gano, Col. Richard M., 272, 274, 279, 281.
Garber, C. L., 323n, 328.
Gardener, Lieut. Cornelius, 151.
Garfield County (Okla.), 331.
Garrison, Caleb, Jr., 222.
Gates, N. P., 452.
Gearhart, N. B., M.D., 185.
Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ Latterday Saints, gift of, 228.
Gentry Hotel, Checotah, I. T., 4.
George Creek, 392.
Georgia, 456.
Gerbrandt, Rev. & Mrs. D. J., 57.
Ghost Dance, Sac & Fox, 60.
Ghost Town Journalism, Oklahoma, 387-408.
Gibson, Dr. A. M., Director, Oklahoma Historical Society, 100.
Gibson, Charles (Creek), 9, 27, 37, 39.
Gibson, R. S., 210.
Gifford, Mr. & Mrs. Osage, gift of, 231.
Gill, Jerry, and LeRoy H. Fischer, "Confederate Indian Forces Outside of Indian Territory," by, 249-284.
Gill, Marcus, 158.
Gilstrap, Harry B., 60.
Gilstrap, Harry B., Jr., gift of, 491; "Colonel Samuel Lee Patrick" by, 58-63.
Gist, Thomas, 209.
Godwin, Winfred L., gift of, 485.
Goetz, Richard, 123.
Goff, Dick, gift of, 349.
Goingsnake (Cherokee), 452.
"Goingsnake Tragedy", 454.
Gold, in Black Hills, 141; in Day County, O. T., 396.
"Golden Book of the Osages" presented to the Society, 347.
Goldsmith's Librarian, University of London Library, gift of, 350.
Goodell, Isaac (Sac & Fox), 63.
Goodell, John (Sac & Fox), 63.
Goodell, Mrs. John (An-na-mo-sa) (Sac & Fox), 62, 63.
Goodell, Sarah (Sarah A. Whistler Pennock), 63.
Goodland Presbyterian Childrens' Home, gift of, 238.
Gordon, Lt. Col. B. Frank, 262.
Gore (Okla.), 459.

Government Springs, 101.
"Governor's Mace, The," by Herbert L. Branan, 86-94.
Granby (Mo.), 260-262.
Grand Army of the Republic, 358.
Grand, Day Co., Okla. (Terry.), 387-389, 391, 392, 394, 395, 397, 398, 400, 402.
"Grave Houses" in Creek Nation, 13.
Gray, Mr. and Mrs. Clyde G., gift of, 355.
Grayson, Anna (Stidham), 6.
Grayson, George W., 6, 20n.
Grayson, Georgiana (Stidham), 6.
Grayson, Lije, 5.
Grayson, Samuel, 26.
Green, Barney, 12, 15.
Green, Ed, 360.
Green, Hagie, 15.
Green Corn Dance site, 100.
Greenfield (Okla.), 145n.
Greenleaf Prairie, 269.
Greer County, opening of, 296, 300; school land in, 298.
Gregg, Capt. William H., 165, 179.
Gregory, James, 339.
Gregory, Stella, gift of, 226.
Gregory, William, 339.
Grimsby, Ontario, Canada, 51.
Groom, L. D., 331, 333, 335.
Groom, Vicki, 335.
Gros Ventre Indians, 492.
Groseclose, Elgin, gift of, 349.
Grundy, Felix, 427.
Guffey, James M., 189.
Gunn, Maud, 328.
Gunther, Capt. Sebastian, 145, 149, 153.

— H —

Halahtas, Nocus (Creek), 12.
Hale, Lt.———, 379.
Hall, Frank D., gift of, 348.
Hall, Capt. J. Lee, Indian Agent, 183, 185.
Hall, Walter B., 102.
Halleck, Maj. Gen. Henry W., 272.
Halsell, W. E., 212.
Hamburg Blade, The, 401.
Hamilton, Alexander, grandson of, 362, 374, 380.
Hamilton, Jack, 426.
Hamilton, Louis McLane, 362-386.
Hamilton, Mr. & Mrs. Phillip, 362, 377, 380, 384.
Hanes, Bailey C., *Bill Doolin, Outlaw O.T.*, by, review, 344.
Hankey, John, 356.
Hansen, Cliff, gift of, 226.
Hardage, Miss N., 339.
Hardage, Miss S., 339.
Harjo, Chitto (Crazy Snake) (Creek), 10, 35, 40.
Harjo, Chofolop (Joe Phillip) (Creek), 13.
Harjo, Henry M., 320.
Harjo, Iatkie (Creek), 15.
Harjo, Osa (Jacksie) (Creek), 14.
Harjo, Pohos (Nancy Phillips) (Creek), 22, 24.
Harjo, Yadeka (Creek), 12.
Harlan, Mrs. Clark, 88.
Harlan, James, Secretary of the Interior, 78.
Harper, Miss F., 339.
Harper, Rev. Richard H., 54.
Harper's Ferry, 380.
Harrell Institute, 46, 201, 312, 313.
Harrold (Tex), 185.
Harris, Gov.———, 84.
Harris, Claude C., 356.
Harris, Knox, 356.
Harris, Minnie (Mrs. Alex Posey), 23.
Harris, Phil, 481.
Hart, Rev. Lawrence H., (Cheyenne), 360.
Haskell, Charles N., 198, 199.
Haury, Rev. S. S., 132, 138.
Hawkins, E. J., 328.
Hawpe, Col. Tresevant C., 261, 266.
Hayward (Okla. Terry.), 335.
Hayward, Elmer, 332.
Helena Township, 487.
Helton, Oscar, 332.
Henely Massacre, 152.
Henry Kendall College, 313, 326.
Henryetta (Okla.), 11n.
Hermit's Cave, 11.
Hemphill, Capt. William C., 148, 149.
Herron, Margaret, 356.
Heuston, Will, gift of, 492.
Hitchita (Creek Nation), 4.
Hitchiti Tribal Group, in Creek Nation, 11n.
Hickory Ground, in Creek Nation, 12, 28.
Hicks, Rev. & Mrs. George W., 44, 49.

Hildebrand, Peter, 453.
Hill, Earl E., 217.
Hindman, Gen. Thomas C., 268, 451.
Hinson, William, 331, 335.
History News, published by American Association for State & Local History, 102.
Hobart (Okla.), 49, 305.
Hock, Gov. Edward W., 192.
Hodge, Dr.———, C&A Agency physician, 136.
Hodge, D., 339.
Hodge, Dr. Lawrence A. E., 144.
Hoelscher, Lester L., 356.
Hoffman, Gen. & Mrs. Roy, memorial to, 226-227, 230.
Hoffman, Stewart (Young Wolf) (Arapaho), 360.
Hoffman family, gifts of, 226-227, 230.
Hogard, Earl L., gift of, 490.
Holland, Edward J., 356.
Holway, Mrs. W. R. (Hope), 349; gift of, 231.
Honey Springs Battle site, 101, 103.
Honey Springs Battlefield Park, 481, 482.
Honey Springs Battlefield Commission, 481.
Horton, G. W., 323n, 328.
Hospers, Miss Hendrina, 54.
House, R. Morton, gift of, 222.
Houston, Judge A. H., 198.
Houston, Sam, 418-43, 459.
Houston, Temple, 243.
Houston Creek, 146n.
"Houston's Politics and the Cherokees 1829-33" by Robert L. and Pauline H. Jones, 418-432.
Howard, M. H., 430.
Howard, Tom, 401.
Howe, Elliott H., 356.
Howell, Capt. Sylvanus, 262.
Hualapi Tribe, 354.
Hubbard, F. C., 201.
Hubbart, Maj. James M., 259.
Hubbell, W. N. & Co., trader, Darlington, I. T., 128.
Hudgins, Capt. G. C., 184.
Hughes Gang, 203.
Hughey, Capt. W. M, 275
Humble Oil & Refining Co., gift of, 106.
Humboldt (Kan.), 190, 191, 196.
Humphrey, James E., 356.
Humphrey, Louise C., 356.
Hunt & Pryor Ranch, 392.
"Hunters Home", 457.
Hurst, Nina B., 105.
Hutton, Joe (Creek), 11.
Hyde, George, *Life of George Bent,* by, review, 474.
Hyde Park, Muskogee, I. T., 7, 12.
Hydrophobia, 433-449.

— I —

Ikard, Capt. E. F., 185.
Illinois, 58, 157.
Illinois District, (Cherokee Nation), 458, 459.
"Illinois River, The," by T. L. Ballenger, 450-459.
Illinois Volunteer Infantry, 34th, 58.
Immell, Jack, gift of, 484.
Imon, Frances, 229; Honorary Life Membership to Oklahoma Historical Society awarded to, 218; "Dorothy Jane Orton", by, 477-478.
"In Memoriam: Louis McLane Hamilton, Captain 7th U. S. Cavalry," by Bvt. Maj. Gen. G. A. Custer, 362-386.
Independence (Kan.), 190, 192.
Indiahoma (Okla.), 57
Indian City, U.S.A., 416.
Indian Claims Commission, gift of, 231, 238, 353-355, 492-493.
Indian Court, Judge of, 188.
Indian Home Guards, 102; First, 164.
Indian International Council, 27, 79, 81, 82.
Indian Journal, 9, 23, 25-31, 39.
Indian Mission Conference, 44, 45, 46.
Indian Meridian, 107.
Indian Territory, Boomers in, 140; Brush Court, 201-205; Buffalo soldiers in, 96; Confederate Indian Forces outside of, 249-284; Guerrilla raids in, 281, oil in, 190, 195-197; Quantrill's Civil War operations in, 155-181; Recording Districts of, 5n; Railroads in, 81, 289; Women's Christian Temperance Union, 351.
Indian University, Tahlequah, I. T., 315, 326.
Indiana, 157.
Inland Rivers Library, gift of, 484.

Intruders, on Oklahoma school lands, 303.
Ioland, Day County (Okla. Terry.), 388, 389.
Iowa Indian lands, opening of, 295.
Irving, Washington, 206, 342-343.
Isherwood, Mrs. Zelia Lowe, gift of, 234.
Island, Susie (Creek), 8.
Ivey, Augustus E. (Cherokee), 285, 290.

— J —

J. R. Williams, steamboat, capture of, 279.
Jack, Tiger, 202, 203.
Jackson, Andrew, 423, 427.
Jackson, Mrs. C. L., 201.
Jackson, Daniel, of New York, 429.
Jackson, J. A., gift of, 351.
Jackson, Joe D., "Church School Education in the Creek Nation 1898 to 1907", by, 312-330.
Jackson, W. C., 201.
Jacobson, J. Larry, gift of, 106.
James, Jesse, 179.
James, Joseph (Chickasaw), 79.
James, Overton, (Chickasaw Governor), 482.
James, Parthena Louise, "The White Threat in the Chickasaw Nation," by, 73-85.
Japan, researcher from, 480.
Jayne, Velma Troxel, gift of, 487.
Jayroe, Jane Anne, 484.
Jean, Col. Beal G., 262.
Jennings, Al, 242-248.
Jennings, Ed, 243.
Jennings, Frank, 243.
Jennings, John, 243.
Jimtown (Indian Territory), 440.
John Ford Ranch, 331.
Johnson, Cave, 424.
Johnson, Mrs. Jessie H., gift of, 238.
Johnson, Montford, 132.
Johnson, N. B., gifts of, 230, 238, 351, 353, 492.
Johnston, Mrs. Ethel L., gift of, 484.
Johnston, Thomas, 206, 208.
Jollification Road, 264.
Jolly, John (Cherokee chief), 418-420, 458; marker to, 101.
Jones, Buford W., Jr., 356.
Jones, Charles (Creek), 12.
Jones, Charles E., gift of, 355.
Jones, Mrs. D. H., gift of, 222.
Jones, Rev. Evan, 453.
Jones, Jenkin Lloyd, 105.
Jones, John B., 453.
Jones, Robert H., *The Centennial Years: A Political and Economic History of America from the late 1870s to the early 1890s,* edited by, review, 476.
Jones, Robert L. & Pauline H., "Houston's Politics and the Cherokees, 1829-33" by, 418-432.
Jones,———, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 28.
"Journal of Creek Enrollment Field Party 1905" by Alexander Posey, 2-19.
Julesburg (Colo.), 152.
Jumper, Maj. John, 251.

— K —

K.W.T.V. News Department, gift of, 349.
Kah-kaque (Sac & Fox), 62.
Kansas, 134, 135, 140, 400; Buffalo soldiers in, 96; Cattle men in, 148, 149; Civil War in, 251, 266, 282; Dull Knife pursued through, 148-154; Oil in, 189-195, 199; Populist Party in, 194; Republican party in, 192; Sac & Fox Indians in, 60.
Kansas Cavalry Regiment, 163; Sixth, 279.
Kansas Colored Infantry Regiment, First, 274.
Kansas-Missouri border, anti-slavery activities on, 158.
Kansas National Guard, 58.
Kansas Oil & Gas Company, 189.
Kansas Pacific Railroad, 146, 152.
Kansas Territory, Quantrill in, 157, 161.
Katona, Catherine Reid, gift of, 347.
"Katy Flyer", 4n.
Ke-ke-wy-tuck (Joe North Fork) (Sac & Fox), 62.
Keller, Dr. W. Floyd, gift of collection of, 105.
Kelley, Mrs. Jack M., 356.
Kelly, Dove, 15.
Kelly, John (Creek), 6.
Kellyville (Ind. Ter.), 202.
Kemp, Jackson (Chickasaw), 79.
Kentucky, 214; Quantrill died in, 178.
Keokuk (Sac & Fox chief), 62.

Keokuk, Moses (Sac & Fox Chief), 61, 491.
Keokuk, Mrs. Moses (Mary), 61, 491.
Kerr-McGee Company, 459.
Kerr, Sen. Robert S., home of, 100.
Kesterson, Jim, 454.
Kesterson, Polly, 454.
Ketner, Kenneth L., "A Study of the Use of Madstones in Oklahoma," by, 433-449.
Key, Francis Scott, 424.
Key, Rev. Joseph S., 337.
Kialipee (Creek Nation), 11.
Kickapoo Indians, 353, 354; Opening of lands of, 296, 300.
Kidd, J. W., 333.
King, Benjamin, 291.
King, Mrs. Hettie McCauley, gift of, 355.
King, Mrs. Jerlena, 37n.
King, R., of Texas, 132.
King, Ted, 356.
Kingfisher County (Okla.), 487.
Kiowa-Apache Tribe, 48.
Kiowa & Comanche Indian Agency, 1869, 42.
Kiowa, Comanche, Wichita & Apache Reservation, opening of, 296, 300.
Kiowa, Comanche & Apache Tribes, 492.
Kiowa County (Okla.), 485.
Kiowa Indians, 374; Farming by, 50, 51; Mexican captive adopted by, 44; Protestant Church work among, 41-57; Raiding of, 182.
Kirby-Smith, Lt. Gen. Edmund, 171.
Kirkpatrick Foundation, 101, 216.
Kirkpatrick, John E., 102, 218.
Kish-ke-kosh (Sac & Fox), 63.
Klumph, Richard Amidon, gift of, 228.
Knight, Dr. Homer L., report from OSU History Department, 460.
Koasati Indians, 15n.
Koble, Lizzie, 138.
Kohfeld, Rev. & Mrs. Henry, 55, 56.
Komalty (Kiowa chief), 49.
Kowena, Felix (Kiowa), 57.
Koweta Mission, 64-72; letter dated 1850 from, 338-340; Site of, 101.
Krumbhaar, Capt. Wm. B., 275.
Kruse, Mrs. Rosella, gift of, 227.
Ku Klux Klan, 349.
Kuhlman, D. D., 106.

— L —

Lafayette, Marquis de, 209.
Lake Francis, 452.
Lamar (Mo.), 276.
LaMar, William David, photograph of, 491.
Lambert, Ernest, gift of, 353.
Lambuth, Dr. Walter R., 337.
Lancaster, W. D., 49.
Landrum, Hiram T. (Cherokee), 288.
Lane, James H. of Kansas, 78.
Langley, Mrs. Edwin, gift of, 492.
Lankford, Mrs. Thomas R., gift of, 105.
Larimore, Mrs. W. King, gift of, 226, 351.
Larney, Joe (Creek), 15.
Latham, J. Fred, gift of, 484.
Latimer County (Okla.), schools of 330.
Lauer, Mrs. Edna, gift of, 485.
Lawrence (Kan.), 161, 485.
Lawson, Ray, 491.
Lawton (Okla.), 54, 244, 304.
Lawton, Lt. Henry W., 141.
Leacher, John (Creek), 9.
Leake, James C., 481.
"Leasing the Cherokee Outlet: An Analysis of Indian Reaction, 1884-85," by, William W. Savage, Jr., 285-292.
Leckie, William H., *The Buffalo Soldiers*, by, review, 96-97.
Ledbetter, Bud, U. S. Deputy Marshal, 202, 203, 244.
Lee, Hung Peng, 460.
Lee, Capt. Jesse E., Indian Agent, 140.
Lee, Joe 5, gift of, 106, 223.
Lee, John R., 47.
Lee, Miss M., 339.
Lee, Richard, 339.
Lee's Creek, 268.
Lees Creek District (Cherokee Nation), 459.
Leetown (Ark.), 254, 256, 258.
Leftwich, Grant, 428.
Left Hand (Arapaho chief), 129.
Left Hand Springs, 145n.
Legsters, Rev. L. L., 54.
Lehew, Dr. J. L., 435.
Lenna (Creek Nation), 7, 9.
Lenrow, Lester E., gift of, 105, 235-237.

Lerblance, Mrs. Elijah Hermigine (Nellie Fife), 10.
Lewis, Alfred Henry, *Old Wolfville*, by, review, 475.
Lewis, Jackson (Creek), 11, 34, 37.
Lewis, Lon, 203.
Lewis Robertson School, 22.
Lewis, Maj. W. B., 422.
Lewis, Lt. Col. William, 146, 148, 150, 151.
Lewis, Mrs. William L., gift of, 492.
Life of George Bent, Hyde, review, 474.
Lincoln, Abraham, 178.
Lindsay (Okla.), 217.
Lindsay, Miss Tess, 107, 217; Certificate of Commendation awarded, 216.
Lindsley, Mrs. Robert, 98.
Lipe, Maj. D. W., 438.
Lipe, Miss Lola, 438.
Little Bear (———Indian), 144. 143.
Little Raven (Arapaho chief), 129, 130.
Little Rock (Ark.), 272.
Little Sugar Creek, in Arkansas, 255.
Little Wolf (Northern Cheyenne),
Livingston, Capt. Thomas R., 260.
Lockhart, C. M., 356; gift of, 351.
Loering, Capt. Sampson, 264.
Logan, Sam, Arbeka Deep Fork Town King, 8.
London, Miss Mollie, 332.
Lone Wolf, 43, 49.
Lone Wolf (Ma-ma-de), 44, 49.
Lone Wolf Mission, 49.
Long, J. D., 81.
Long Horn (Sac & Fox), 63.
Long's Museum, Claremore, Okla., 410.
Loomis, Augustus W., "Scenes in the Indian Territory - Koweta Mission", by 64-72.
Looney, Rella, 86.
Loper, Mr.———, 101.
Lord Montagu, of England, 482.
Los Angeles County Museum, gift of, 220.
"Lost Creeks", 2.
Loughridge, Rev. R. M., 66n.
Louisiana, Civil War in, 272; oil in, 199.
Louisville (Ky.), 179.
Love, Jack, 243.
Love, Overton, 83.
Loveless, Richard W., gift of, 350.
Lovely County (Ark. Terry.), 209.
Loyal Creek Claim, 36.
Loyd, Miss Martha, 332.
Lucy Walker, steamboat, 486.
Luther (Okla.), 305.
Lutheran Church, in Cherokee Nation, 455.
Lutherhoma Mission, in Cherokee Nation, 454.
Luton, John D., 48.
Lynch, Corporal Patrick, 148n.
Lytle, Albert E., 356.

— M —

MacKenzie, Gen. Ranald S., 182.
Mackey Salt works, 458.
Mad Wolf (Cheyenne chief), 129.
Madstones, in Oklahoma, 433-449.
Maffet, George West, 134, 138, 140.
Maffet, Lizzie (Kable), 138.
Mah-ko-soh-toe (Sac & Fox chief), 62.
Mail Line, between Darlington and Fort Eliott, 130; between Fort Eliott and Wichita Falls, Texas, 130.
Males, Mrs. L. L., gift of, 485.
Malone, Mr.———, 336.
Man-on-a-cloud (Cheyenne chief), 129.
Manley, Isaac (Creek), 7.
Maricopa-Ak Chin Reservation, 354.
Marion, Emma, 332, 333.
Marion, Isaac, 333.
Marion, Lydia Girrard, 333.
Markus-Verlag, G. M. B. H., Hohenzollernring, Germany, gift of, 222, 349.
Marmaduke, Brig. Gen. John S., 274.
Marshall (Okla.), 335.
Marston, S. W., Agent, Union Agency, 75, 76.
Martel, E. N., gift of, 228.
Martin, Frank, gift of, 481.
Martin, Col. L. M., 269.
Martinez, Andres (Andele) (Mexican captive), 44, 52.
Martyn, Henry, 339.
Mashed O Ranch, 212.
Mason, Charles E., gift of, 227.
Masonic Lodge, Proceedings of Grand Lodge of Oklahoma 1968, 484.

Massachusetts, 58.
Massard's Prairie, in Arkansas, 279.
Mathey, Lieut.———, 367.
Mauck, Capt. Clarence, 146, 151, 153.
"Mautame", Presbyterian Mission, 52.
Maxey, Brig. Gen. Samuel Bell, 272, 274, 275, 278.
Mayes, Joel B. (Cherokee), 158, 251.
Maysville (Ark.), 266.
McAtee, Judge John Lind, 230.
McBride, Joe W., 220.
McBride, Stella, 335.
McCabe, E. P., 105.
McClelland, Maj. Gen. George B., 490.
McCollam,———, Steamboat captain, 206.
McCoy, Mrs. Bertha, 434, 435.
McCoy, John L., 291.
McCulley, Mrs. George A., gift of, 352.
McCulley Site, The, 220.
McCulloch, Brig. Gen. Ben, 158, 171, 174, 177, 251, 252, 254, 256.
McCurtain, Lieut. Col. Jackson, 279.
McFarland, Rev. & Mrs. A. J., 48.
McGuire, Bird S., 306.
McIntosh, A., 339.
McIntosh, Amos (Creek), 14.
McIntosh, Lt. Col. Chilly, 266, 267.
McIntosh, Col. Daniel N., 165, 251-254, 258, 266.
McIntosh, Col. James, 254, 256.
McIntosh, Roley (Creek), 9, 34, 66n.
McIntosh, W. E. (Waldo E. "Dode") (Creek chief), 217, 481; gift of, 217, 487.
McIntosh, William, 339.
McIntosh County (Okla.), County Seat War, 5n.
McKellop, John, 339.
McKewen, Mr.———(Emzie Daily), 52.
McKinley, Bruce, 328.
McKinney, Gary, "Oklahoma Ghost Town Journalism 1893-1907" by, 387-408.
McKittrick, Mrs. Tom, gift of, 231.
McLane, Louis, 380.
McLean, Miss Mary, 50.
McLemore, John C., 430.
McMillan, Mrs. Marie Anderson, 123.
McPeet, Mrs.———, drowning of, 334.
McRill, Albert L., 397, 405.
McRill, Leslie A., gift of, 222, 486.
Mead, Lizzie, 394.
Means, Mary A., (Sac & Fox), 62, 63.
Medicine Arrows, of Southern Cheyenne Indians, 474.
Mefford, Capt. David, 279.
Meigs, Jennie, 456.
Meigs, Robert, 456.
Melette (Creek Nation), 7.
Mendota (Ill.), 157.
Mennonite Mission, in Cheyenne & Arapaho Reservation, 132.
Mennonite Brethren Mission, near Fort Sill, 55, 57.
Merrill, Reubin, 491.
Merrimac (Okla.), 433.
Merritt, Lafe, 134.
Methodist Church, Muskogee, I. T., 312, 336; among Comanche Indians, 43.
Methvin Rev. J. J., Methodist Missionary, 44-46, 51.
Methvin Institute, 46.
Miami Indians, 353.
Mid-Continent Oil field, 189, 191.
Miles, John D., Indian Agent, 129, 138, 142-144.
Milford, Miss R., 339.
Milford, Miss S., 339.
Miller, Buford, ranch of, 204.
Miller, Miss E. Irene, gift of, 349.
Miller, Emmett, 332.
Miller, Capt. John, 268.
Miller, R. G., Honorary Life Membership to OHS awarded, 218, 481.
Miller, Samuel A., 397.
Milliken, W. H., 308.
Mineral Springs, 173, 175.
Minerals, on Oklahoma School Land, 302, 307-309.
Minerva Home for Girls, Muskogee, I. T., 313.
"Mission Creek", 48.
Missionary work among Comanches & Kiowas, 41-57.
Mississippi River, 271.
Mississippi Valley Frontier, The, Caruso, review, 211.
Missouri, Civil War in, 158, 160, 161, 251, 252, 259, 261, 266, 271, 276, 277, 278, 282.
Missouri Militia, 8th Cavalry Regiment, 276.
Missouri State Guard, 160.

Mitchell, "Cap", 397, 402.
Mitchell, Col.———, 63.
Mitchell, Mrs. Ella, 20n.
Mitchell, Elza "Leon", 397, 402, 405, 406.
Mitchell, J. G., 328.
Mitchell, J. W., 323n.
Mizner, Maj. John K., 142-145, 147, 153.
Mobley, Robert T., gift of, 238.
Mo-ko-ho-ko Band of Sac & Fox Indians, 60, 62.
Monroney, Mike, gift of, 106, 217, 352.
Montagu, Lord, of England, 482.
Montana, battle in, 141; Big Hole Basin, 343.
Monte Cassino High School, Tulsa, Okla., gift of, 350.
Moon, Mr. & Mrs. Don, gift of, 222, 229.
Moonlight, Col. Thomas, 160.
Moore, Mrs. Grandfield (Barbara), gift of, 491.
Moore, Hays W., M.D., 184.
Morgan, Mrs. Max, gift of, 232.
Morris, Mrs. Anna, gift of, 485.
Morris, Mrs. Harry Joseph, gift of, 483.
Morrison, Dr. James, 102.
Morse, Capt. Charles E., 148-150.
Mounds (Ind. Terry.), 204.
Mount Scott, Methodist Camp meeting at, 44, 51.
Mount Morris Seminary (Ill.), 58.
Mountain Creek, in Indian Territory, 202.
Mountain Men, 212.
Mountain View (Okla.), 304.
Mountcastle, R. M., "Kelly Brown" by, 98; gift of, 491.
Mud Town (Ark.), 266.
Murray, "Alfalfa" Bill, 341-342.
Murray Mansion, Erin Springs, Okla., 216, 217.
Murrell, George, 456; house of, 457.
Murrow, Rev. J. S., 49.
Museum of the Great Plains, 416.
Muskogee (Ind. Terry.), 26, 27, 98, 201; Bacone College, 315; Church schools at, 312-316; Harrell Institute at, 312; Labor Day 1905, 7; Rock Church at, 336; Sequoyah Convention at, 5n; Teachers' Institute at, 321, 323, 328.
"Muskogee, Indian Territory", published 1905, paper back book, 352.
Muskogee Area Office, gift of, 231, 352, 492.
Muskogee Times, 25, 39.
Myers, John, 102.

— N —

Nahwatz (Comanche), 54.
Nation, Carrie, 400.
National Commission Co., Oklahoma City, 214.
National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Western Heritage Center, 416.
Navajo Tribe, 354.
Nave, Andrew, 456.
Nave, Jennie Meigs, 456.
Nazareth Institute, Muskogee, Okla., 315, 326.
Needles, T. B., 201.
Neely, Mrs. Myrtle, gift of, 232.
Nelson, Guy, "The School Lands in Oklahoma," by, 293-311.
Nelson, Will T., gift of, 231, 238, 352.
Neodesha (Kan.), 189-191.
Neosho (Mo.), 260.
Neosho District (Cherokee Nation), 459.
Nevada, 95.
New Hope Seminary, 46n.
New Mexico, Buffalo soldiers in, 96.
New York, 384; 22nd State Militia, 380.
Newton, Thomas, 456.
Newton, Wm. H., gift of, 239.
Newtonia (Mo.), 261, 262, 264.
Nicholson, Jimmy, 426.
Nickel, Herbert R., gift of, 231.
Nicks, Gen. John, 205, 421.
Nicks, Sarah Perkins, 206, 208.
Nicksville (Ark. Ty.), 209.
Ninth Cavalry Regiment, 96.
No Man's Land Historical Museum, 416.
Noell, Dr. J. M., 436.
Norris, Clarence D., gift of, 351.
North Canadian River, 10, 15, 16, 25, 377.
North Fork, Joe (Ke-ke-wy-tuck) (Sac & Fox), 62.
North Fork Town, 168, 171.
Northeastern State College, Tahlequah, Okla., 455.
Notes & Documents, 86-94, 201-210, 331-340, 460-473.
Nuyaka Mission, 314, 316, 317, 319, 324, 327.

— O —

O County (Okla. Terry.), 487.
Oakerhater (Cheyenne), 132.
Ochese Creek, in Georgia, 20.
Ocmulgee River, in Georgia, 20.
O'Day, Daniel, 196.
Odom, Vol H., 481.
Odyssey of a Desert Prospector, Albert, review, 95.
Ogallala (Neb.), 152.
Ogburn, Buddy, 100.
Ohio, 155.
Oil, in Oklahoma, Kansas & Texas, 189; in Pawnee Co., Okla. Terry., 307, 308.
"Oil City" (Cherokee Nation), 454.
Oil field, Oklahoma City, Monument to, 489.
Oil Museum, Oklahoma Historical Society, 482.
Okemah (Okla.), 12, 123.
Okfusky (Creek Nation), 11, 13; Neighborhood School, 36.
Oklahoma, A & M College, 105, 222; Budget Balancing Amendment, 125; Constitution, 293, 307, 309; Constitutional Convention, 331, 341; Counties in Creek Nation surveyed, 325; Enabling Act, 301, 307, 309; First newspaper in, 455; Governor of, 123, 341; Governor's Mace, 86-94; Gubernatorial campaigns in, 242, 244, 246; Historic sites, 347; Leasing of school land, 295, 296, 298-300, 302; Madstones in, 433-449; Museums in, 410; National Guard, 341; Oil in, 189, 191, 192, 197, 307-309; Openings in, 293, 295, 296, 300; Organic Act, 294, 295; Outlaws in, 243; Politics in, 242, 244, 305; Regents for Higher Education, 125; School lands in, 293-311; Timber in, 302, 308.
Oklahoma City, (Okla.), 214, 244, 397; International Peace Garden in, 105.
Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce, gift of, 484.
Oklahoma City Stock Yards, opening of, 214.
Oklahoma City University, 123.
Oklahoma College for Women, at Muskogee, I. T., 313.
Oklahoma Day, 217.
"Oklahoma Ethnological Inventory: A New Tool for Museums" by Alex F. Ricciardelli, 409-417.
Oklahoma Genealogical Society, gift of, 107-120, 223-225, 230, 238, 348-349, 485.
"Oklahoma Ghost Town Journalism 1893-1907" by Gary McKinney, 387-408.
Oklahoma Historical Society, 412, 416; Accessions to library, 461-473; Auditorium, 216; Board of Directors, 100; Budget, 100; Confederate Room, 121, 233; Gift to, 362; Gifts to Indian Archives Division, 230, 237, 352-355, 492; Gifts to Library, 105-120, 220-228; 348-352, 482-489; Gifts of photographs to, 228-230, 234, 489-492; Gifts to Museum, 231-232, 238, 355-356; Membership, 232, 356, 492; Minutes Quarterly meeting of Jan. 25, 1968, 100-104; Minutes Quarterly meeting of April 25, 1968, 216-218; Minutes Quarterly meeting of July 25, 1968, 346-348; Minutes quarterly meeting of Oct. 24, 1968, 480-482; Minutes Annual meeting of April 25, 1968, 215; Oil Museum, 482; Open house of May 26, 1968, 217; Portrait of Gov. Leon C. Phillips presented, 123-126; Seal for, 482; Site of Koweta Mission acquired by, 66n; Tour of 1968, 100, 218.
Oklahoma history, Certificate to teach, 102.
Oklahoma Industrial Development & Park Department, gift of, 230.
Oklahoma Memorial Association, building for, 218.
Oklahoma Petroleum Council, gift of, 351.
Oklahoma Pipe Line Company, 199.
Oklahoma Protestant Episcopal Church, gift of, 223.
Oklahoma State Department of Education, 222.
Oklahoma State Library, gift of, 107, 220, 350, 483.
Oklahoma State University, Report of history department, 460.
Oklahoma State University Museum of Natural History, 416.

Oklahoma Territory, counties 1901-1907, 390; Journalism in, 387-408; Organization of, 293; Outlaw in, 344.
Oklahoma Zoological Society, 218.
Okmulgee (I. T.), 21, 79, 204, 205.
Okmulgee (Okla.), Schools in, 325.
Okmulgee Constitution, 80.
Oktahutake (North Canadian) Valley, in Creek Nation, 15, 16.
Old Bear (Comanche), 183.
Old Chief's House, 100, 101, 217.
Old Settlers, Cherokee, 455, 458, 459.
Old Stone Corral, 42.
Old Wolfville: Chapters from the Fiction of Alfred Henry Lewis, Filler, review, 475.
On the Tour with Washington Irving, Spaulding, review, 342-343.
Oo-loo-te-ka (John Jolly), (Cherokee chief), 418-420.
Openings, in Oklahoma, 293, 295, 296, 300.
Opothleyahola (Creek), 254, 423.
Orr, John, 401.
Orton, Dorothy, 102, 346; "Dorothy Jane Orton" by Frances Imon, 477-478.
Orton, Mrs. Ruth, 478.
Osage Indian Scouts, Battle of the Washita, 367, 369, 370.
Osage Indians, 211; Golden Book of, 347, 483.
Osage Mills (Ark.), 254.
Osage Nation, 353; Oil in, 190, 197, 211; 3-D Ranch in, 211-212; Tribal Museum, 416.
Otoe Reservation, 211.
Ottawa (Kan.), 58.
Ottawa County (Okla.), 330, 487; Historical Society, 410, 416.
Ottawa Indians, 354.
Outlaws, in Oklahoma, 212; in Oklahoma Territory, 344.
Overholser Home, restoration of, 347, 482.
Overton, B. F., Chickasaw Governor, 74-77, 82, 83.
Owen, Robert L., 38, 39; Grave marker, 347.
Owens, Hugh F., 222.
Owl Woman, mother of George Bent, 474.

— P —

Page, Marshall L., gift of, 228.
Panola County, Chickasaw Nation, 77.
Park Hill (Cherokee Nation), 254, 269, 456, 457.
Parker, Cynthia Ann, 57.
Parker, Quanah (Comanche chief), 55, 57, 182-188.
Parkinson Mercantile Co., 205.
Parks, Capt. Robert C., 260.
Parsons,———, Chickasaw Agent, 84.
Paschal, George W., 426.
Passing of the 3-D Ranch, The, Stansberry, review, 211, 212.
Patchin, Kenneth L., gift of, 482.
Patrick, Harriet, 60.
Patrick, Mary (Farron), 58.
Patrick, Col. Samuel Lee, Sac & Fox Indian Agent, 58-63; photograph of, 491.
Patrick, Samuel Lee, Jr., Sac & Fox Indian Agent, 60.
Patterson, Norman George, gift of, 486.
Patton, Tom, 440, 441.
Paul, Mr. and Mrs. Champ, gift of, 231.
Paulu, Sergeant Chuck, 359, 360.
Pawhuska (Okla.) Cemetery, 223, 230.
Pawnee (Okla.), 434.
Pawnee County (Okla.), 433.
Pawnee County (Okla. Terry.), oil discovered in, 307.
Pawnee Indians, 433.
Paw-she-pa-ho (Sac & Fox chief), 62, 491.
Payne, David L., 139.
Pearson, T. M., 451.
Pecan Creek Boarding School, 314, 319, 327.
Peithman, E. H., gift of family of, 355.
Peithmann, Irvin, gift of, 350.
Pendleton, David (Cheyenne), 132.
Penner, Katie, 56.
"Peoples Ticket", 395.
Peoria Indians, 354.
Percy, Charles (Chickasaw), 79.
Perkins, Mrs. Pete, gift of, 483.
Perry, Dr. Hugh, Jr., 356.
Perryman, D., 339.
Perryman, J., 339.

Perryman, Legus, 39.
Perryman, Wesley, 339.
Peru (Kan.), 192, 194.
Peters, Lora A., gift of, 491.
Petree, Mrs. Lucy, 356.
Petsche, Jerome E., gift of, 485.
Peyote religion, 45.
Peyton Springs (Ark.), 268.
Philadelphia (Penn.), Cheyenne & Arapaho Indians visited, 129.
Philbrook Art Center, 416.
Phillips, H. Milt, gift of, 227, 350.
Phillips, Mrs. Helen Conklin, 123.
Phillips, John, 13.
Phillips, Johnson (Creek), 7.
Phillips, Leon Chase, portrait of, 123-126, 215, 489.
Phillips, Nancy (Pohos Harjo) (Creek), 22, 24.
Phillips, Col. William A., 169, 172, 173, 254n.
Philpott, Romney S., gift of, 487.
Pickens County (Chickasaw Nation), 75.
"Pickwick Hotel", Ft. Worth, Texas, 183.
Pike, Gen. Albert, 249, 252, 254-256, 258.
Pineville (Ark.), 264.
Piney Hollow in Creek Nation, 14.
Polecat Creek, in Indian Territory, 202, 204.
Politics, Day Co., (Okla. Terry.), 395, 400, 401.
Polk, James K., 427.
Pologu, Tom (Creek) (Snake), 7.
Polson's Cemetery, 100.
Ponca City Indian Museum, 416.
Pope, D. K., 244.
Pope, Gen. John, 145.
Populist Party, in Kansas, 194.
Porter, D., 339.
Porter, Mrs. Ethel, gift of, 355.
Porter, Miss M. A., 339.
Porter, Pleasant (Creek chief), 5, 36, 39.
Porter, Sam, of Kansas, 193.
"Portrait of Governor Leon C. Phillips," by Herbert L. Branon, 123-126.
Posey, Alexander, "Journal of Creek Enrollment Field Party 1905," by, 2-19.
Posey, Mrs. Alexander, 2n.
Posey, John, 12.
Posey, John, 8.
Posey, Lewis, 7n, 9n, 22.
Posey, Minnie (Harris), 23.
Posey, Yahola, 3, 23.
Posey, Wynema, 3.
Post Oak Mission, 55-57.
Potawatomi Indians, 353.
Potawatomi Reservation, opening of, 295, 300.
Potter (Okla. Terry.), postoffice at, 332.
Potter, Lyda, 332n.
Poughkeepsie (New York), 380, 384.
Pourade, Richard F., *The Rising Tide*, by, review, 95-96.
Pourtales, Count de, Journals and letters, of, 342, 343.
Powder Face (Arapaho chief), 131, 133.
Powell, Delbert, 216.
Prairie Grove (Ark.), 451.
"Prairie Oil & Gas Co., 1901-1911, The," by David C. Boles, 189-200.
Pratt, Capt.———, 130.
Pratt, A. H. 20n.
Prentice, James, of New York, 429.
Presbyterian Church, Nuyaka Mission founded by, 316, 317, 324.
Presbyterian Mission, Welling, 456.
Presbyterian Mission Board, Minerva Home for Girls founded by, 313.
Presbyterian missionary to the Kiowa & Comanche Indians, 48, 52.
Price, Capt.———, 394.
Price, John, 391.
Price, Brig. Gen. Sterling, 160, 251, 252.
Pritchett, Dr. J. H., 337.
Proffitt, Miss Ora, 356.
Proctor, Charles, 457.
Proctor, Ezekiel, 454, 485.
"Protestant Missionary Work Among the Comanches and Kiowas," by Hugh D. Corwin, 41-57.
Pryor (Okla.), 492.
Pryor, Capt. Nathaniel, 206.
Pueblos de Zia, de Jemez & de Santa Ana, 354.
Pumpkin, Eli, 454.
Pumpkin Hill, in Creek Nation, 4.
Punished Woman's Fork, of Smoky Hill River, 150.
"Pursuit of Dull Knife from Fort Reno in 1878-79, The," by Peter M. Wright, 141-154.

— Q —

Quaker missionary, among Comanches & Kiowas, 41, 42.
Quahadi Band, of Comanche Indians, 182.
"Quanah Parker's Narrow Escape," by Ronnie Tyler, 182-188.
Quantrill, William C., 271; parents of, 155.
"Quantrill's Civil War Operations in Indian Territory," by LeRoy H. Fischer and Lary C. Rampp, 155-181.
Quapaw Indians, 211.
Quechan Tribe, 354.

— R —

Race track, at Fort Gibson, 206; on Grand River, 206.
Railroads, in Indian Territory, 81.
Rains, Brig. Gen. James E., 260, 266.
Rainy Mountain Mission, 50.
Ramona (Okla.), 106, 223.
Rampp, Lary C. & LeRoy H. Fischer, "Quantrill's Civil War Operations in Indian Territory," 155.
Ramsay, Rev. J. Ross, 338.
Rasmus, William F., 289.
Raven Springs, 145.
Ray, Dr. Jessie Newby, 105; gift of, 234.
Ray, Warren, 481.
Read, Mrs.———(Kiowa), 57.
Read, Rev. J. L., 54.
Ream, Milton, gift of, 223, 352.
Red Cloud (Sioux), 142, 143.
Red Fork (Okla.), 191.
Red Fork Ranch, 131, 132.
Red River Campaign, Civil War, 272.
Redd, D. Frank, 328.
Redwine, James, 102.
Reeside, Miss Marietta J., 49.
Reformed Church Mission, north of Lawton, Okla., 47, 54, 55.
Regier, Mary, Deaconess, Mennonite Brethren Church, 56.
Reidner, Bob, 433.
Reinstein, Mrs. Victor, gift of, 237.
Rendlebrock, Capt. Joseph, 143-149, 153, 154.
Republican party, in Kansas, 194.
Republican River, North Fork, 152.
ReQua, Rev. W. F., 49.
Reynolds, Debbie, 334.
Reynolds, G. E. & Co., traders, 136.
Reynolds, William E., 217.
Rhea's Mill, in Arkansas, 456.
Ricciardelli, Alex F., "The Oklahoma Ethnological Inventory: A new Tool for Museums," by, 409-417.
Richardson, Col. John M., 260.
Richmond (Va.), Chamber of Commerce, gift of, 106.
"Rifle Shots", 9, 37.
Riley, Lt. Col. James, 275.
Rising Tide, The, Pourade, review, 95-96.
Road, Military, Fort Smith to Fort Gibson, 208; Fort Smith to Fort Towson, 209.
Roads, built through Oklahoma school lands, 303.
Robe, Mrs. John, 317.
Robe, John M., 324.
Roberts, M. P., 26.
Robertson, Alice M., 105, 318-323, 329.
Robertson, J. B. A., 242, 246, 247.
Robertson, James L., 222.
Robertson, John, 333.
Robertson, W. S., 338.
Robin, interpreter, Koweta Mission, 67, 68.
Robinson, Ella, "Burning of Spaulding Institute, Muskogee," 336-337.
Robinson Springs, 389, 396.
Rock, on Oklahoma School lands, 302, 303.
"Rock Church", Muskogee, I. T., 336.
Rock Ford, North Canadian River, 10.
Rockwell, Stella Campbell, gift of, 487.
Roe, Rev. Walter C., 54.
Roger Mills County (Okla.), 387.
Roger Mills Sentinel, The, 309. 4-9.
Rogers, Dave, 457.
Rogers, Diana, daughter of Chief John, 459.
Rogers, John (Cherokee chief), 459.
Rogers, John, 206, 209.
Rogers, Paul, 346.
Rogers, Thomas T., 339.
Roosevelt, Theodore, 194.

Rose Cottage, in Cherokee Nation, 456.
Ross, Jennie, 456.
Ross, John (Cherokee chief), 455, 456, 484.
Ross, Joshua, 456.
Ross, Lewis, 456, 457.
Ross, Robert, 291.
Ross, William, 26.
Ross, William P., 288, 456.
Round-Ups, 394.
Royce, Mrs. Dayton B., 351.
Rudd, John A., 179.
Russell, Carl P., *Firearms, Traps & Tools of the Mountain Man*, review, 212.
Russell Springs, 152.
Ruth, Kent, gift of, 350.
Rutherford, S. M., U. S. Marshal, 201.

— S —

Sac & Fox Agency, 58.
Sac & Fox Indians, 211, 353, 354; Chiefs, 62; Education, 62; Ghost Dance, 60; Houses, 60; Opening of land of, 295.
Saddle Mountain, Baptist mission at, 50, 51, 57.
Sadler, Alonzo C., 209.
Saheche (Creek woman), 15.
Sahmaunt, Luther, 44.
Salisberry, Mr. & Mrs. John, 433, 435.
Sallee, Mrs. Adelia, gift of, 350, 485.
Sallisaw District (Cherokee Nation), 459.
Salt, in Cherokee Nation, 430, 458.
Samson, Wilfredo, gift of, 355.
San Diego (Calif.), 95.
Sand, George, 148n, 149.
Sand, on Oklahoma School land, 302, 303.
Sand Creek, in Kansas, 148, 149.
Sanders, John, 291.
Sango Baptist College & Industrial School, 315.
Santa Gertrudis (Tex.), 132.
Sappa Creek, in Kansas, 152.
Sapulpa (I. T.), 202.
Sarcoxie (Mo.), 261.
Saul, Capt. Erie, 358-360.
Saumpty, Rev. Roy, 50.
Savage, William W. Jr., "Leasing the Cherokee Outlet: An Analysis of Indian Reaction, 1884-1885," by, 285-292.
Scabby (Cheyenne), 139.
"Scenes in the Indian Territory, Kowetah Mission," by Augustus W. Loomis, 64-72.
Schmidt, Mrs. Helen Sweet Emley, gift of, 105.
Schofield, Maj. Gen. John M., 167.
"School Lands of Oklahoma, The," by Guy Nelson, 293-311.
Schreiner, Conrad, 356.
Schurz, Carl, Secretary of the Interior, 77.
Scott, Mrs. Nancy (Creek), 36.
Scott's Mill (Mo.), 260.
Seay, Abram, 296.
Seger, J. H., 128, 130.
Sells, Miss L., 339.
Seminole Indians, 492; Education among, 330; Female Academy, 44; in Confederate Army, 251.
Seneca Indians, 352.
Sequoyah, 208; Home, 100, 101, 217.
Sequoyah Constitutional Convention, 5.
Sequoyah County (Okla.), 209.
Session Industrial School, 316.
Seventh Cavalry, 141, 358, 359, 362-386.
Seventh Infantry, 208.
Shannon, Capt. William H. 278.
Shapard, E. R., 46.
Shaughnessy, Mrs. Mildred, gift of, 231.
Shawnee, Absentee, opening of land of, 295.
Shelby, Col. Joseph O., 260, 262, 264, 266, 278.
Shell Creek, 11.
Sheridan, Gen. Philip H., 145, 153, 360, 362, 376, 379, 381.
Sheridan's Roost, 154.
Sherman (Tex.), 173.
Shirk, George H., 100, 215, 482; "Edward G. Cornett," by, 214; Gift of, 105, 220-222, 229, 348, 483, 490.
Shirk, Withington, Work & Robinson, attorneys, gift of, 351.
Shoal Creek, in Missouri, 264.
Shoemaker, Arthur, Book review by, 97, 212.
Showalter, J. B., 308.
Shreveport (La.), 272.

Silver City (Okla.), 214.
Simms, Vaughan P., M.D., gift of, 492.
Simpson, Mrs. Alene, gift of, 350.
Sioux Indians, 141-143, 211, 354, 374, 380, 492.
Sisseton Indians, 354, 493.
Skaggs, Drennon C., 2, 4, 8, 11, 12.
Skeleton Creek, 334, 335.
S'Klallam Tribe, 354.
Skullyville (Choctaw Nation), 46n, 268, 352.
Slate Spring School House, 32.
Slusher, Elizabeth D., gift of, 355.
Sluyter, Rev. Henry, 54.
Smedley, Joseph, 352.
Smith, C. Hubert, gift of, 352.
Smith, Col. Charles E., 148.
Smith, Daniel A., 457.
Smith, Lt. Gen. Edmund Kirby, 272.
Smith, F. M., 388.
Smith, Harry, 388.
Smith, Mrs. Melvin, gift of, 206.
Smith, Ruby, 481.
Smith, Van Carlton, 356.
Smithsonian Institution, gift of, 106, 227, 352.
Smoky Hill River, 150.
Snake faction, Creek Indians, 2, 6, 10, 28, 34, 35.
Society of Friends, 41, 42.
Sod House, 101, 217, 336.
Soda Springs, Creek Nation, 4.
"Sofky Patch", 6.
Solomon, Gen. Frederick, 261.
"Soonerville Saga: Sept. 1893" by Will Heuston.
South Carolina Palmetto Regiment, 208.
Southern Plains Indian Exhibit & Crafts Center, 416.
Southwestern Exposition & Fat Stock Show, 186.
Spaulding, George F., *On the Tour with Washington Irving,* edited by, review, 342-343.
Spaulding, H. B., 313, 337.
Spaulding Institute, 312, 313, 326; Burning of, 336-337.
Spencer County (Ky.), 178.
Spike "S" Ranch, 202.
Spilman, Capt. Alexander, 456.
Spiro Mounds, 352.
Springston, Jerry, 457.
Springston, John, papers of, 102.
Squire, Abraham Lincoln, 402-404.
St. Joseph's College, Muskogee, Okla., 315.
St. Louis (Mo.), smallpox at, 335.
St. Louis & San Francisco Railroad, 201, 203.
Stage lines, 130, 131; between Caldwell and Fort Sill, 130; in Cheyenne & Arapaho Reservation, 127, 128, 130, 131.
Staked Plains, 182.
Stanberry, William, 423, 424.
Standard Oil Company, 189, 191.
Stansbery, Lon R., *The Passing of the 3-D Ranch,* review, 211-212.
Staples, Rev. O. B., 313.
Star (Cheyenne), 139.
Starr, Caleb, 438.
Steanson, Elmer, gift of, 356.
Steding, H. Richard III, 350.
Steel, D., 339.
Steel, Maj. Gen. Frederick, 272, 274.
Steele, George, 295, 305.
Steele, Brig. Gen. William, 271.
Stevens, Col. J. G., 262, 266.
Stidham (Creek Nation), 9, 20n, 23.
Stidham, Andrew Jackson, 490.
Still, Ned, 457.
Stomp Ground, Tuskegee, 202.
Stone, Benjamin H., 289.
Story of Ajax, The, Noyes, review, 343-344.
Stovall Museum, 409, 411, 413, 416.
Strong, Gen. W. E., *A Trip to the Yellowstone National Park in July, August and September 1875,* by, review, 345.
"Study of the Use of Madstones in Oklahoma" by Kenneth L. Ketner, 433-449.
Stumbling Bear, Virginia, 44.
Sugar Creek (Mo.), 191.
Suggs, Col.————, 183.
Sullivan, Mrs. Jessy, gift of, 232.
Sulphur, Tom (Creek), 23, 34.
Sumter, Mrs. R. O., gift of, 239.
Sun Boy (Kiowa chief), 185.
Sutherland, Henry C., gift of, 228.
Sweet, Judge Edgar N., gift of, 105.

— T —

Tabananeka (Comanche chief), 185.
Tahlequah (Okla.), 269, 453, 455-457, 459.

Tahlonteeskee (Cherokee chief), 418n.
Tahlonteeskee, Capital, Cherokee Nation, 459.
Tarbell, Ida, 194.
Tate, Mono Melvin, 350.
Tatum, Jane Hudson, gift of, 487.
Tatum, Laurie, Indian Agent, 41, 42.
Taylor, Bill, 332.
Tecumseh (Okla.), 243.
Tegomhoke (Creek woman), 15.
Telegraph Road, in Arkansas, 254.
Tenderfoot in Colorado, A., Townsend, review, 344.
Tenkiller,———, ferry operated by, 458.
Tenkiller Lake, 458.
Tennessee, 428, 459.
Terrell, Judge A. W., 426.
Territorial Bills, in Congress, 81, 82.
Tessiky (Comanche), 55.
Texas, Buffalo soldiers in, 96; Cattle men, 211, 212; Civil War in, 272, 282; Indian raids in, 182; Koasati Indians in, 15; Oil in, 189, 195; Quantrill in, 158, 161.
Texas Library & Historical Commission, gift of, 238, 353.
Texas Rangers, 44, 268.
Texas Road, 163, 165, 175.
Texmo Times, The, 401.
Thaw, Mrs. William, 322.
Thayer, Brig. Gen. John M., 272, 274.
Thetford, Francis, "Battle of the Washita Centennial, 1968", by, 358-361.
Third Indian Home Guard Regiment, 269, 456.
Third Regular Infantry, U. S., 375, 380, 384.
Thomas, Edward L., Indian Agent, 60.
Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History & Art, 416.
Thomas, Robert K., gift of, 230.
Thompson, David, 430.
Thompson, J. A., 291.
Thompson, Johnson, 291, 457.
Thompson, Rev. Joseph F., 337.
Thompson, March (Creek), 8.
Thompson, Tom, 12, 14.
Thorn Ridge, in Creek Nation, 8.
Thornburgh, Maj. Thomas T., 152, 153.
Thornton, J. N., 23, 27.
Thornton, Rev. W. R., 313.
Tiger, Miss D., 339.
Tiger, George, 14.
Tiger, Jack (Outlaw), 36.
Tiger, Johnson E., 320.
Tilghman, Charles A., gift of, 483.
Timber, Cherokee Nation, 457, 458; on Oklahoma School Land, 302, 308.
Timothy Hill School, 313.
Tindle, James E., gift of, 106.
Tinker Air Force, Silver Anniversary, 482.
Tishomingo (Okla.), 346.
Todd, Mr.———, 130.
Todd, George, 173, 174.
To-hau-sin (Kiowa chief), 47.
Tolley, William Pearson, gift of, 352.
Tomoche (Creek), 15.
Tonopah (Nev.), 95.
Topay (Comanche woman), 55.
Torrey, Col. Henry, 157, 158.
Townsend, R. B.. *A Tenderfoot in Colorado*, by, review, 344.
Traband, Roy E., gift of, 239.
Trans Mississippi West, 282.
Trans Mississippi District, 252, 268, 271.
Transportation in Cheyenne & Arapaho Reservation, 127, 128, 130, 131.
Treanor, Aline E. J., 356.
Treat, Rev. & Mrs. Harry, 50.
Treece, Mrs. Barton, 98.
Treman, Mr.———, 139.
Trip to the Yellowstone National Park in July, August & September 1875, Strong, review, 345.
Tubbee, Hopiah (Chickasaw), 179.
Tuckabatchee (Creek Nation), 8.
Tucker, H. B., 440.
Tucker, Louis L., gift of, 485.
Tullahassee Mission, 64, 66, 101, 314, 318, 327, 338.
Tulledega (Creek Nation), 7, 11.
Tully Mercantile Company, 27.
Tulsa, (Okla.), Henry Kendall College at, 315.
Tulsa Philharmonic Society, gift of, 238.
Tulsa University, 315.
Turkey Springs, 146n, 153.
Tuscarawas County (Ohio), 157.

Tuskegee Town (Creek Nation), 22; Stomp Ground, 202.
Tustannuggee, Yaha (Creek), 39.
Twin Mountains, in Indian Territory, 204.
Tyler, Ronnie, "Quanah Parker's Narrow Escape," 182-188.

— U —

Ueda, Denmei, 217, 480.
"Uncle Frank", of Koweta Mission, 68.
Union Mission, 349, 456.
Union Pacific Railroad, 146, 152.
Un-ka-ma (Kiowa woman), 47.
United Daughters of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis Chapter, gift of, 223.
U. S. Army Artillery & Missile Center Museum, 416.
U. S. Court, in Indian Territory, 201.
U. S. Marshal, Deputy, 22, 201-205, 308, 344, 433.
U. S. Seventh Cavalry, 358, 359, 362-386.
U. S. Third Infantry, 375, 380, 384.
University of Alaska, gift of library, 226.
University of Arkansas, 451, 452.
University of Kansas Museum of Art, gift of, 485.
University of Michigan, gift of, 223.
University of Oklahoma, gift of library, 220; gift of Research Institue, 220.
University of Oklahoma Stovall Museum, 409.
Utah State Historical Society, gift of, 238.
Utah Territory, Quantrill in, 158.

— V —

Van Allen, Walter, 323n, 328.
Van Dorn, Maj. Earl, 252-256.
Van Horne, Mrs. Arthur Clark, gift of, 232.
Van Hooser, Howard C., 356.
Vann, Miss S., 339.
Vest, Senator George G., 286.
Veuna, John & Lillie, 15.
Vices, Okmulgee, I. T., 205; Bristow, I. T., 203, 204.
Vila, George R., gift of, 106.
Vinita (I. T.), 45.
Vinita-Craig County Historical Museum, 410, 416.
Vose, Mrs. C. A., 227.

— W —

W. C. T. U., in (Ind. Terry.), (Okla. Terry.), and Oklahoma, 351, Muskogee, I. T., 337; School for boys, 201.
Waggoner, Tom, 211.
Waggoner, W. T., 182, 183.
Wagon Trains, in Cheyenne & Arapaho Reservation, 127.
Wagoner (Okla.), schools in, 325.
Wahpeton Indians, 354, 493.
Walck, Adam, 391.
Walker, Lt. Col. Tandy, 261, 262.
Walker's Second Indian Brigade, 272, 274, 275.
Wall, Alexander J., gift of, 351.
Walters, Bucky, gift of, 106.
Walton, James L., 356.
Wa-pa-se-ta (Sac & Fox girl), 63.
Ward, Mr. & Mrs. D. C., 48.
Ward, Mrs. Esther, gift of, 356.
Warner, Mrs. Mary Reid, gift of, 352.
Warner, Ross T., gift of, 351.
Washington County (Ark.), 450, 451.
Washington County (Okla.), history of, 220, 352.
Washington Hand Press, 388.
Washington Irving Trail, at Daisy, Okla., 101.
Water, in Southern California, 96.
Waters, Lieut.———, 136.
Watie, Stand, 168, 181, 249, 251-255, 258-260, 266, 268, 270, 271, 279, 281, 282, 456.
Watson, Mrs. J. Travis, 356.
Watson, Kate, 14, 15.
Watts (Okla.), 452.
Waynoka School District, 356.
Wealaka Boarding School, 314, 319, 320, 327.
Webbers Falls, (I. T.), 458.
Weckeah, wife of Quanah Parker, 183.
Wedman, John, 491.
Weer, Col. William, 261.
Weibe, Rev. & Mrs. J. J., 57.

Weinkauf, Esther, 332.
Weir, Bvt. Lt. Col.———, 379.
Welch, Capt. Otis G., 252, 254, 258.
Welling (Okla.), 456.
Wells, Capt. J. W., 268.
Wenner, F. L., 302, 307.
Weogufla (Creek Nation), 12.
Wesley House, 100.
West, Sgt. Maj. George, 256.
West, Humsey (Creek), 14.
West, Col. Robert M., 371, 373, 377, 378.
West Point Military Academy, 208, 209.
Western Trail, 129.
Wettengel, Jack, 100.
Wetumka Boarding School, 23, 314, 318, 327.
Wheeler, Nettie, 481.
Wheeler, William W., 288.
Whistler, Mrs. John (Sac & Fox), 63.
Whistler, Sarah A. (Goodell), 63.
White, Mrs. Harriett Colcord, gift of, 481, 487-489, 491.
White Rock Prairie, in Arkansas, 264.
"White Threat in the Chickasaw Nation, The," by Parthena Louise James, 73-85.
White Thunder (Cheyenne), 474.
Whitten, Alice B., gift of, 350.
Wicks, Rev.———, 132, 135.
White, Rev. Paul D., 48.
Wicks, Rev. J. B., 43.
Wigwam Neosho, 422, 430, 458.
Wild Hog (Northern Cheyenne), 143, 144.
Wilder, Lt. Wilber, 147.
Wilkinson, Mrs. Jim (Dorothy DeWitt), 490; gift of, 223.
Wilkinsburg (Pa.), 47.
Will Rogers Memorial Museum, 416.
Williams, Betty Harvey, gift of, 351.
Williams, Col. James M., 274.
Williams, Mrs. Riley, gift of, 239.
Williams, Robert L., 242, 246, 247.
Williamson, Oval, gift of, 356.
Wilson, William (Cherokee), 288.
Wilson's Creek Battlefield, 484.
Wind Clan of Creek Indians, 22.
Winger, Rev. & Mrs. Robert E., gift of, 231.
Winn, H. E., gift of, 352.
Winn, Virgil, 30.
Winnebago Indians, 63, 353; Mission, 63.
Wire Road, 169.
Wirts, Miss M., 339.
Wisdom (Montana), 344.
Wisconsin Cavalry, Third, 163.
Wisconsin River, 62.
Wolf Creek, 359, 360, 392.
Wolf Robe, Frank Billie (Cheyenne), 135.
Wolfe, Richard M., 287.
Wolves, in Creek Nation, 339.
Women's Army Corps, in Oklahoma, 477.
Wood, Lieut. Abram E., 147-149.
Woods, L. P., 451.
Woods County (Okla.), 146n.
Woodward (Okla.), 242, 358.
Woolaroc Museum, 416.
Worcester, Dr. Samuel Austin, 456.
Worcester, Sarah, 105.
Worcester Mission, Park Hill, I. T., 457.
Wright, Alfred (Chickasaw), 79.
Wright, Bill, 202.
Wright, Rev. Frank Hall, 54.
Wyckoff, Don G., gift of, 107, 220.
Wylie, Rev. J. M., 47.

— Y —

Yancey, David, 202.
Yankton Sioux Indians, 355.
Yell, Archibald, 451.
Yellow Bear (Arapaho chief), 129.
Yellow Bear (Comanche), 183, 185, 186.
Yellow Bull Museum, 416.
Young, Henry C., 492.
Young, Walter, 457.
Younger, Cole, 179.
Yowell, Grady, 217.

— Z —

Zeller, Martha, 334.
Zinn, J. F., 184.
Zito, Bill, 360.

Library West

Date Due Slip

Date Due	Date Returned
MAR 17 2010	JAN 22 2010

Renew online @ http://www.uflib.ufl.edu/

Select: My Accounts

Loan Policy Information @
http:www.uflib.ufl.edu/as/circ.html

976.6
C557
v.46
Spring 1968-
Winter 1969

STORAGE

LAD